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BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

1917–1942

Edited by
R. N. DANDEKAR

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EDITED BY

K. V. ABHYANKAR, M A. R. N. DANDEKAR. M.A., Ph.D.

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PREFACE

About the end of the year 1941, the authorities of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute decided to issue the twenty-third Volume of the "Annals" (for 1942) as a Special Jubilee Number on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Institute and entrusted the work of editing it to me. Accordingly, in November 1941, I issued an appeal to several Indologists, in India and outside, inviting their contributions for the Silver Jubilee Volume. The willing response which I then received from all quarters was an excellent indication of the high regard in which the memory of Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar and the work of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute are held in the world of Oriental scholars. I take this opportunity of expressing on behalf of the Institute my heart-felt gratitude to all these friends whose kind collaboration has made it possible for us to bring out the present Volume, which, as will be seen from the contents, is characterised by variety of subjects and originality of treatment.

Here I have to mention very respectfully the names of two contributors of this Volume—Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids and Prof. S. S. Suryanarayan Sastri—whom the cruel hand of death has recently carried away from amongst us. The services rendered to the study of Buddhism by Mrs. Rhys Davids and to that of Indian Philosophy by Prof. Sastri will prove, I am sure, a constant source of inspiration to the future students of these subjects. May their souls rest in peace!

The publication of this Volume in time would have been impossible without the great help given to me by Mr. G. N. Shrigondekar, B.A., of the Publication Department of the Institute. I really wonder what I could have done without it. My very best thanks are due to Mr. Shrigondekar. I have also to thank Mr. P. K. Gode, M.A., the Curator, and Mr. Y. R. Junnarkar, B.A., the Assistant Curator, for having helped me in various ways. I must not forget to mention the timely assistance rendered to us by the Aryasaṁskriti Press and the Aryabhushan Press of Poona. I am particularly grateful to the manager of the Aryabhushan Press for helping us out of all the difficulties arising out of the general shortage of paper.

Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute, Poona
4th January 1943

R. N. Dandekar

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MĀNASĀRA VĀSTUŚĀSTRA, THE BASIC TEXT ON ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

BY

P. K. ACHARYA

The *Mānasāra* first came to be known more than a hundred years ago through an essay on architecture by a Madras Judge, Ram Raj. His thesis contains reference to fifteen fragmentary chapters of the *Mānasāra* from a single badly preserved manuscript and there are few illustrations not drawn from those fragmentary descriptions, but representing local extant temples. It was published in 1834. In 1934 a critical edition of the complete *Mānasāra* containing all the seventy chapters has been published together with a volume of illustrations drawn to scale from those descriptions by the Government of U. P. through the Oxford University Press. The present writer prepared it out of eleven manuscripts written in five different scripts.[1] The language in which it is written has been truly branded as 'barbarous Sanskrit,' meaning an unpolished, and urgrammatical language. It had to be garbed in Sanskrit despite original defects in grammar, metre and rhetorics in order to make it authentic. For the very same reason the real authorship has been kept concealed and the treatise is variously ascribed to a personal name, a class of sages working on architecture and also a (smaller) work bearing the title *Mānasāra* which term etymologically means 'essence of measurement.'[2] It appears to be certain that the work was composed by some Śilpin (practising architect) whose command of correct Sanskrit language was naturally defective but whose mastery of the subject was not

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1 For details see the preface to the text, Vol. III of the Mānasāra Series,

2 (a) Kṛtam iti akhilam uktam Mānasāra-purāṇaiḥ Pitāmahendra-pramukhaiḥ samastair devair idam śāstra-varaṁ puroditam. Tasmāt samuddhṛtya hi mānasāraṁ śāstraṁ kṛtaṁ loka-hitārtham (LXX 1148).

(b) Mānānāṁ sāram saṁgṛhya śāstre saṁkṣepataḥ kramāt (XXXIII 2).

(c) Sakala-muni-varair Māna-sārādi-mukhyaiḥ (XLXIX, 216).

(d) Mānasāra-ṛṣiṇām kṛtam śāstraṁ Mānasāra-muni-nāmakam āsit (I, 39).

only above reproach but unique. The work deals with architecture in a very broad sense and supplies measurements, etc., of every thing constructed from the bird's nest to the king's palace and from the image of an insect to that of the highest gods and goddesses.

The work in its present form deals with architecture and the cognate arts and supplies constructional details including measurements, etc., of every object which can be wrought with human hands. Thus details are given of all kinds of settlements, villages, towns, cities, forts, fortresses, ports and harbours. In these settlements are built houses, of all sizes and varieties including dwellings, palaces, offices like courts of justice, secretariat, jails, places of amusement and other public assemblies, temples for Brahmanical creeds, Buddhists, Jainas and other sects. Auxiliary members and component mouldings have been described under proper classification and with all necessary particulars. Thus are referred to in detail roads, bridges, gateways, triumphal arches, market places, wells, tanks, trenches, drains, sewers, moats, enclosure walls, dams, embankments, railings, and flights of steps for ascending to and descending from hills, rivers, and tanks, as well as movable ladders, etc. For building houses are given all necessary directions regarding materials and mouldings which are required for foundations, walls, floors, roofs, staircases, storeys, doors, windows and other openings, as well as, pedestals, bases, shafts, capitals of pillars, and ornaments for different parts. Similarly are described various conveyances and seats and articles of furniture such as bedsteads, couches, tables, chairs, thrones, wardrobes, baskets, cages, nests, mills, conveyances, lamps and lamp-posts for street, etc. Dresses and ornaments for images of gods, sages, kings and others including crowns, jackets, lower garments, chains, earrings, bracelets, armlets and foot-wears are minutely described. Under the category of sculpture all constructional details are given not only of the idols of deities and phalli of Śiva and images of Buddha and Jina but also of statues of great personages, as well as images of demi-gods demons, animals, birds, fishes, and insects, and of toys and carvings of various kinds.

Of the seventy chapters of the *Mānasāra* the first eight are

introductory; the next forty-two deal with matters relating to town-planning and house-building; and the last twenty are devoted to sculpture. In the Introductory chapters full accounts are given of all preliminary matters. Chapter I opens with a brief reference to the origin of architecture which subject is elaborated in chapters II and LXX and concludes with a table of contents specifying the titles of all the chapters. Chapter II opens with a classification of artists which is followed by a reference to their necessary training and required qualifications; the chapter concludes with a full account of the system of architectural measurements, the sculptural measurements being elaborated in Chapters LVII, LVIII, LIX, LX, LXI, LXII, LXIII, LXV, LXVI. Chapter III opens with the classification of *Vāstu* which is defined as the place where men and gods reside. This includes the ground (*dharā*), buildings (*harmya*), conveyances (*yāna*), and couches (*paryaṅka*). Buildings comprise palaces (*prāsāda*), smaller houses and pavilions (*maṇḍapa*), halls (*sabhā*), storeyed mansions (*śālā*) and theatres (*raṅga*). Conveyances (*yāna*) include carriages (*ādika*), chariots (*syandana*), palanquins and litters (*śibikā*) and cars (*ratha*). Couches comprise cages and nests (*pañjara*), platforms (*mañcali*), swing and hammocks (*mañca*), eightfold seats (*kākāṣṭa*), benches and couches (*phalakāsana*) and bed-steads (*bala-paryaṅka*). Divine thrones for gods and goddesees and royal thrones for kings and queens are elaborated in a later chapter.

The second part of chapter III and chapters IV and V refer to the first object of *Vāstu*, viz. ground, whereupon villages, towns, forts, palaces, temples and houses are built. The level of the ground is variously ascertained and the characteristic vegetation upon the building site is minutely examined. The soil is tested with regard to its contour, colour, odour, features, taste and touch. Chapter VI opens with a description of the principles of dialling and the methods for ascertaining cardinal points by means of a gnomon for the orientation of bulidings, and concludes with technical directions regarding the lines of demarcation in digging trenches for foundations of buildings. Chapter VII deals with site-plans, thirty-two varieties of which are described under so many technical titles. Each of these schemes are divided into a

certain number of square plots each bearing the epithet of a deity, the largest one being partitioned into as many as 1024 square plots, whereupon constructions of various descriptions are conveniently referred to as occasion arises in subsequent chapters. Chapter VIII which concludes the description of preliminary matters deal with customary offerings to the *Vāstu* deities incidentally referred to in the preceding chapter.

Chapters IX, X deal with village-schemes and town-plans. Villages are elaborately described under eight designs, *daṇḍaka*. *sarvatobhadra*, *nandyāvarta*, *padmaka* *svastika*, *prastara*, *kārmuka* and *caturmukha*. Towns are similarly classified under eight types, *rājadhānī*, *nagarī*, *pura*, *nagara*, *kheṭa*, *kharvaṭa*, *kubjaka* and *paṭṭana*, while forts and military camps are described under *śibira*, *vāhinī-mukha*, *sthānīya*, *droṇaka*, *saṁviddha* or *vardhaka*, *kolaka*, *nigama* and *skandhāvāra*, as also under *giri-durga*, *vana-durga*, *jala-durga*, *ratha-durga*, *deva-durga*, *paṅka-durga* and *miśra-durga*. These various plans have been elaborated with minute details and contain directions regarding roads, drains, quarters for various purposes, boundary walls, ditches and moats.

Chapter XI, which is the first of the forty exclusively devoted to architecture proper or house building, opens with a description of the various shapes of different structures classified under *jāti*. *chanda*, *vikalpa* or *saṁkalpa*, and *ābhāsa* groups. Then are described the five proportions of height as compared with width or breadth of different rooms as well as of the whole house under the significant designations, *śāntika* (peaceful), *pauṣṭika* (progressive), *jayada* (victory-giving), *adbhuta* (wonderful) and *sarva-kāmika* (fulfilling all desires). Along with this, five series of length and five series of breadth also are skilfully generalised for different stories of houses, which vary from one to twelve in civil buildings and upto seventeen in *gopuras* or gate-houses attached both to temples and residential and public structures. The chapter concludes with direction regarding the allotment of houses of different storeys to residents of various ranks and in accordance with their social position.

Chapter XII supplies technical and practical instructions regarding the foundations, of which size and depth vary in accordance with the dimensions and the load of structures erected upon them. Twelve series of breadth and length also of the excava-

tion have been skilfully classified. The rock foundation and water foundation have been specially recommended. Excavation is filled with various kinds of root, cereals, rice and earth. The chapter concludes with an account of bricks of which the breadth varies from 5¼ inches to 22½ inches and the length thereof is greater by ¼, ½, or ¾.

Chapters XIII, XIV, XV and XVI describe pillars and their component parts and mouldings. After citing formulae for ascertaining comparative heights of the members, measurements and other details are given of pedestals under three groups (*vedi-bhadra*, *prati-bhadra* and *mañca-bhadra*) of four types each, and of bases under sixty-four types each bearing a technical name. Pillars classified under five main orders, *brahma-kānta*, *viṣṇu-kānta*, *rudra-kānta*, *śiva-kānta* and *skanda-kānta*. Special pillars and capitals are similarly classified under technical epithets. Mouldings and materials are also described in detail. Rules regarding inter columnation are also referred to. Similar particulars are also supplied of the entablature under eight divisions. Chapter XVI concludes with a reference to the roofing of buildings of which further particulars and classification are elaborated in several later chapters. There may be flat roof, sloping roof, round roof and spherical (*śikhara*) type roof.

Chapter XVII supplies a technical description of wood-joining both for the door, etc., of houses and articles of furniture such as coaches, cars, chairs, etc., under the designs like *nandyāvarta*, *svastika*, *sarvatobhadra*, and others.

Chapter XVIII refers to the three main styles, *Nāgara*, *Vesara* and *Drāviḍa* which are noticeable in the general shape of a structure. In this connection are described the features, etc., of the topmost part of a building comprising *śikhara*, *śikhā*, *śikhānta* and *śikhā-maṇi*, porches (*mukha-bhadra*) and sloping roofs (*lupā*). The comparative height of storeys varying from one to twelve are also skilfully classified under several series of dimensions which are specified. An account of all building-materials is also referred to here.

Chapter XIX opens with further general classifications under the groups *jāti*, *chanda*, *vikalpa*, *ābhāsa* ; *sthānaka*, *āsana*, *śayana*

(referring specially to temples) and *saṁcita*, *asaṁcita* and *apa-saṁcita*, masculine, feminine and neuter. Then follows the description of single-storeyed buildings, which, when used as temples, contain the shrines, anteroom, front pavilion in addition to the common members like gatehouse (*gopura*), courts (*prā-kāra*), water-channel, as well as doors and windows. The openings are, however, elaborated later under separate chapters. Temples of the Buddhists and Jainas are also incidentally referred to here, two separate chapters being devoted to them later. The eight types of single-storeyed buildings are treated under eight technical names, *jayantika*, *bhoga*, *śrīviśāla*, *svasti-bandhana*, *śrīkara*, *hasti-pṛṣṭha*, *skanda-tāra* and *kesara*. Similar accounts are given of houses and temples of two storeys under eight types (Chapter XX), three storeys under eight types (Chap. XXI), four storeys under eight types (Chap. XXXI), five storeys under eight types (Chap. XXIII), six storeys under thirteen types (Chap. XXIV), seven storeys under eight types (Chap. XXV), eight storeys under eight types (Chap. XXVI), nine storeys under seven types (Chap. XXVII), ten storeys under six types (Chap. XXVIII), eleven storeys under six types (Chap. XXIX) and twelve storeys under ten types of which the technical names may be quoted, *Pañcāla Dhāvida*, *Madhyakānta*, *Kaliṅga-kānta*, *Virāṭa*, *Kerala* and *Sphūrjaka*. These are geographical names and would point to ten provinces architecturally divided. This Chapter XXX concludes with an elaborate account of staircases including technical instructions regarding dimensions, materials, varieties and component parts.

This general reference is followed by special accounts of important objects and special buildings and the articles of furniture etc. Thus in Chapter XXXV courts and auxiliary buildings of edifices and large temples are described. Five courts (Chap. XXXI) are referred to under the titles of *antarmaṇḍala*, *antaṁhara*, *madhya-maṁhava*, *prākāra* and *mahāmaryāda*. These divisions are recommended both for defence (*rakṣaṇa*) and beauty (*śobhā*) for houses and temples alike and for offerings (*bali*) and attendant deities (*parivāra*) in case of divine structures. The shrines of the attendant deities are elaborated in chapter XXXII and the gate-houses for civil and divine edifices in chapter XX XIII. These gate-houses are classified under five groups as they are attached

to the five courts under the epithets *dvāra-śobha*, *dvāra-śālā*, *dvāra-prāsāda*, *dvāra-harmya* and *Mahāgopura*. Each of these five classes is subdivided again into three sizes. With special reference to their steeple, pinnacle, neckpeak (*gala-kūṭa*) and vestibule gate-houses are further described under the titles *śrībhoga*, *śrīviśāla*, *viṣṇu-kānta*, *indra-kānta*, *brahma-kānta*, *skanda-kānta*, *śikhara*, *saumya-kānta* and two others which are missing. The chapter closes with an elaborate account of windows to be used in all other classes of buildings also. They are designed under various shapes and plans indicated by the figures of *nāga-bandha* (snake-band), vallī (creeper pattern), gavākṣa (cows pattern), *kuñjarākṣa* (elephant's eye), *svaskita* (cross pattern), *sarvatobhadra* (projecting all sides), *nandyāvarta* (geometrical patterns) and *puṣpa-bandha* (flower pattern). They are decorated with floral and foliated ornaments, as well as with decorative devices in imitation of jewels. The width of windows for gate-houses may vary from 2¼ feet to 7½ feet.

Chapter XXXIV deals exhaustively with numerous types of detached buildings, generally single-storeyed, known as pavilions. Thus it refers to houses built in towns and on the countryside, in orchards and gardens, on the sea-shore, on the banks of rivers, lakes, tanks, etc. Pavilions also include those detached buildings erected in the several courts of an edifice and large temple. They also include attached rooms and annexes set aside for instance to serve exclusively as family chapel, kitchen, guest house, bath-room, dining-room, etc. Certain interesting classifications are also made: for instance, pavilions of two faces are called *daṇḍaka*, those of three faces *svastika*, those of four faces *catur-mukha*, those of five faces *sarvato-bhadra*, and those of six faces *maulika*. Elsewhere [1] they are classified according to the number of pillars they are furnished with; thus one possessing 62 pillars is called *subhadra*. and so forth. The chapter closes with a reference to shapes of pavilion which may be in shape triangular, quadrangular, octagonal, sixteen-sided, crescent shaped and round or circular.

Chapter XXXV on the other hand deals with attached rows

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[1] Matsya-Purāṇa, Chap. 264, vv. 13-15,

of buildings joined in various forms and height. They are designated as storeyed mansions but include all large structures to be used both as King's palace and God's temple, although there is a separate chapter dealing exclusively with palaces of the kings of nine different ranks. These storeyed mansions are classified under six types, *daṇḍaka*, *svastika*, *maulika*, *caturmukha*, *sarvatobhadra* and *vardhamāna*. Each of these is again subdivided into several types, the arrangement of the *daṇḍaka* mansion, for instance, which consists of a single row of buildings, is described under eight varieties. The ploughshaped *svastika* group consists of two rows of buildings, the winnowing-shaped *maulika* of three rows, the next group comprises four rows, the fifth group consists of seven rows, and the last group of ten rows. These blocks of buildings varying in number of storeys up to twelve are artistically joined up. These beautiful and colossal mansions are stated to be used not only for gods and kings, but also by Brāhmaṇas, etc., ascetics, Buddhists, warriors, artists and courtesans. The layout, architectural members with dimensions, ornaments and other details are fully described.

In consideration of enormous cost and labour proper precautions are taken for the safety and security of such structures. Correct dimensions are ascertained by the test of six formulae which are introduced in conclusion. The auspicious moment and proper reason for such constructions are also referred to in this chapter in particular.

Chapter XXXVI deals with dimension and situation of houses in different quarters in the compound and courts of large edifices like those described in the preceding chapter. The central spot is generally reserved for a temple or public hall, round which are distributed dwelling houses and other buildings for domestic purposes. The concluding chapter XXXVII of this section refers to house-warming and describes the customary ceremonies in connection with first entry into the house.

Chapters XXXVIII and XXXIX specially deal with the location and measurement of the door which is an important member in all classes of houses inasmuch as on it depends the comfort and convenience as well as the health of dwellers. Similarly chapters XL, XLI, XLII deal exhaustively with royal palaces and

incidentally with the characteristics of the kings who are classified under nine ranks in consideration of their palaces, thrones, crowns, courts and entourage, cars and chariots, etc. In a descending order they are called *Cakravartin*, *Mahārāja*, (or *adhirāja*) *Mahendra* (or *Narendra*), *Pārṣṇika*, *Paṭṭadhara*, *Maṇḍaleśa*, *Paṭṭabhāj*, *Prāhāraka* and *Astragrāhin*. In the compound and outside as well as in different courts of palaces are described with detail the numerous auxiliary buildings including offices, royal residences, quarters for officials, priests, guests, gardens, parks, orchards, tanks, arenas, animals and birds, attendants, etc.

The remaining chapters (XLIII–L) on architecture excepting the one (XLVII) deal with articles of furniture and ornaments for the body of the gods, goddesses, kings, queens and ordinary men and women. Chap. XLVII refers to theatres built both as part of palaces and temples, as well as independent playhouse. The green room, theatre proper, and auditorium with distribution of seats are described.

Chapter XLIII opens with minute constructional details of cars and chariots, and refers to wheels and platforms, etc., and their component parts like navel, axle, axle-band, axle-bolt, linch-pin, hole and others. With regard to forms or number of platforms and porches (*bhadra*) they are divided into seven types, *nabhasvad-bhadraka*, *prabhañjana-bhadraka*, *nivāta-bhadraka*, *pavana-bhadraka*, *pṛṣada-bhadraka*, *candraka-bhadraka* and *anila-bhadraka*. There is a further geographical division in consideration of the style into five, *Nāgara*, *Drāviḍa*, *Vesara*, *Āndhra* and *Kaliṅga*.

Chapter XLIV describes and supplies constructional details of couches and seats for ordinary use. And Chapter XLV similarly describes the special seat called thrones which are distinguished into ten varieties and assigned to gods, goddesses, kings and queens of different ranks. Their main designs are indicated by their technical names, *padmāsana*, (lotus pattern) *padma-kesara*, *padma-bhadra*, *śrībhadra*, *śrīviśāla*, *śrībandha*, *śrī-mukha bhadrāsana*, *padma-bandha* and *pādabandha*.

Chapters XLVI and XLVIII describe two decorative and constructional devices specially for the thrones referred to in the preceding chapter. The former of these two chapters deals with arches which admit of various shapes, circular, triangular,

crescent-shaped, and bow-shaped. When used for ornamental purposes only they are designated as *patra-toraṇa* (foliated arch) *puṣpa-toraṇa* (floral arch), *ratna-toraṇa* (jewelled arch) and *citra-toraṇa* or arches containing images, etc., of semi-divine beings and mythological figures. Some are supported by leographs which are placed on both sides of the pillars supporting the pillar. Chap. XLVIII supplies all constructional details of the *Kalpa-vṛkṣa* (all producing tree) which is used as a special decoration for arches, pavilions, sheds, etc. The branches, etc., of the tree and figures of deities, semi-divine gods, and monkeys, etc., are placed in the intervals.

Chapter XLIX supplies a detailed description of the crowns for gods, goddesses, kings, and queens. They are classified into various types, *jaṭā*, *mauli*, *kirīṭa*, *karaṇḍa*, *śirastraka*, *karaṇḍa* (or *kuntala*). *keśabandha*, *dhammilla*, *alaka*, *cūḍā*, *mukuṭa* and *paṭṭa* with three varieties of *patra-paṭṭa*, *ratna-paṭṭa*, and *puṣpapaṭṭa*. Particulars of all these together with the number of jewels and gems assigned to each are fully given to facilitate construction. The distribution of these among the divine and royal wearers is also referred to. At the outset is given a list of presents to be given to the architect and other artists. The chapter closes with an account of the ceremonies in connection with the royal coronation.

Chapter L describes numerous ornaments and articles of furniture. The former include ornaments for decoration of the head, ear, neck, chest, breast, buttock, navelzone, thighzone, leg, feet, toes, root and upper and lower arm, wrist, palms, and fingers, etc. Thirty items of bodily ornaments are described in detail. The articles of furniture include lamppost, fan, mirror, basket, chest, box, swing, palanquin, balance, cages and nests for domestic birds and animals. In this connection a list of some fifteen birds and animals including alligator and tiger are mentioned. Constructional details including materials and measurements of each of the ornament and furniture are given in detail. Thus is closed the section on architcture proper.

Chapter LI is first of the 20 chapters devoted to sculpture. It opens with an account of the nine materials of which images are made, viz. gold, silver, copper, stone, wood, stucco, grit, glass and terracota. All constructional details of making idols with such materials are supplied. Full descriptions of the Triad,

Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva are given. They are measured in the largest type while their consorts in the middle type of *daśatāla* measures. In this measure the whole image is ten (daśa) times of its face. Particulars of this and other sculptural measures are elaborated latter. Crowns, thrones, pedestals, and bodily ornaments of these images are elaborately described.

Chapter LII deals with the Phalli of Śiva and Chap. LIII with the altars or pedestal thereof. Several varieties of both are described with details to facililate their carving. Similar particulars are given in chapter LIV of the leading classes of goddesses like Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī, Lakṣmī, Mahī, Mana-unmādini, and Durgā, and of semi-divine mothers comprising Vārāhi, Kaumārī, Cāmuṇḍī, Bhairavī, Māhendrī, Vaiṣṇavī, and Brahmāṇī. The characteristic attributes and poses, as well as the complexions, garments, ornaments and decorations, etc., of each of these images are supplied together with the system of their measurements.

Chapter LV on Jain images opens with an elaborate account of various systems of sculptural measurement. The six kinds of linear measurement include *māna* (height), *pramāṇa* (breadth), *parimāṇa* (girth or circumference), *lambamāna* (length along plumb-lines), *māna* (length of the surface of an image), *unmāna* (thickness or diameter), and *upamāna* (interspace between any two limbs). The primary measurement or *ādimāna* is the comparative measurement of an image as compared with the breadth of its temple, height of the sanctum, height of the door, height of the chief worshipper, height of the riding animal or vehicle, height of the principal idol and the height of the base or pedestal or plinth, and as given in cubit, *aṅgula* and *tāla* system. The *aṅgula* measure admits of four varieties, of which the one called *mānāṅgula* measures ¾ inch, *berāṅgula* is the measure taken by the finger-breadth of the main idol and *matiaṅgula* by the middle finger-breadth of the master or the chief worshipper. *Dehāṅgula* implies one of the equal parts into which the length of an image is divided as in the *tāla* system. There are as many as ten to twelve varieties of *tāla* system, distinguished by the number of ṭimes the total height of an image is of its own face. The right proportion and dimension are ascertained by the test of six *āyādi* formulae.

The characteristic features of the Jain deities are elaborated together with their attendants, Nārada and other sages, Yakṣas Vidyādharas, Siddhas, Nāgendras, Lokapālas, and Jain saints or twentyfour Tīrthaṁkaras. Similar particulars of Buddhist images including the Buddha and Bodhisattvas are given in Chapter LVI.

Chapter LVII describes the characteristic features, *tāla* measures and other constructional details including complexion, attributes, pose and attitude of the seven leading sages who comprise Agastya. Kāśyapa, Bhṛgu, Vasiṣṭha, Bhārgava, Viśvāmitra, and Bharadvāja. Similar details are given in chapter LVIII of the semidivine and semihuman beings, Yakṣas, Vidyādharas, Gandharvas, and Kinnaras. Chapter LIX describes similarly the human beings classified under four classes of devotees known as Sālokya, Sāmīpya, Sārūpya and Sāyujya.

Chapters LX, LXI, LXII and LXIII deal with similar sculptural details of animals and birds comprising the goose, the garuḍa bird, the bull and the lion. These are the traditional vehicles of gods and goddesses. The images of other animals, birds and fishes, etc., are incidentally referred to by way of illustrating the *tāla* measures of smaller dimensions. Elsewhere [1] it is summarised that fish is measured in one *tāla* system, birds in two *tāla*, Kinnaras in three *tāla*, *bhūtas* in four *tāla*, *Gaṇas* (Gaṇeśa) in five *tāla*, tigers in six *tāla*, Yakṣas in seven *tāla*, man in eight *tāla*, Dānavas in nine *tāla*, superhuman beings and Buddhas in ten *tāla*, gods in eleven *tāla*, and Rākṣasas in twelve *tāla*.

Chapters LXIV, LXV, LXVI, LXVII, LXVIII deal with those highly technical details which have not been referred to in connection with the general description of images. Chapter LXIV reiterates the comparative measures of images by adding that the dimension of an attendant deity may be ascertained by a comparison with the phallus of Śiva, main Viṣṇu image, width of the sanctum, breadth of the main temple, height of the main door, flagstaff, basement, pillar, chief worshipper, or in cubit, *aṅgula*, and *tāla* measure. In this connection groups of eight, sixteen and thirty-two attendant deities who are housed in subsidiary shrines in the compound of a large Viṣṇu temple are men-

[1] See the writer's Encyclopaedia of Architecture under Tāla Māna.

tioned. And the details of the *āyādi* formulae which have been incidentally referred to before are eleborated here. Similarly the details of the large type of ten *tāla* system are elaborated in Chapter LXV and those of the middle type in Chapter LXVI. In the large type comparative measurement of 144 parts of the body of an image is given, while in the middle 92 items are mentioned. In previous chapters such items of the small type of ten *tāla* as well as of the other *tāla* have been supplied. In chapter LXVII the method of drawing as many as eleven plumb lines over the surface and through an image for purposes of measuring interspace, etc., is elucidated. This chapter also makes a special reference to the three poses, *sthānaka* (erect), *āsana* (sitting) and *śayana* recumbent ; and to several poses (*bhaṅgas*), such as *samabhaṅga* (even flexion), *ābhaṅga* (slight flexion), *tribhaṅga* (three flexions) and *atibhaṅga* (excessive flexion). The *āsana* posture includes varieties like *padmāsana*, *bhadrāsana*, *vajrāsana*, *svastikāsana*, *yogāsana*, etc.

Chapter LXIX supplies a warning against defective constructions, and specifies certain penalties or misfortune which may follow the defects in foundations, walls, roofs, towers, spires, columns, staircases, and doors and other openings. Chapter LXX describes the chiselling of the eye of an image and the setting of precious stones in the different parts of the phallus of Śiva and other images.

This last chapter of the work closes with the reiteration that this science of architecture was originally described by Brahmā, Indra and all other gods, and that the *Mānasāra* has been composed on the basis of those authorities.

The methodical treatment, the scientific arrangement, and the completeness of the subject matters are obvious. The preliminary matters include all systems of architectural and sculptural measures, which incidentally justify the significance of its title, *Mānasāra* or *Essence of Measurement*, training and required qualifications of different classes of artists, selection of site, testing of soil, planning, designing, finding out cardinal points for orientation, and astronomical, meteorological and astrological calculations. The treatment of architectural objects comprises villages, towns, forts, etc., joinery, dimensions, foundations, pillars, storeys,

all attached and detached buildings, gate houses, porches, balconies, verandahs, floors, roofs, compartments, halls, chambers, doors, windows, steps and staircases, courtyards, quadrangles, arches, screen works, and articles of furniture, crowns and other bodily ornaments, and sculptural objects include the idols of the Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, statues of great personages, and images of animals and birds.

In form the work is made of metrical verses to facilitate memorisation, but the language is faulty both as regards grammar and metre, not to speak of figures of speech. It naturally abounds in rare and technical words. There is clear evidence that the work was brought out for practical purposes by some practising *śilpin* possessing large and skilful experience of actual work.

Owing to the deliberate concealment of the author's identity the exact dating of the treatise has become a matter of speculation All possible evidences have been thoroughly discussed elsewhere.[1] Nothing more precise is available than the probable date, B. C. 25, of the treatise of the Roman architect, Vitruvius, with which the *Mānasāra* has been shown to be similar in many respects.[2] In 1927 the latest limit was fixed at 500 A. D. In the meantime no newer materials have been discovered except that the Mānasāra series comprising seven volumes are completed.[3] I am now inclined to bring the *Mānasāra* close to the Vitruvius's treatise and ascribe the indebtedness of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya to the *Mānasāra* for architectural matters[4] and place the *Mānasāra-Vāstuśāstra* before the *Arthaśāstra.*

1 Writer's 'Indian Architecture' 1927, pp. 160–198. Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad, 1939, pp. 240–282.

2 Ibid. pp. 134–159 and pp. 210–239.

3 Vol. I — A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture (1927)
Vol. II — Indian Architecture according to Mānasāra Śilpaśāstra (1927).
Vol. III — Mānasāra-Sanskrit text with Cricital Notes (1934).
Vol. IV — Architecture of Mānasāra-translation in English (1934).
Vol. V — Architecture of Mānasāra-Plates (1934).
Vol. VI — Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad (1942).
Vol. VII — An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture (1942).
Cf Prof. Keith : A History of Sanskrit Literature, 1928, p. 461.

LATER TREATISES

For civilized eastern people dwelling houses, sepulchres and temples being more important than even food, there has been an extraordinary popularity of architecture in India. This feeling has been expressed unmistakably in all classes and branches of our literature. Thus there was a mushroom growth of architectural treatises of various sizes and topics. A large number of manuscripts running to several hundreds have been reviewed elsewhere.[1] Only a selected few may be mentioned here in an alphabetical order.

Agastyasakalādhikāra, Āgāravinoda, Āyatattva, Āyādilakṣaṇa, Ārāmādipratiṣṭhā-paddhati, Kāśyapīya-Kūpādi-jalasthāna-lakṣaṇa, Kautuka-lakṣaṇa, Kriyāsaṁgraha-pañcikā, Kṣīrārṇava, Kṣetra-nirṇaya-vidhi, Gārgya-saṁhitā, Gṛhanirūpaṇa, Saṁkṣepa-gṛha-nirmāṇa-vidhi, Gṛha-pīṭhikā, Gṛhavāstupradīpa, Gṛhārambha, Gopura-nirmāṇādi-lakṣaṇa, Grāmanirṇaya, Ghaṭṭotsargaśucanika, Caṅkraśāstra, Cittra-karmaśilpaśāstra, Cittra-paṭa, Cittra-lakṣaṇa, Cittra-sūtra, Jayamādhava, Mānasollāsa, Jalārgala, Jñānaratna-kośa, Taccusāstra, Tārā-lakṣaṇa, Daśatala-nyagrodha, Parimaṇḍala, Buddhapratimā-lakṣaṇa, Daśa-prākāra, Dīkṣādhāna, Dīrghavistāraprākāra, Devatā-śilpa Devālaya-lakṣaṇa Dvāra-lakṣaṇapaṭala, Dhrūvādi-ṣoḍaśa-geha, Nārada-saṁhitā, Nabha-śāstra, Pakṣi-manuṣyālaya-lakṣaṇa, Pañca-rātra-(pra) dīpikā, Piṇḍaprākāra, Pīṭha-lakṣaṇa, Pratimā-dravyādi-vācana, Pratimāmāna-lakṣaṇa, Pratiṣṭhātattva, Pratiṣṭhā-tantra, Prāsāda-kalpa, Prāsāda-kīrtana, Prāsāda-dīpikā, Prāsāda-Maṇḍana-Vāstuśāstra, Prāsāda-lakṣaṇa, Prāsādālaṁkāra-lakṣaṇa, Bimba-māna, Buddha-pratimā-lakṣaṇa, Maṭha-pratiṣṭhā-tattva, Manuṣyālaya-candrikā, Manuṣyālayalakṣaṇa, Mantradīpikā, Mayamata, Mānakathana, Mānavavāstu-lakṣaṇa, Mānasollāsa, Mānasollāsa-vṛttānta-prakāśa, Mūrtidhyāna, Mūrti-lakṣaṇa, Mūlastambha-nirṇaya, Ratna-dīpikā, Ratna-Mālā, Rāja-gṛhanirmāṇa, Rājaballabhaṭīkā, Rāśiprakaṭa, Rūpa-Maṇḍana, Lakṣaṇa-samuccaya, Laghu-śilpa-jyotiṣa, Laghu-śilpa-jyotisāra, Balipīṭha-lakṣaṇa, Vāstucakra, Vāstu-tattva, Vāstunirṇaya, Vāstupuruṣa-lakṣaṇa. Vāstu-prakāśa, Vāstu-pradīpa, Vāstu-prabandha, Vāstu-mañjarī, Vāstu-maṇḍana, Vāstuyoga-tattva, Vāstu-ratna-pradīpa, Vāstu-ratnāvalī, Vāstu-

[1] Writer's Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, Appendix I, pp. 479-804.

Rāja-Ballabha, Vāstu-laksaṇa, Vāstu-vicāra, Vāstu-vidyā, Vāstu-vidhi, Vāstu-śāstra, Vāstu-śāstra-Samarāngaṇa-sūtra-dhāra, Vāstu-śiromaṇi, Vāstu-samuccaya, Vāstu-saṁkhyā, Vāstu-saṁgraha, Vāstu-sarvasva, Vāstu-sāra, Vāstu-saraṇī, Vāstu-sāra-sarvasva-saṁgraha, Vimāna-laksaṇa, Viśvakarma-mata, Viśvakarma-jñāna, Viśvakarma-purāṇa, Viśva-karma-prakāśa, Viśvakarma-saṁpradāya, Viśvakarmīya-śilpaśāstra, Viśva-vidyābharaṇa, Vedānta-sāra, Vaikhānasa, Vaikhānasa-niyama, Śāstrajaladhi-ratna, Śilpakalā-dīpakā, Śilpa-grantha, Śilpa-dīpaka, Śilpa-nighaṇṭu, Śilpa-lekha, Śilpa-śāstra Śilpa-śāstra-sāra-saṁgraha, Śilpa-sarvasva-saṁgraha, Śilpa-saṁgraha, Śilpa-sāra, Śilpārtha-śāstra, Śilpi-śāstra, Ṣaṭvedikā-saṁdhāna, Sakalādhikāra, Sanatkumāra-Vāstu-śāstra, Sarva-vihārya-yantra, Saṁgraśiromaṇi, Sārasvatīya-śilpaśāstra, Sthala-śubhāśubha-kathana, and Hastapramāṇa.

The titles of some of these works will indicate their scanty contents. Only a few manuscripts have been so far printed. No critical edition of these printed works has been yet attempted. No dates of these printed works have been even vaguely indicated. These do not admit of a proper valuation. But one thing is certain that they are very late texts and come long after the *Mānasāra*. The *Mayamata-Śilpaśāstra* [1] is easily the best known of these later treatises. It is attributed to one Gannamācārya. It is completed in 34 chapters. In respect of the titles of chapters, their sequence, contents and method of treatment the *Mayamata* runs exactly like the *Mānasāra*. In chapter 22 of the former chapters XXII-XXX of the latter are abridged. So also chapter 30 of the former is an abridgement of chapters XXXVIII and XXXIX of the latter. The sculptural matters which occupy some twenty chapters in the *Mānasāra* are abridged in four chapters 33-36 of the *Mayamata*. Chapters I-XXI, XLI, XLII, XLV to L of the *Mānasāra* have been omitted as matter of detail in the *Mayamata*. It is thus not merely a reduction of the *Mānasāra* but is simplified by the omission of the details also. [2]

The *Śilparatna* of Śrīkumāra has been published in two parts. [3]

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[1] Ed. Gaṇapati Śāstry, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. LXV, 1919.

[2] For further details see the writer's 'Hindu Architecture' 1927, pp. 92-95. 'Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad,' pp. 159-161.

[3] Ed. Part I, Shastri, Ibid. No. LXXV.
Part II, Sambasiva Shastri, Ibid, No. XCVIII, 1929.

The first contains 46 chapters of which the first 45 deal with architectural matters and the last one with painting. The second part contains 34 chapters, of which the first 30 deal with sculpture and the last four with architecture. Most of these 80 chapters are a literal abridgment of the *Mānasāra*. But the *Śilparatna* shows confused borrowing. The originals have been distorted. The arrangement of chapters lacks in method and reason. Srīkumāra appears to have stolen unscrupulously, and in order to conceal his indebtedness has vainly endeavoured by displacing the original order and by distributing the contents of one chapter of the *Mānasāra* under several headings in the *Śilparatna*.[1]

The next treatise, attributed to Kaśyapa, bears double titles. The first 68 chapters are named *Maheśvara-upadiṣṭam-Kāśyapa-śilpam*, and the last 18 are called *Aṁśumad-bheda* of Kāśyapa.[2] In this treatise architecture proper is treated in chapters 1–45 and 85–86. These forty seven chapters are similar to the first fifty chapters of the *Mānasāra*. The *Aṁśumad-bheda* deals with sculptural objects in thirty-nine chapters in place of twenty chapters of the *Mānasāra*, each of many epithets of Śiva mentioned in chapters LII and LIII a whole chapter is devoted *Aṁśumadbheda*. The *Mānasāra* must have largely influenced this work.[3]

The fragmentary treatise, *Vāstuvidyā*, has been published[4] without even its author's name. It completes itself in 16 chapters referring only to the preliminary matters and practically excluding all architectural and sculptural objects. Chapters II, III, IV, V of the *Mānasāra* have been summarised here in Chapters 1, 2. Similarly chapters 3, 4 are an abridgment of Chapters VII and VIII. The remaining chapters 5 to 16, excluding 8 deal with auxiliary matters like platform or pedestal, auspicious moment, measurement of pillars, sloping roof, screen work to prevent dust, doors, windows, entry into the house and the connected ceremonies. Chapter 8 only refers to houses. Another fragmentary publication, *Manuṣyālaya-caḍrikā* is completed in 7 chapters,

[1] For further details see the writer's 'Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad' pp. 176–177.

[2] Ed. Krishna Sarma, Anandashrama Sanskrit Series, No. 95, 1926.

[3] For details see the writer's 'Hindu, Architecture' 1927, pp. 92–95, 'Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad,' 1942, pp. 162-165.

[4] Ed. Gaṇapati Śāstry, Ibid, No. XXX, 1913.

2 of which do not bear any title. It professes to deal with only dwelling houses. In Chapter 1 it summarises the contents of Chapters III, IV, V of the *Mānasāra*. Chapter 2 refers to the cardinal points elaborated in Chapter VI of the *Mānasāra*. Chapters 3-6 are a summary of Chapters XI, XVIII, XIX of the *Mānasāra* and Chapter 7 condenses everything concerning dwelling houses, wells and tanks from several chapters of the *Mānasāra*. A pamphlet named *Vāsturatnāvali*[1] is a still smaller text compiled in a haphazard manner from several published works and does not deal with any object in particular. The *Pratimā-lakṣaṇa*[2] is a similar compilation dealing with images and is completed in 143 verses. It very briefly refers to certain measures of the fourth, sixth, seventh, eighth and tenth *tālas* and to certain defects and repairs.

The *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* of king Bhojadeva has been published in two parts.[3] This is in a sense a historical work because the King Bhoja of Dhārā ruled from 1018 to 1060 in Malwa. Besides the title implies that the unnamed text was compiled by an architect called Samarāṅgaṇa. The work contains 83 chapters, of which the last 13 deal with architecture. The confused manner of the compilation may be exemplified by the title *Aṅga-dūṣaṇa-vidhāna* (Chapter LXIX of the *Mānasāra*) is translated as *Doṣa-guṇa-nirūpaṇa*. There is no logical sequence or order in the arrangement of the chapters. The contents of one chapter of the *Mānasāra* have been unnecessarily distributed in several chapters by Samarāṅgaṇa. The patron being a king and the primary object being the royal palaces, some twentyone chapters (49-70) have been devoted to different matters connected with the royal residence. These matters more logically have been arranged in two or three chapters of the *Mānasāra*. Similar multiplication of chapters may be detected at the beginning, where different chapters on the origin of the world and on the arrival of the heavenly architects have been elaborated from the first four lines of the *Mānasāra*. The influence of the *Mānasāra* over this text also is clear beyond doubt.

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[1] Ed. Jivanath, Radhakrishna Press, Benares, 1918.

[2] Ed. P. N. Bose, Greater India Series, No. 5, 1927.

[3] Ed. Gaṇapati Sāstri, Gaekwad Oriental Series, No, XXV, XXXII, 1924, 1925.

II. MAHĀBHĀRATA NOTES *

BY

VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

१ प्राकारवप्रकुण्डल

In the Virāṭa-parvan 10.1 (Critical Edition) occurs the following verse:

अथापरोऽदृश्यत रूपसंपदा
स्त्रीणामलंकारधरो बृहत्पुमान् ।
प्राकारवप्रे प्रतिमुच्य कुण्डले
दीर्घे च कम्बू परिहाटके शुभे ॥

Arjuna as Bṛhannaḍā appears in female disguise wearing ornaments which consisted of a pair of *kuṇḍalas* and a pair of beautiful golden bracelets. The phrase *prākāra-vapra* qualifying *kuṇḍala* appears to have presented much difficulty. Amongst the variant readings we find that the only Kaśmīrī manuscript written in Śāradā characters available for this parvan substitutes प्राकारवक्षः for प्राकारवप्रे, but it stands alone in this reading, which appears to be an emendation of the original knotty text. The redactor perhaps ingeniously thought that प्राकार and वप्र being synonyms, one of them was superfluous; and since प्राकार does lend itself as a suitable उपमान for a hero's ideal chest, the correction naturally suggested itself. The three Devanāgarī manuscripts (DI-3) got rid of the difficulty by changing the text to स्थित्वा च वप्रे, which conveys little sense in the present context. It should be mentioned, however, that the remaining nine Devanāgarī manuscripts collated for the Critical Edition faithfully adhere to the old text tradition by retaining प्राकारवप्रे, although its satisfactory explanation may not have been grasped. The South Indian recensions, evidently to obviate the difficulty of suitably explaining प्राकारवप्रे, changed it to प्रवालचित्रे, which is of poor value from the point of view of an original reading. The learned Editor of the Critical Edition of the Virāṭa-parvan must

* Continued from *A. B. O. R. I.* Vol. XXI, pp. 280-284.

be congratulated for retaining प्राकारवप्रे as the traditional text, although he does so with a wavy underline. This reading, besides respecting the overwhelming testimony of the manuscripts is by far the best and the happiest for illuminating the verse with an original beautiful meaning.

The term प्राकारवप्रे as the qualifying epithet of an ear ornament was used in a technical sense as the name of a particular kind of *kuṇḍalas*. This type of *kuṇḍala* is common in the ears of the male and the female figures at Bharhut and Sanchi and in other places where specimens of early Indian art are preserved. This ornament consists of a prominent square plaque seen in front of the ear, to which a projection with two spiral turns is attached at the back and worn in the earlobe. Its front portion is adorned with the design of a four-petalled flower. Clear examples of such ear ornaments can be seen in Cunningham's Bharhut, plate XXII showing the Yakṣas, Kubera and Suciloma and the Yakṣī Candā, and plate XXIII illustrating Sirimā Devatā, Culakokā Devatā and the Yakṣiṇī Sudaśanā, the last named figure showing the *kuṇḍala* and its arrangement in the ear quite distinctly. A pair of such *kuṇḍalas* is also shown separately inside a Kalpalatā meander[1] at Bharhut and is illustrated on plate XLVIII, fig. E. 8 of Cunningham's book. Cunningham has also reproduced an enlarged sketch of the same on plate XLIX, figs. 13, 14. A beautiful male head shown inside a full blown rosette illustrates the same type of ear ornament (Bharhut, plate XXIV. fig. 1).

These figures are dateable in the 2nd century B. C. A still older statue of a colossal Yakṣa from Parkham (Mathurā Museum) also shows this feature. It is also noteworthy that this kind of ear ornament *prākāra–varpa kuṇḍala* is not met with in Indian art after the Śuṅga period. In the sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period the *kuṇḍalas* generally assume the form of pendants;

[1] The motif of the Kalpalatā or Kalpavṛkṣa producing various ornaments *ābharaṇas* or *bhūṣaṇa–vikalpa* is an ancient conception referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa (Kiṣkindhā, 43. 45), Mahāvāṇija Jātaka (Vol. IV. p. 352), Meghadūta (II. 11). For other examples of *Prākāra–vapra kuṇḍala* issuing from Kalpalatā bends shown at Bharhut, *see* Plate XL–A–B. 3, XLI–B. C. 6, XLII–C. E. 2, XLV-E. 3, XLVIII–E. 5 and E. 8 of Cunningham's *Bharhut*.

FIG. 1

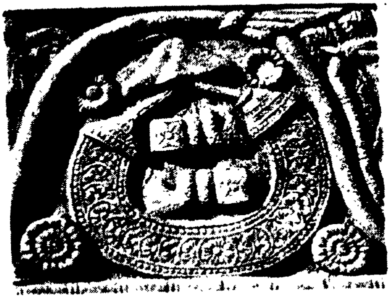


FIG. 2

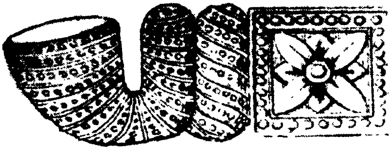


FIG. 3

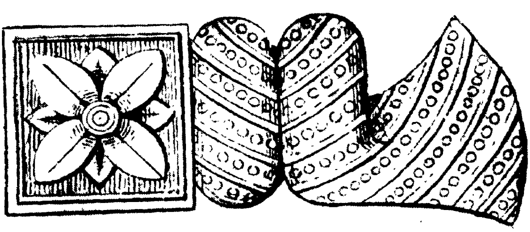


Fig. 1 Kalpalatā meander producing a pair of Prākāravapra Kuṇḍalas
Figs. 2–3 Sketches of Prākāravapra Kuṇḍalas from Cun. Bharhut Pl. XLIX.

FIG. 4



Chulakoka Devatā
wearing *Prākāravapra* Kuṇḍala.

more or less cylindrical in shape. The fashions changed again during the Gupta period when we find in sculpture and painting ear-rings of heavy discular shape resembling a wheel, which Kālidāsa has referred to in the Kumārasambhava (IX. 23) as *tāṭaṅkacakra* (रथस्य कर्णावभि तन्मुखस्य ताटङ्कचक्रद्वितयं न्यधात्सः।), with which Śiva adorned the ears of his beloved consort Pārvatī. Another kind of ear-rings in vogue in the Gupta period was the *makara-kuṇḍala*.

Literary descriptions are generally illustrated in the art specimens of each age, and if properly understood and correlated with the preserved examples of sculpture, painting and terracotta may prove valuable for providing chronological data. The epithet *prākāra-vapra* in relation to *kuṇḍala* implies a comparison between the abrupt height of the rampart or city-wall (*prākāra*) and the cubical front portion of the ear ornament as seen on the oldest statues in India. Some of the city-walls incidentally shown in sculpture possess a coping decorated with a band of four-petalled flowers exactly similar to that decorating the *kuṇḍalas.* This can be seen in the representation of the city of Benares at Amarāvatī illustrated by Dr. Commaraswamy in his *Early Indian Architecture.* I Cities and Citygates, Fig. 13.

In ancient architecture the *prākāra* and *vapra* go together. As stated by Dr. Coomaraswamy, "On the city side of the moat rises the wall (*pākāra*, Skt. *prākāra*), from a foundation or plinth (*vapra*)" [Ibid. p. 213]. In the same place he says that *vapra* and *prākāra* are sometimes treated as synonyms (Acharya, Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, 534), but in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra we have वप्रस्योपरि प्राकारम् i. e. the *prākāra* (wall) was raised on the *vapra* (plinth). Dr. Otto Stein has also observed that the texts and the respective descriptions in literature are not always strict in distinguishing the *vapra* and *prākāra* (*Artha-śāstra and Śilpaśāstra*, Archiv Orientalni, Vol. 7, p. 483.).

Some specialised investigation is needed to arrive at the exact significance of the two words in earlier and later literatures. But it appears that the distinction in their meaning was later on missed and the two began to be treated as synonyms. In the compound phrase *prākāra-vapra, vapra* seems to resemble the spiral attachment and *prākāra* the cubical block portion of the

heavy *kuṇḍalas* familiar to us in the sculptures of the Maurya and Śuṅga periods.

It may be noted that the word *parihāṭaka* is used twice to qualify *kambū* or a pair of bracelets, which must have been made of gold (Virāṭa, 10.1,5); and again twice to describe the *kuṇḍalas* worn by Arjuna (Virāṭa, 15. 2 ; 18-19). The expression परिहाटके कुण्डले of the Mahābhārata reminds us of the graphic reference to such *kuṇḍalas* by Patañjali as खदिराङ्गारसवर्णे कुण्डले [Mahābhāṣya ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 7] and by Manu as शुभे रौक्मे च कुण्डले (IV. 36).

THE DINDIMA POETS OF MULLANDRAM AND THE KINGS OF VIJAYANAGAR

BY

A. N. KRISHNA AIYANGAR

1 The Dindima Bhattas of Mullandram, popularly known as the Gauda Dindima Bhattas must have settled in South India centuries before the empire of Vijayanagar came into existence. The prominence to which they rose during the days of the Vijayanagar emperors is something unique. The descendants of the family successively enjoyed the patronage of the Vijayanagar rulers, as the history of the times recorded in inscriptions and copper plates. In spite of the internal feuds and changing of the dynasties at the centre at Vijayanagar, the life of the poets seems to have gone on uninterrupted. Nor was the rancour of feuds carried into this field. An instance in point may be cited. One member of the Dindima family wrote the *Śāluvābhyudaya*[1] describing the life and achievements of Naraśiṅga Śāluva. A later member of the same family wrote the life and achievements of Acyutarāya, the brother and successor of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya of the Tuluva dynasty.[2] An ancestor of this family, one Aruṇagirinātha is said to have been the bosom friend of Prauḍha Devarāya II.[3]

[1] The *Śāluvābhyudaya* is available in Manuscript in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras under DC No. 11818 and 11819. Extracts from this have been published in the *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, 1919, pp 30-3 ; 90-102.

[2] The *Acyutarāyābhyudayam* was written by one Rājanātha Dindima during the time of Acyutarāya. The first six cantos have been printed by the Vanī Vilās Press, Srirangam. I am now editing Cantos 7-12 for the Adyar Library.

[3] *Vibhāgaratnamālikā* :

Sa Prauḍhadevaḥ Kavirāḍasau ca
Snehāturāvekamanaḥprasārau ।
Śarīrabhedam ca samīcikīrṣū
Tulyāmbarasragvalayāvabhūtām ॥

The manuscript is available in the Government Oriental Library, Madras. Professor Nilakanta Sastri was kind enough to get a transcript of the work made for me in 1935.

2 Such is the distinguished position of this family. But the evidence as furnished by the inscriptions of the period is not what one would desire it to be. Only two of them have been published[1] and one of the important records–a copper plate grant of Bukkarāya mentioned in the Mackenzie manuscripts,, is available only in an index of the *Inscriptions of Southern Districts.*[2] Thanks to the efforts of Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri who has been kind enough to institute a search for the plate, it may become available. Our records will be complete only when this plate is found and full details are available.

3 According to the traditional account preserved in one of the Sanskrit works called *Vibhāgaratnamālīkā*[3] the ancestors of the Diṇḍimas migrated from the banks of the Ganges to the Cola country in the days of the Cola kings, and settled in a village granted to them by the then Cola king. The grant was a *sarvamānya* and the village so granted was called *Mañcagrāma* or *Talpagrāma* or *Rājanāthapura* after the deity installed therein.[4] The Rāyas of Belur were their patrons and the account does not mention anything more about the Rāyas of Belur.

4 Coming to later times, the members of the family were granted the village of Attiyūr by Bukkarāya of Vijayanagar, under the guidance of the sage Vidyāraṇya.[5] In the same reign

1 *South Indian Inscriptions*. Vol. VII, pp. 25–26.

2 V. Rangachari. *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, p. 96,

3 The *Vibhāgaratnamālikā* bears, Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Madras, R. No. 1738 (d)

4 *Vibhāgaratnamālikā* :

Verse 15 :

Tuṇḍīramaṇḍalamahāmaṇimaṇṭapasya
Talpāyamānavaratalpagireṣtu paścāt ।
* * * * *
Colaścakāra ruciram pṛthumagrahāram ॥

Verse 17 :

Sarvepi sarvairapi mānyatāyām
Svagrāmamāpuḥ kila sarvamānyam ।
* * * * *

Verse 18 :

Rājanāthapure tatra Rājanāthābhidham Sivam ।

5 Ibid., Verse 45 :

विद्यारण्यदयारसार्द्रवपुषा विश्वार्थविश्राणिना
विष्णुब्रह्मशिवालयान्रचयता श्रीबुक्कभूपात्मना ।

ten families of the Diṇḍimas migrated to *Navagrāma* which was originally established by a Cola king. [1]

5 The most important account mentioned by the *Vibhāgaratnamālikā* is the grant of an *ārāma* or nandanavana near the same Navagrāma to Aruṇagirinātha, the greatest and most important member of the family, by Prauḍha Devarāya II of Vijayanagar. [2] The account, as given in the manuscript, is highly coloured. Aruṇagirinātha, the donee desired to share it with all his relations. [3] The village was therefore duly partitioned among the seventy families, then existing. The village came to be called *Mūlāṇḍam, Prauḍhadevapuram Dīṇḍimālayam Trimaṇḍalam* and *Sārvabhaumapuram*. It was *Mūlāṇḍam* because it was the abode of *Mūlas* or wise men; since Sārvabhauma Kavi Aruṇagirinātha was the donee who made the village it was *Sārvabhaumapuram*; as Prauḍhadeva granted it, it was Prauḍhadevapuram; and as the villagers of the three villages of Attiyūr, Puttūr, and Mettapādi lived in the new village, it was known as Trimaṇḍalam; an alternative explanation was offered that as the Brahmans of the village were connected with all the three lands of the Colas, Ceras and Pāṇḍyas the village was given the name of Trimaṇḍalam; because every member of the families which lived in the village had the general name of Diṇḍima it went by the name *Diṇḍimālaya* or the abode of the Diṇḍimas. [4]

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1 Ibid., verse 50:

चोलप्रतिष्ठिते ग्रामे नवग्रामसमीरिते ।
इत आक्रम्य वाचाभिः कर्षणैः पशुपोषणैः ॥

2 Ibid., verse 101:

प्रौढदेवो नृपः प्रादात्प्रमदावनकाश्यपीम् ।

3 Ibid., vv, 133–4

अविभज्यैव भोज्याः स्युः इति सौम्या मतिर्हि नः ।
संपादयतु को वात्र समश्नीमो वयं समम् ।

4 Ibid., vv, 116 to 120:

प्रौढदेवो ददौ यस्मात् प्रौढदेवपुरं भवेत् ।
सार्वभौमः स्वयंकर्ता सार्वभौमपुरं ततः ॥
यत्र स्थितानां विदुषां सामान्यं डिण्डिमं यतः ।
डिण्डिमालयमित्यस्य नाम प्रोक्तं तृतीयकम् ॥
चोलेषु चेरेषु च पाण्ड्यभूमौ त्रिमण्डलीवृत्तिजुषां द्विजन्मनाम् ।
वासाय तेषामिह यत्प्रकल्प्यते त्रिमण्डलं तत्कवयः प्रचक्षते ॥

(*continued on the next page*)

6 Such in brief is the account given in the *Vibhāgaratnamālikā*. The late H. Krishna Sastri was shown a *Vivekabhāga patrikā* by a priest of the Vanniya caste at Mullaṇḍram.[1] This is identical with the *Vibhāgaratnamālikā* mentioned above. The late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao edited the work under the name of *Vivekapatramālā* in the *Indian Antiqitary*, 1918.[2]

7 As a historical document, the *Vibhāgaratnamālikā* should be used with caution, if not with suspicion. It has recorded the traditional account of the migration of the Diṇḍimas from North India and their settlement in South India, centuries after the actual occurrence. Naturally the colour of a legend is given to the work as also to the subject-matter. To cite an instance, Aruṇagirinātha, the hero of the story contained in the work, is said to have been born in Kali 4,400, or 1299 A. D.[3] This would make Aruṇagirinātha a contemporary of the Hoysala kings. But in the course of the narrative of the story, the village of Prauḍhadevapuram is granted by Prauḍhadevarāya II whose date is 1446 A. D. It requires no great reasoning to point out the impossibility of Aruṇagirinātha being the contemporary of both Vīraballāla and Prauḍhadevarāya. I hold, that while the events narrated in the life of Aruṇagirinātha may be historically true, the chronology given by the manuscript has to be tested. As there are other evidences which make Aruṇgirinātha a conte-

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(*continued from the previous page*)

मूला इति हि विद्वांसः तेषामण्डं समाश्रयः ।
मूलाण्डमिति तन्नाम तस्माद्वक्ष्यन्ति वै बुधाः ॥
अत्यूरु पुत्तूरपि मेत्तपाडी
ग्रामाश्रयस्सन्ति विपश्चितां ते
येषां च तेषामिह वाससत्वात्
त्रिमण्डलं तेन भवेद्पदिम् ॥

1 *A. R. E.* 1913,

2 pp 125 to 131.

3 *Vibhāgaratnamālikā*, verses 41-42.

चतुस्सहस्रेषु चतुश्शतेषु गतेषु वर्षेषु कलेर्युगस्य ।
* * *
शुभे मुहूर्ते सति जातमात्रे सपुत्रके शोणधराभिधाने

mporary of Devarāya[1] I hold, that while what has been stated as the main events of the life of Aruṇagirinātha may be historically true, the former portions can not be regarded as such from the point of view of chronology. The grant of Attiyūr by Bukka is mentioned and such a grant was found and copied by Colonel Mackenzie. Even there the manuscript may prove true if the text becomes available. The Kali date given for the birth of Aruṇagirinātha has erred by a century. If it is put as Kali 4500 and the verse read as *Catussahasreṣu Śateṣu Pañcasu* instead of *Catussahasreṣu Catuśśateṣu* the entire chronological difficulties disappear, and the story fits in with historical facts.[2]

8 A few inscriptions relating to the family are now taken up. In the temple of Svayambhūnātheśvara of Mullaṇḍram-and as has been mentioned earlier, this village was established only by Aruṇagirinātha, the hero of the chronicle there is an inscription that the Mahājanas of Prauḍhadevarāyapuram including the poet Diṇḍima Kavi assigned house-sites to certain masons in the kanmālatteru.[3] The reference to Diṇḍima Kavi is probably to Aruṇagirinātha Diṇḍima Kavi Sārvabhauma the hero of the chronicle. The record could have come only after the foundation of the village of Mullaṇḍram, which was founded only in the reign of Devarāya II.

9 Another inscription dated Śāka 1472 or A. D. 1550 records the gift of land by a Brāhmaṇa lady to the shrine of Aṇṇāmalainātha built by her, in the same temple of Svayambhūnātheśvara for the merit of herself and her husband Kumāra Diṇḍimar Aṇṇāmalainātbar.[4] This Kumāra Diṇḍima is perhaps the author of the *Vīrahhadravijaya* and the great-grandson of the Diṇḍima Kavi Sārvabhauma. I suggest the identification on the ground that from 1446 to 1550 we can easily give five generations without unduly straining the chronological principles. Very probably the Kumāra Diṇḍima mentioned was not alive at the time when the gift was made by his wife. It is not also improbable that

1 See my paper on "Some poets of the Diṇḍima family", Kane Commemoration Volume, pp. 1-6.

2 See, *infra*, note 15.

3 *A. R. E.*, 1912, para 72 ; 396 of 1911.

4 *A. R. E.*, 397 of 1911. I have subsequently edited and published the two inscriptions 396 and 397 of 1911 in the *Adyar Library Bulletin* 1941, Vol. V, pp. 59-68.

Kumāra Diṇḍimar Aṇṇāmalaināthar was the father of the author of the *Acyutarāyābhyudaya* a Rājanātha son of an Aruṇagirinātha of the Diṇḍima family.[1] The *Acyutarāyābhyudaya* dealing with the exploits of *Acyutarāya* of Vijayanagar must have been composed about 1540, at the latest.

10 A third inscription noted by Colonel Mackenzie is the grant of a house-site by one Diṇḍima Kavi in the cyclic year Krodhana, to one *Rājagocaranum vanda deva.*[2] The first grant, mentioned in para 8, was granted in the cyclic yegr Raudri. This was granted six years after the first. This also evidently refers to the same Diṇḍima Kavi – the Diṇḍima Kavisārvabhauma.

A fourth inscription is a record of the time King Kampaṇa Uḍaiyar,[3] son of Vīra Bukkaṇṇa Uḍaiyar, in A. D. 1370 in the Vidyanātheśvara temple of Puttūr (*Navagrāma* established by a Cola king) that one Somanātha Jīyar was appointed manager of the local maṭha and temple. The *Vibhāgaratnamālikā* mentions the village of *Puttūr* under the name of *Navagrāma*.[4] Aruṇagirinātha ran away from his maternal uncle's house, unable to bear the tyranny of his uncle's wife and took refuge in the temple of Vidyānātheśvara. It was there that the god manifested himself and blessed him, by which blessing he became the master of all sciences and arts.[5] To this temple Somanātha Jīyar was appointed

[1] I am making this identification on probable grounds. The date assigned to Aruṇagirinātha and his four descendants, by me, is 1380 to 1500 A. D., and as the author of the *Acyutarāyābhyudayam* is a Rājanātha and son of an Aruṇagirinātha, the probabilities –of the author of the *Acyutarāyābhyudayam* being the son of Kumāra Diṇḍima whose wife makes a gift in 1550 in the time of Sadāśivarāya–are greater and further investigation will stabilise the position.

[2] V. Rangachari, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, p. 56; also the *Adyar Library Bulletin* Vol. V, pp, 64–65, para 9.

[3] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VII, pp. 25–6.

[4] *Vibhāgaratnamālikā*, verse 50.

चोलप्रतिष्ठिते ग्रामे नवग्रामसमीरिते ।

[5] Ibid., vv., 60–62.

यदृच्छया नवग्राममागत्यापीशमालयम् ।
विद्यापतीशप्रमुखे सुप्त आलस्य बाधितः ॥
अर्धेन्दुचूडः शरदिन्दुसुन्दरः स्फुरन्मणीमूर्धफणीशकङ्कणः ।
बालैर्मुनीन्द्रैश्च चतुर्भिरान्वितः बुबोध मां कश्चिदपेत्यपूरुषः ॥
सुप्तस्य मे संभ्रमलोलबुद्धेः वक्त्रस्य देशे विवृते स्वभावात् ।
ताम्बूलसारं निजवक्त्रसंस्थं मुमोच कारुण्यसमुद्र एषः ॥

trustee not only for himself but the post was to be hereditary in the family. The *Vibhāgaratnamālikā* mentions a few persons of the name, Somanātha. At the present stage, it is not possible which Somanātha is mentioned in this inscription. The identification will be made later when fuller details are available.

Yet another inscription mentioned in a manuscript is, that a deed of gift to Kumāra Diṇḍima Aruṇagirinātha, the author of the *Vīrabhadravijaya* is found engraved in the fourth enclosure of god Ekāmreśvara temple.[1] There is no further information. This is another document which has to be searched, and if found will throw more light on the problem which is under investigation.

One should not omit mentioning that the members of Diṇḍima family enjoyed a peculiar position of advantage and royal favour. It was they who composed many of the plates and inscriptions in Sanskrit, for the Vijayanagar kings. A table has been formulated in the *Indian Antiquary* (*1918*).[2] The close relations of the Diṇḍimas with the royal house was not affected by changes of dynasties as can be seen from that table. Further investigation into this subject is taken for an independent paper.

1 *Triennial Catalogue af Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Madras, Vol. III, X, part 1 A, (Saaskrit) p. 2834.

2 *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, pp. 79–83.

GOVINDARĀJA

BY

K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR

The name of Govindarāja stands high among those of South Indian commentators. To Śrīvaiṣṇavas he is an authoritative exponent of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, who has recorded in his *bhāṣya* the traditional interpretation of the *ādi-kāvya* viewed as a Vaiṣṇava epic illustrating the qualities of Śrī Nārāyaṇa, the Supreme Being, and containing sanctions of the main tenets of Śrīvaiṣṇavism. The value attached to the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Śrīvaiṣṇavas is illustrated by the tradition that Rāmānuja (1017-1137) found it necessary, as one of the pre-requisites of his training for the apostolate, to gather from his uncle Śrīśailapūrṇa (in Tamil, Periya-Tirumalai-Nambi) the traditional interpretation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* preserved by the Śrīvaiṣṇava *ācāryas* and to hear his authentic expositions no less than eighteen times.[1] Śrīśailapūrṇa was one of the gifted expounders of the poem, and in the moments of leisure snatched from his services (*kainkarya*) to Śrī Veṅkaṭeśa on the holy hill of Tirumalai ('Upper Tirupati'), he used to expound the *Rāmāyaṇa* both to disciples, like his great nephew, and to the crowds of pilgrims that used to gather there for worship throughout the year. His eminence as one of the divinely appointed teachers of his nephew was commemorated by the consecration of a shrine in his honour in the Govindarāja temple at Tirupati, near the shrine of his pupil.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* was one of the 'springs undefiled' from which the early Vaiṣṇava saints or Āḷvārs had drawn both their poetic and devotional inspiration. The relations between Rāma and Sītā were held to reflect the eternal union of Nārāyaṇa and Śrī. The Śrīvaiṣṇavas hold that the intervention of Śrī was the source

[1] See the following verse in the stanzas prefixed by Govindarāja to his bhāṣya.

Yatiśekhara is Rāmānuja. Govindarāja frequently refers to these interpretations and those of the Tamil Āḷvārs as those of *ācāryāḥ*.

of Divine Grace. The poem was pre-eminently a *prapatti-śāstra*. The offer by Rāma of asylum, protection and perennial love to Vibhīṣaṇa forms the central theme in all discourses illustrating the Śrīvaiṣṇava doctrine of *śaraṇāgati*.[1] The boundless grace of the Supreme Being is reflected in the memorable declaration of Rāma to Sugrīva (*Yuddhakāṇḍa*, xviii, vv. 33-34) that his grace was open to all suppliants—even to Rāvaṇa if he sought it.[2] The Śrīvaiṣṇava theory of 'salvation by grace' is based as much on the *Rāmāyaṇa* as on equally explicit declarations in the *Bhagavadgītā*.[3] It emphasised the old view that the poem was not merely the history of Rāma but equally the noble story of Sītā.[4] Śrīvaiṣṇava writers also turned to the epic for incidents and sentiments to embellish their poetical and devotional outpourings.[5]

It is remarkable that in view of its cardinal importance to their doctrine, few attempts should have been made to preserve in authoritative commentaries the traditional interpretations of Rāmāyaṇa, and that their preservation should have been left almost entirely to oral transmission from teacher to pupil. It is inconceivable that, if any such commentaries embodying the early Śrī Vaiṣṇava interpretations of the epic had existed, they would not have been at least cited by name by Govindarāja. His allusion to his obligations is generally to 'previous preceptors,' to a certain *Tātparya-ratnāvali* and to the teachings of his "own" *guru* Śatakopa.[6] His citations of the views of *pūrvācāryaḥ* must be

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1 See Rāmānuja's *Śaraṇāgatigadya*, and Vedānta Deśika's *Abhayapradhānasāra*, passim.

२ सकृदेव प्रपन्नाय तवास्मीति च याचते ।
अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यो ददाम्येतद्व्रतं मम ॥
आनयैनं हरिश्रेष्ठ दत्तमस्याभयं मया ।
विभीषणो वा सुग्रीवो यदि वा रावणः स्वयम् ॥

3 Cf. such verses as:
कौन्तेय प्रतिजानीहि न मे भक्तः प्रणश्यति ॥
सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज ।
अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः ॥

4 Cf. the comment of Ātreya Ahobila on *Bālakāṇḍa* iv, 7:
'प्रबन्धस्य लक्ष्मीप्राधान्यज्ञापनार्थः तेन सीतायाश्चरितमिति सूक्तम्' ।

5 Cf. Vedāntadeśika's *Pādukā-sahasram* passim.

6 He refers to his teacher thus: अस्मद्गुरुचरणाः

taken to be to works which dealt either incidentally with the interpretation of stray passages of the poem, or to a treatise-like the *Maṇipravāla* work[1] of Kṛṣṇasūri or Periya-Āccān-piḷḷai (who lived before Vedānta Deśika, A. D. 1268–1369) which has been the source of the Sanskrit (anonymous) *Taniśloki* by Āterya Ahobila.[2] A possible reason for earlier Srīvaiṣṇava writers not embodying in a formal *bhāṣya* the orthodox interpretation may lie in the view that the poem dealt with esoteric (*rahasya*) matters and as such was fitter for oral exposition to disciples than for commentaries which every one might read.

Govindarāja's *bhāṣya* has had a vogue which is not confined to readers of his own communion. His erudition, critical power, enabling to detect interpolations or wrong readings and unceremoniously reject them (as he has done with many chapters in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*), and mastery of previous commentaries have made him the *Rāmāyaṇa* commentator *par excellence* in South India. The accident of his *bhāṣya* being available only in manuscripts written in South Indian scripts prevented its access to a wider circle of readers till recently.[3]

A still more curious circumstance is the scantiness of even traditions regarding his date, place of nativity, sectarian affiliations, and literary activity even in the area in which his commentary has easily displaced other commentaries by its intrinsic merit. The conflict of tradition about him is no less curious. Well-known expounders of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, who base their expositions mainly on Govindarāja's work, ascribe to him dates ranging from the 17th century to the twelfth. He has been generally regarded as *prior* to Maheśvara Tīrtha whose briefer comments occur bodily in many places in Govindarāja's work, making it look as if Maheśvara merely summarised the larger work. This is incorrect as Govindarāja explicitly names Maheśvara Tīrtha and

1 Kṛṣṇasūri was a Colīya Puraśikhā Vaiṣṇava. *Maṇipravāla* is a literary form using a mixture of Tamil and Sanskrit.

2 Printed in the Venkateshwar Press ed. of 1935, as *Taniśloki*,

3 Edited with extracts from other commentaries by T. R. Kṛṣṇācārya and T. R. Vyāsācārya, 1911–13, Kumbakonam and Bombay. This seems to be the first edition of the entire *bhāṣya* in Nāgarī. An edition in Telugu script was published in 1856, and another in Tamil-Grantha Script in 1862, with Maheśvara Tīrtha's commentary (ed. Sarasvati Tiruveṅkaṭācārya).

criticises his views, when commenting on *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, ci, sl. 1 [1]. Ahobila of the Ātreyagotra, whose *Taniśloki* has now been printed along with the commentaries of Govindarāja, Maheśvara Tīrtha and others in the variorum edition of the Venkateshvar Press, is obviously *later* than Govindarāja, whose views he invariably summarises. He declares himself to be a disciple of Parāṅkuśamuni and to have merely translated and summarised the earlier Maṇipravāḷa *Taniśloki* of Kṛṣṇasūri. [2] The *yati* whose disciple he claims to be is apparently the sixth pontiff in the succession of the Śrīvaiṣṇava Maṭha of Ahobilam.[3] The *traditional* date of his pointificate in the history of the Maṭha is 1499–1513 A. D.[4] Govindarāja has therefore to be assigned a date before Ahobila. Māheśvara Tīrtha is definitely later than the lexica of the 11th century like the *Vaijayantī* of Yādavprakāśa, which he quotes.

In determining the date of Govindarāja, the absence of other external evidence makes it necessary to sift his references, in order to fix his upper limit. Incidentally we shall obtain an idea of the range of his learning and the literature current in South India in his time. A scrutiny of his *bhāṣya* shows his citation of the following works and writers.

Epics and Purāṇas: The *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṁśa*, Viṣṇupurāṇa (frequently cited anonymously) the *Mātsya*, *Brāhma*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Nārasiṁha*, *Brahmavaivarta* and *Nāradīya Purāṇas* and the *Śrī Bhāgavata*.

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1 अत्र महेश्वरतीर्थेन सर्गपौर्वापर्यवैपरीत्यमनालोच्य स्वदृष्टकोशमात्रप्रामाण्येन 'तं तु गमः समाज्ञाय ' इत्यादिकं सर्गमेवैकोत्तरशततमं मन्वानेन तत्सर्गव्याख्यानान्ते तत्रत्यार्थविरोधमालोच्यैवं आक्षेपपरिहारावुक्तौ ॥

2 He begins his commentary with this invocation:

भक्तप्रातिष्ठा नीलाद्रौ कलिता येन सूरिणा ।
सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रं तं पराङ्कुशमुनिं भजे ' ॥

द्रमिडोपनिषद्व्याख्याकारै रामायणस्य ये श्लोकाः ।
व्याख्याता द्रमिडगिरा तानथ विवृणोमि भाषया दैव्या ॥
रामायणस्य श्लोकानां व्याख्यां द्रविडवाङ्मयीम् ।
करोति देववाग्रूपामात्रेयाह्रोबिलाह्वयः ॥

3 Vide the Tamil *Alagiyaśingarkalin Puhalmālia* (1941), Vol. 4, p. 41.

4 The following works of Parāṅkuśamuni are mentioned: *Siddhāntamaṇidīpa*, *Prapattiprayoga*, *Pañcakāla-dīpikā*, and *Nṛsiṁha-stava*, He is said to have disappeared in the cave of Ahobilam.

Classical Literature: Kālidāsa (frequently cited, both by name and anonymously) Māgha and the *Harṣacarita*.

Lexica and Lexicographers: Amarasiṁha, *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* of Puruṣottama (c. 800 A. D.), Halāyudha's *Abhidhānaratnamālā* (c. 950), Śāśvata (c. 700), *Vaijayantī* of Yādavprakāśa (c. 1050) Viśva, Bāṇa, Bhāskara, Bhāguri, (who is alluded to by Halāyudha), Sajjana, *Śabdaratnākara*, *Nighaṇṭu*, *Liṅgānuśāsana*, '*Ratnamālā* (either Halāyudha's work, or the lexicon of the name by Irugappa, the general of Harihara of Vijayanagar (c. 1360), *Darpaṇa*, *Śabdārṇava*, and *Utpalamālā*.

It is noteworthy that Keśavasvāmin is not cited.

Grammar and *Grammarians:* Besides Pāṇini, the *Mahābhāṣya* the *Nirukta*, the *Kāśikā* (c. 600) the *Gaṇapāṭha*, the Śikṣākāra, Bhaṭṭi, the *Vākyapadīya*, and Kātyāyana, he cites the *Durghaṭavṛtti* of Śaraṇadeva (c. 1172), an anonymous *Śabdabhedaprakāśikā*, and a *Vṛttaratnākara*. If the last is the well-known work of Kedārabhaṭṭa, who is quoted by Mallinātha, it is usually held to be anterior to the 14th century. Vararuci is cited both among lexicographers and authorities on *Sāmudrika*.

Alaṁkāra, *Nāṭya* and *Music:* Bhārata and Śāṇḍilya are cited for dancing and music. Daṇḍin, Bhāmaha (7th century), Vāmana and Udbhaṭa (end of the 8th century), Rudraṭa (9th century), Bhoja (c. 1050), the *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa and the *Alaṁkārasarvasva* of Ruyyaka (both c. 1100), an anonymous work named *Saṁgraha*, the *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi* and the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* and the *Camatkāracandrikā*. *Saṁgraha* is probably only Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyālaṁkāra-Saṁgraha*.

Dharmaśāstra: Besides Manu and Yājñavalkya, the *smṛtis* of Vyāsa, Aṅgiras and Nārada are cited by name, and a well-known verse of Bṛhaspati is cited anonymously, while in another context he is named also. Vijñāneśvara (c. 1120) and Hemādri's digest (*Dharmasamuccaya*), c. 1260 are also named or cited.

Micellaneous: The medical writer Vāgbhaṭa is cited. As there are two of the names belonging to the 7th and 9th centuries, the later may be accepted for purposes of determining a date.

Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra* is quoted extensively and there is neither citation nor knowledge of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. In culinary arts a *Sūdaśāstra* and a *Pradīpa* are cited. A *Bheṣajakalpa* is

cited. The *Ratirahasya* (anterior to 1200) is quoted by name. *Sāmudrikaśāstra*, a work named *Jagadvallabhā* and a work of Nandī on the same subject are quoted, and both the last appear Tāntrika works.

Jyotiṣa : Varāhamihira among the older writers, and *Daivajñavilāsa* among recent works are often cited. Garga is alluded to as well as a *Horāpradīpa.*

Architecture : An anonymous *Vāstuśāstra* is quoted several times.

Śrīvaiṣṇava Literature: One would naturally expect the literature of his own to sect to be liberally laid under contribution by Govindarāja, and it is so. He alludes to the interpretations of the Tamil saints or Āḷvārs as those of *Pūrvācārya* without indicating more exactly the source of the citations. To Śrīvaiṣṇavas of his day, who were steeped in the literature of the Tamil *Prabandham*, the allusions must have been readily intelligible. Consciously or unconsciously, Govindarāja appears to have assumed that his readers would be equally familiar with the literature of his own sect This is the obvious reason for his numerous unspecified quotations from the *Stotraratna* of Yāmunācārya (otherwise known as Āḷavandār, c. 1025 A. D.), the *Guṇaratnakośa*, a famous hymn on Lakṣmī by Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, the son of Śrīvatsāṅkamiśra (otherwise known as Kūrattālvān), the *Saṁkalapasūryodaya* and other works of the famous saint, scholar and poet, Vedānta Deśika (1268–1369), who is referred to frequently as " Ācāryāḥ " and once [1] as ' *Nighamāntāryāḥ*, a title used only by his followers The *Kṣamāṣoḍaśī* of Parāśara Bhaṭṭa's grand-nephew Vedavyāsa Bhaṭṭa is cited anonymously. Govindayati (known by his Tamil name of Embār), the cousin of Rāmānuja, is named more than once but the reference may be to Yādavaprakāśa who took the name when he became a *Saṁnyāsin.* The many references to *Bhaṭṭācāryāḥ* are apparently to Parāśara Bhaṭṭa. [2] Rāmānuja is him-

[1] See the commentary on *Bālakāṇḍa*, IV, 30 and LX, 21, and *Sundarakāṇḍa*, XXVII, 63.

[2] Embār (Govindayati) died about 1130, some years before the death of Rāmānuja. Parāśara, Bhaṭṭa (1062–1030) wrote a *Viśiṣṭādvaita* commentary on *Viṣṇu-sahasranāma* (ed. Venkateshwar Press, Bombay). Bhaṭṭa is held in veneration by both schools of Śrīvaiṣṇavas. The reference cārya is in the comment on *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, XXI, 5.

self often referred to by his title, *Bhāṣyakārāḥ*, and his views are embodied in numerous statements of doctrine, almost in his own words. The *Pāñcarātra*, one of the basic authorities of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, is relied on throughout, and citations from its vast literature are frequent. One *Pāncarātra* work, the *Sanatkumāra saṁhitā*, is cited by name. Where the more important Upaniṣads or the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* is alluded to or cited, the source is not specified, but a minor Upaniṣad like the *Rāmopaniṣad* is always named, when quoted.

The chronological drift of the evidence furnished by Govindarāja's quotations and references may now be analysed. Among the Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas and writers, the *latest* mentioned or drawn upon is Vedānta Deśika, whose long life ended in 1369. Yāmunācārya was Rāmānuja's *ācārya*, Śrīvatsāṅkamiśra his disciple though older in age, and Yādavaprakāśa (author of the *Vaijayantī*) one of his earlier teachers. Govindayati was his cousin and Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, the most gifted of his favourite disciples died young (1090 A. D.) in the life-time of the great teacher. No others of the sect, belonging to the thirteenth or the fourteenth century, like Lokācārya, born 1264, the elder contemporary and admirer of Vedānta Deśika whom the followers of the Teṅgalai or Southern School of Śrīvaiṣṇavas place at the head of their *guru-paramparā*, when they wish to mark the point of their cleavage from the Vaḍagalai or Northern School, are cited by name, though their writings must obviously have been familiar to Govindarāja. The *Maṇipravāla Taniśloki* of Periya-Āccān-Piḷḷai is implicit in many of the discussions in Govindarāja's commentary. Govindarāja has the irritating habit of marshalling views opposed to his own without naming the different exponents. Recent editors, like those of the Kumbakonam edition of the epic, have endeavoured to supply the omitted names. But such identifications are open to the criticism that *later* writers might have repeated verbatim the views of earlier writers, and that accordingly identification of authorship by views solely is not reliable.[1]

Three works which are quoted frequently by Govindarāja help

[1] Periya—Accān-Piḷḷai (Kṛṣṇa Sūri) was born in 1226. He was a master of the Maṇipravāla style and wrote in it commentaries on the *Gadya-traya* of Rāmanuja and other works on Vaiṣṇava texts.

to a clearer determination of his upper limit. Vedānta Deśika's long life extends over two generations. Hemādri was a minister during the boyhood of Vedānta Deśika. The *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi* (identified with the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi*, which is also quoted)[1] or *Cintāmaṇi*, is a well-known work on *Alaṁkāra* ascribed to Vema-bhūpāla, king of Koṇḍavīdu, otherwise known as Vīra-nārāyaṇa or Pedda Komaṭi Vema. He was a great patron of learning and the patron of Vāmana Bhaṭṭa. Bāṇa, who is now usually regarded as the author of the *Pārvatīpariṇaya*, formerly ascribed to his greater namesake.[2] Vema ruled from 1403 to 1420. A second *Alaṁkāra* work cited by Govindarāja, viz. *Camatkāracandrikā*[3] is sometimes ascribed to Sarvajña Siṅga the powerful king of Rājācala (Rācakoṇḍa), who forestalled the fame (as author and patron of letters) of Vema-bhūpāla. Siṅga is the author of an *Alaṁkāra* work, named *Rasārṇavasudhākara*.[4] The real author of both is Viśveśvara. Siṅga flourished about 1330 A. D. The third work is on *Jyotiṣa*, and is named *Daivajñavilāsa*. Two works of this name are available in the Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras, and both are by the same author, Lolla Lakṣmaṇārya. The larger work is in 108 *ullāsas* and deals with astronomy and astrology, while the shorter (which may have been intended as a supplement to the larger work) deals with the making of calendars.[5] Lakṣmaṇārya is sometimes confound-

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1 *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi* is identified with *Sāhitya-cuḍāmaṇi* by the *Madras Descriptive Catalogue* XXII, 8798.

2 On Vema-bhūpāla (1403–1420) and his family see V. Prabhākara Śāstri's *Śṛṅgāranaiṣadham*, p. 45 and *Epig. Ind* III, 60 and 268. His life is narrated by Vāmana in *Vīranārāyaṇacarita*, or *Vema-bhūpālacarita*, which has been printed at Śrīraṅgam.

3–4 There are two Siṅga-bhūpālas, grandfather and grandson. The former was known as *Sarvajña*, and Viśveśvara was his court poet and the real author of *Camatkāra-candrikā*, in which Siṅga I is eulogised. Sarvajña Siṅga's date is about 1330. See S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics* 1923, I. 242 and the introduction to *Rasārṇava-Sudhākara* in the Trivandram Sanskrit Series. Dr. M. Krishnamachariar, *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, 1937, para 879, mixes up the two Siṅgas.

5 D. C. XXIV. 9063. Lolla Lakṣmaṇārya belonged to Śrīvatsagotra, whereas Lolla Lakṣmīdhara (D. C. XIX. p. 7396) belonged to Haritagotra, as stated in the colophon to his commentary on *Saundarya-lahiri* (Tanjore Ms. No. 20664). They were not even of the same family. The mistake was

(*continued on the next page*)

ed with Lolla Lakṣmīdhara (1465–1530),[1] the courtier of Vīrarudra Gajapati of Orissa and the real author of the legal digest *Sarasvatīvilāsa.* Lakṣmaṇārya must have been very much earlier, and not even a member of Lakṣmīdhara's family, as the latter does not mention him among his ancestors in the colophon to his commentary on the *Saundaryolahirī.*[1] He probably flourished at the beginning of the 15th century. These are the *latest* writers, whose works were utilised by Govindarāja.

It is noteworthy that in the many interpretations of the Veda in his commentary Govindarāja relies on Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara the predecessor of Sāyaṇa and not on Sāyaṇa (c. 1400) to whose famous commentaries there is not a single reference.

The extreme limits of Govindarāja's date would accordingly be those of Ahobila Ātreya (c. 1500) and Vemabhūpāla (c. 1400). The ascription of the *Daivajñavilāsa,* which Govindarāja has cited by name to Lolla Lakṣmīdhara, the courtier first of the Gajapati ruler of Orissa and later of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara (1509–1530) might, *if justified,* bring down the date of Govindarāja by at least a generation. A long interval between a writer and those who quote him need not be postulated where both come from the same region and enjoy perhaps common royal patronage. Mallinātha and his son Kumāragiri quote royal authors who were their comtemporaries. But Lolla Lakṣmaṇārya the author of *Daivajñavilāsa* is not, as already stated, the same person as Lolla Lakṣmīdhara. The colophon to the work (Madras *Descriptive Catalogue,* Vol. xxxiv, p. 9068) definitely says that Lakṣmaṇārya belonged to Śrīvatsa-gotra; while Lakṣmīdhara belonged to the Hārita-gotra.[2] Lakṣmaṇa and Lakṣmīdhara are not synonymous. Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppusvāmi Śāstri, the editor of the *Descriptive Catalogue* made the mistake, in

(*continued from the previous page*)

committed in the D. C. XXIV, p. 9068, by MM. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, ignoring the Sanskrit colophon immediately below his own note, which begins thus:

श्रीवत्सगोत्रांबुधिपूर्णचन्द्रो नत्वा ग्रहान् लोल्लटलक्ष्मणोऽहम् ।
समस्तशास्त्राद्भुतसारयुक्तं ... वक्ष्यामि दैवज्ञविलाससमाढ्यं
ज्योतिर्विदां प्रीतिविवर्द्धनाय ॥

[1] Vide Ms. No. 20664 in Tanjore Library, and D. C. XIX No. 10866.

[2] Vide note 22 *Supra.*

the face of the colophon which he cited directly below his observations, identifying the two writers, by finding the name *Lolla* prefixed to both names, and the mistake has been copied by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (*Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, 1935, p. 422).

Govindarāja's own references to his contemporaries may now be considered. His *guru* was Śaṭakopa or Śaṭakopa Deśika, of the Śrīvatsa-gotra (*vide* benedictory verse at the beginning of the commentary on the *Āraṇyakāṇḍa*). [1] This teacher was not a *saṁnyāsin*, and attempts to find, from the name Śaṭakopa (which is taken by most pontiffs of the Ahobila Maṭha) an identity between this teacher and one of the early pontiffs of the Maṭha, must fail. He was not only the spiritual guide of Govindarāja, from whom the latter obtained his initiation into the esoteric teachings of Śrīvaiṣṇavism (*sarvarahasyabodhaḥ*) [2] but his master of the different *śāstras*, which Govindarāja claims to have studied under him. (*Śaṭhajit-pādāravindadvaya-labdha-samasta-śāstravitatiḥ*).[3] The way in which the *Rāmāyaṇa* should be expounded, Govindarāja claims to

1 वात्स्यश्रीशठकोपदेशिकवरश्रीपादरेणूज्ज्वलैः
दृष्ट्या निर्मलया निरीक्ष्य बहुधा वल्मीकजन्माशयम् ।
श्रीमत्कौशिकवंशसागरमणिः गोविन्दराजाह्वयो
व्याचक्षेऽहमरण्यकाण्डमधुना पश्यन्तु निर्मत्सराः ॥

2 इत्थं शठारिगुरुवर्यपदारविन्द-
सेवारसाधिगतसर्वरहस्यबोधः ।
गोविन्दराजविबुधः प्रमुदे बुधानां
कैष्किन्धकाण्डविषयां विततान टीकाम् ॥

3 तत्त्वज्ञानसमुच्चयो घनदयासारस्य सारो महान्
निष्कर्षः कमलानिवासचरणद्वन्द्वानुरागस्मृतेः ।
अक्लेशः परिपाक एष जगतामक्षय्यपुण्यावलेः
अस्माकं निधिरक्षयो विजयते श्रीमान्शठारिर्गुरुः ॥
इति सुन्दरकाण्डव्याख्यानारम्भे ॥
उत्तरकाण्डव्याख्यानारम्भे चेदं—
श्रीमत्सकुलप्रदीपशठजित्पादारविन्दद्वयी
सेवालब्धसमस्तशास्त्रविततिः गोविन्दराजाह्वयः ।
श्रीरामायणभूषणेऽत्र मुकुटीभूतां परां उत्तरे
ग्रन्थे व्याकृतिमातनोति विदुषां प्रीतिः पुनर्वर्द्धताम् ॥

have been shown to him by his *guru* (*Śaṭhāri-guruṇā saṁdarśitenādhvanā*). In the benedictory verses prefixed to the commentary on the *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa*, he alludes to his having heard repeatedly the inspired expositions of the epic by this teacher.[1] The tradition that Govindarāja was a *svayam-ācārya-puruṣa*, i. e. one who can take spiritual disciples, which is current in South India, seems to be negatived by these statements about his obligations to another teacher. It is probable that the *guru*, who, like Govindarāja, was a devotee of Viṣṇu as Śrīnivāsa or Śrī Veṅkaṭeśa, the God worshipped at Tirumalai (Tirupati), and used to expound the Rāmāyaṇa on the Holy Hill, where such public expositions of the epic had been in vogue from the days of Rāmānuja.[2]

A name which occurs as that of a "patron" in the colophon to the commentary on the *Yuddha-kāṇḍa* is perhaps that of a historical personage. The commentary on that kāṇḍa is stated by Govindarāja as composed on the suggestion or prompting of his 'dear friend' Bhāvanācārya.[3] Who is this Bhāvanācārya? He is said to have been the father of Śrīraṅga, who was the preceptor (*ācārya*) of Tenāli Annayya, brother of the famous Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa, a member of the Academy (*Aṣṭadiggaja*) founded by Kṛṣṇadevarāya soon after his accession to the throne (1510)[4] While the difference in age between a spiritual preceptor and disciple need not be great, that between a father and a son must be wide enough. It is accordingly open to presume that if the Bhāvānācārya, who induced Govindarāja to compose the com-

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1 श्रावं श्रावं शठारेः शमदमवपुषः फुल्लवक्त्रारविन्दात्
आलोच्यालोच्य वाचा प्रकृतिमधुरया प्रोच्य विद्वज्जनेभ्यः ।
गोविन्दार्यः सुधीशः कुशिककुलमणिः गूढगाढाशयाढ्यं
सम्यक् साकेतकाण्डं सरसजनमुदे सादरं व्याकरोति ॥

2 The discourses of Śaṭhakopa appear to have been public addresses. That he expounded the epic is shown by citations of his views by Govindarāja—'एवमस्मद्गुरुचरणाः'

3 श्रीमान् गोविन्दराजो वरदगुरुसुतो भावनाचार्यवर्य-
प्रेम्णैव व्यतनत विपुलां युद्धकाण्डस्य टीकाम् ॥

For Bhāvanācarya's relation to the Tenāli brothers, see Vīreśaliṅgam—'Lives of Telugu Poets,' II, p. 322,

4 See N. Venkataramanayya—'Studies in the History of the Third dynasty of Vijayanagara,' 1935, p. 421.

mentary on the Yuddhakāṇḍa, is this personage, the last quarter of the 15th century should be regarded as that in which he composed the work. The possession of such influential courtiers among his disciples would indicate that Bhāvanācārya's family was important and opulent. The *Tirupati Devasthānam Inscriptions* contains a record of a gift to the temple made by a Bhāvanācārya, son of Śrīraṅgācārya on a date equivalent to 5-7-1535.[1] In South India the names of grandfathers are borne by the eldest grandsons. The date of this Bhāvānācārya is too late to bo reconciled, on the existing data, with the date of one who was anterior to Ātreya Ahobila, the author of the Sanskrit *Taniśloki*, the contemporary of the sixth pontiff of the Ahobila Maṭha (c. 1500). As Śrīraṅga or Śrīraṅgācārya, son of Bhāvanācārya, was the spiritual guide of Tenāli Annayya brother of Tenāli Rāmākṛṣṇa, a member of Kṛṣṇadevarāya's Academy, (c. 1510) an *earlier* Bhāvāncārya, also resident at Tirupati, or holding as influential position there, is indicated.[2] This personage must have been the friend and patron of Govindarāja, and persuaded him to write the commentary on the sixth kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The name of the patron is mentioned only in connection with the *bhāṣya* of this kāṇḍa. It may warrant the inference (sugges-

1 S. Subrahmanya Sastri—*Tirupati Devasthānam Inscriptions*, Introd. volume.

2 The donor of the Tirupati grant of 1535 must be the same as the author of *Śaraṇāgati-ratnamālikā* a religious tract noticed in the Madras Triennial Catalogue 1913-1915. p. 2495. This Bhāvanācārya claims to be the son and disciple of Śrīraṅga of the Kandāla Vādhūla-gotra and grand-son of Bhāvanācārya. He salutes Mahārya, son and disciple of Vādhūla Śrīnivasācārya. Mahārya is obviously identical with Doḍḍayācārya of the Kandāḷa Vādhūla-gotra, who lived at Colasiṁhapuram (Sholinghur), 30 miles from Tirupati, and fl. c. 1540-1565. He wrote a famous commentary named *Caṇḍamāruta* on Vedānta Désika's *Śatadūṣaṇī*, and a panegyric on Vedānta Deśika (the Vaḍagalai apostle) though himself of the Southern School. (Descr. Cat. XIX, 7677 and Aufrecht, *Cat. Catal.*, I, 283.

The ancestry claimed by Bhāvanācārya II clearly shows the validity of the suggestion that his grand-father, Bhāvanācārya I was the friend of Govindarāja. Dr. M. Krishnamachariar, 'Hist. of Skt. Classical Lit.' has mixed up the two Bhāvanācāryas. On p. 23, he correctly places him one or two generations before Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa, the courtier of Kṛṣṇadevarāya (1509-1530). On p. 1117 he suggests that it is the same Bhāvanācārya, who lived after Kṛṣṇadevarāya's reign.

ted by the *bhāṣya* for each *kāṇḍa* bearing a different name) that the commentary was published in instalments, perhaps spread over some years. Bhāvanācārya was a scion of the Kandāḷa family of *ācārya-puruṣas* who belonged to Vāḍhūla-gotra.

Govindarāja named his *bhāṣya Rāmāyaṇa-bhūṣaṇa.* Consistently with this designation, the commentary on each canto is given the name of an ornament. Thus, the commentaries of the several cantos are named in sequence, *Maṇimañjarī, Pītāmbara, Ratnamekhalā, Muktāhāra, Śṛṅgāra-tilaka, Ratna-kirīṭa* and *Maṇi-mukuṭa.* The idea is that the poem is personified as a king and is adorned by the author by *bhūṣaṇa* (ornament) after *bhūṣaṇa* as a king will be.[1]

Govindrāja states that he was inspired to write his commentary by a dream, which came to him, as he lay asleep in front of the shrine of Hanumān on the hillock named after him, in the temple of Śrī Veṅkaṭeśa, in front of the shrine of Śrī Rāmānuja (*Yati-kṣmābhṛt* i. e. Yatirāja). In this dream, crowds of learned pilgrims who flocked to the shrine earnestly (*sādaram*) besought him to write a lengthy exposition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Rāmāyaṇa vyatikriyāṃ vistīrṇāṃ racaya iti saṃcoditaḥ*).[2] This must refer only to the commencement of the undertaking. Its continuation was due to the divine command of Rāma himself,[3] who is said for instance to have ordered the *bhāṣya* on the *Sundarakāṇḍa.*

It is not unlikely that Govindarāja was already famous as an oral expounder of the epic, as well as a scholar and commentator. In spite of his self-depreciatory remarks at the

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1 Thus he says in the *Āraṇyakāṇḍa* that having clad *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa* in *pītāmbara* (the title of the commentary on the preceding canto) he now offers him a *Ratnamekhalā* :

श्रीरामायणराजस्य दत्त्वा पीताम्बरं महत् ।
अर्पये परया लक्ष्म्या राजन्तीं रत्नमेखलाम् ॥

2 श्रीमत्यञ्जनभूधरस्य शिखरे श्रीमारुतेः संनिधौ
अग्रे वेङ्कटनायकस्य सदनद्वारे यतिक्ष्माभृतः ।
नानादेशसमागतैर्बुधगणै रामायणव्याक्रियां
विस्तीर्णां रचयेति सादरमहं स्वप्नेऽपि संचोदितः ॥

3 पूर्वाचार्यकृता विलोक्य विविधा व्याख्या मुहुर्जानकी-
कान्तस्याप्रतिमाज्ञयैव तिलकं सौन्दर्यकाण्डे व्यधात् ।

beginning of the work,[1] he was conscious of his erudition and powers. He claims at the end of his comment on the *Bālakāṇḍa* easy mastery of the Vedas, the different śāstras, poetry, drama and rhetoric and experience of writing commentaries (*paṭudhīḥ ṭīkā-vidhāne*), as well as the necessary spiritual and religious equipment to undertake so pious a task. The claims, for the qualities which he declares as pertaining to his commentary (absence of misconstruction, tautology, irrelevance, incongruity with the text, and harshness, shown in interpretation of word after word, as well as capacity to bring out the sweetness of the poem in word after word) are established by the perusal of the commentary, which by its merits has easily displaced all older and many more recent *ṭīkās* on the *Rāmāyaṇa.*[2]

As against the specific claim to have been a successful *ṭīkā-kāra*, tradition knows not of any other works by Govindarāja. But, both the Adyar Library and the Oriental Mansucripts Library at Madras possess manuscripts of an elaborate *bhāṣya* by Govindarāja on the *Taittirīya-upaniṣad.*[3]

The authenticity of the work is established by the identity of the allusions, and even expressions, in the colophon with those in the commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa.*[4] This commentary would repay publication. An isolated *ṭīkā* on an Upaniṣad can not compete successfully with a collection of ṭīkās by one and the same writer on the "ten Upaniṣads." This would account for

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1 काहं मन्दमतिर्गभीरहृदयं रामायणं तत्कच
व्याख्यानेऽस्य परिभ्रमन्नहं अहो हासास्पदं धीमताम् ।
को भारोऽत्र मम स्वयं कुलगुरुः कोदण्डपाणिः कृपा
कूपारो रचयत्यदः सपदि मज्जिह्वाग्रसिंहासनः ॥

2 See the appreciation in the Introduction to C. R. Srinivasa Aiyangar's Eng. Trn. of the Poem.

3 The Adyar copy bears the number X, G. 25 and that in the Madras Or. Mss. Lib. is described in the Triennial Cat. 1910-3, 1, p. 27. It may contain 3600 *granthas*.

4 Cf. this colophon with those of the *Rāmāyaṇa-bhūṣaṇa*.

इत्थं श्रीशठकोपदेशिकपदद्वन्द्वारविन्दद्वयी
सेवासौम्यरसानुभूतिविभवव्यक्तत्रयी तत्त्वधीः ।
श्रीमत्कौशिकवंशमौक्तिकमणिः गोविन्दराजाभिधो
विद्वानुत्तमतैत्तरीयकवरत्रय्यन्तवृत्तिं व्यधात् ॥

This commentary should have been written before that on the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

the eclipse of Govindarāja's *upnaiṣadbhāṣya* by the *Daśopaniṣad-bhāṣya* of Raṅgarāmānuja.[1]

Sanskrit writers have an irritating way of not furnishing particulars about themselves. Govindarāja is in line with his kind in this respect. What we can gather about him has to be done indirectly from the tenor of his *bhāṣya* and the expressions of personal views that it contains. The only information about his family in the colophons is that he was the son of Varadācārya or Varadaguru, and that he belonged to Kauśika-gotra.[2] His pride in *gotra* affinity to Viśvāmitra is manifested in the citation when explaining Viśvāmitra's famous declaration that he would create another Indra or leave the world without an Indra[3] of the proud declaration of Vedānta Deśika (d. 1369) in *Saṁkalpa-sūryodaya* that to *his* line belonged the sage who was able to create another Indra or a world without an Indra.[4]

It is probable that he was born and lived at Tirupati, and that his family was connected with Kāñcīpura, the other great seat of Śrīvaiṣṇavism. The presiding deities in Tirupati–below the–hill and in Kāñcīpura are respectively Govindarāja and Varada. In South India it is almost a rule to name children, or at least the eldest child, after the deity of the natal place. The original shrine of Govindarāja was at Citrakūṭam (modern Chidambaram) but it was desecrated by Vikrama Coḷa, the son of Kulottuṅga Coḷa (1070–1118), and the idol was then removed to Tirupati by Rāmānuja and installed in a temple he specially built there for the purpose. The original idol of Govindarāja was taken back to Citrakūṭam (Chidambaram) four centuries later and reinstalled there in the reign of Acyutarāya of Vijayanagara (1530–1542).[5]

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1 Raṅgarāmānuja's *bhāṣya* was printed at Madras in Telugu characters over 60 years ago, and has been reprinted more recently in Nāgarī by the Ānandāśrama.

2 See note 30 above.

3 *Bālakāṇḍa*, LX, 22.

अन्यमिन्द्रं करिष्यामि लोको वा स्यादनिन्द्रकः ।
दैवतान्यपि स क्रोधात् स्रष्टुं उपचक्रमे ॥

4 *Saṁkalpasūryodaya*, I, 13.

अन्येन्द्रकं भुवनमन्यदनिन्द्रकं वा
कर्तुं क्षमे कविरभूदयमन्ववाये ।

5 See M. Raghava Aiyangar's *Tamil Essays*.

The construction and consecration of a temple to Rāma at Tirupati belongs to the last quarter of the 15th century. This is the period in which the drift of the available evidence shows Govindarāja to have flourished. It is tempting to connect the foundation with the popularisation of the worship of Rāma by the public discourses of Govindarāja and his *guru* Śaṭhakopa. The attachment of Govindarāja to the presiding Deity of the "seven Hills" is evident in many places in the commentary. The Deity is known ordinarily as Śrīnivāsa or Śrī Veṅkaṭeśa, Veṅkaṭam being the old name of the holy hills. In interpreting Bālakāṇḍa 2, 15,[1] Govindarāja ingeniously makes the famous and involuntary utterance of Vālmīki a concealed address to Viṣṇu in his manifestation at Tirupati as Śrīnivāsa,[2] another name for Śrī Veṅkaṭeśa.

It is the belief of Śrīvaiṣṇavas that the *Rāmāyaṇa* contains the authority for most of their beliefs, including the recognition of Rāma as the *avatāra* of Nārāyaṇa, the Supreme Being. Govindarāja comments on the poem in harmony with the doctrines of his sect, and gives interpretations which may not be readily accepted by the followers of other sects. The doctrine that *prapatti* or *śaraṇāgati* needs for its fulfilment a mediator (*ghaṭaka*) is brought in on a comment on the fourth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa*.[3]

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1 मा निषाद् प्रतिष्ठां त्वमगमः शाश्वतीः समाः ।
यत्क्रौञ्चमिथुनादेकमवधीः काममोहितम् ॥

2 चतुर्मुखप्रसादेन वाल्मीकिमुखात् प्रथमोदितोयं श्लोकः केवलं शापपरो न भवितुमर्हति इति भगवन्मङ्गलाशासनपरतया मङ्गलाचरणपरोऽयं श्लोकः, केवलं शापपरो न भवितुमर्हतीति भगवन्मङ्गलाशासनपरतया मङ्गलाचरणपरोऽयं प्राथमिकश्लोक इति पूर्वाचार्या वर्णयन्ति । तथा हि । निषीदन्त्यस्मिन् इति 'निषादो', निवासः । 'मा' लक्ष्मीः । तस्या निषादो 'मानिषादः', श्रीनिवासः । तत्र संबुद्धिः 'हे श्रीनिवास' । 'त्वं शाश्वतीः समाः' सर्वकालं, प्रतिष्ठां माहात्म्यं, 'अगमः' गच्छ । 'यद्'यस्मात् 'क्रौंचामिथुनात्' राक्षसमिथुनात् रावणमन्दोदरीरूपात् 'कामेन', मन्मथेन 'मोहितं' सीतापहर्तारम् एकं रावणं 'अवधीः' रावणं हत्वा कृतत्रैलोक्यत्राणः स यावत्कालं विजयी भवतु इत्यर्थः ॥ एवमनेन श्लोकेन इष्टदेवतास्मरणरूपं मङ्गलमाचरितम् ॥

3 इयं च प्रपत्तिरस्मिन् प्रबन्धे प्रधानतया प्रतिपाद्यते । अत एव "श्रीरामायणं दीर्घशरणागतिः" इत्याभाणकः । ... इयं च प्रपत्तिः पुरुषकारेण विना न फलाय भवतीत्यर्थोऽस्मिन् प्रबन्धे प्रधानतया प्रतिपाद्यते ॥

This is the Vaḍagalai or Northern School view.

The whole poem is characterised as one long discourse on *śaraṇāgati* (self-surrender). In interpreting *Bālakāṇḍa*, XV, 31, [1] Govindarāja explains "*sa-Rudra*" in the verse as indicating that Śiva was among the suppliants of Nārāyaṇa. [2] Again, in interpreting *Surendra* in the concluding invocation in the same chapter, Govindarāja discards the explanation of Maheśvara-tīrtha that it is in the vocative form, as an address to Nārāyaṇa conceived as *Upendra*, and he takes *Surendra-guptam* as a single word and explains *Surendra* as *Viṣvaksena*, the commander of the hosts of Viṣṇu in Vaikuṇṭha. [3] The simile describing the residence of Rāma at Citrakūṭa (*Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, xcviii, 12) [4] as like that of the god Kubera in Nandana, is stated in an ingenious, if forced explanation, to refer to Viṣṇu's residence in Vaikuṇṭha. [5] The prayer of Bharata to Rāma that he should show him compassion as Maheśvara (*Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, cvi, 31) shows to the Bhūtas, which would seem to allude to Śiva's compassion to the Bhūta-gaṇa, is subjected by Govindarāja to an elaborate explanation and a philosophical disquisition, in order to show that the simile refers to God's (i. e. Viṣṇu's) compassion to all beings. [6]

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1 ततो देवर्षिगन्धर्वाः सरुद्राः साप्सरोगणाः ।
स्तुतिभिर्दिव्यरूपाभिः तुष्टुवुर्मधुसूदनम् ॥

२ 'ततः' भगवदिच्छानन्तरम् 'सरुद्रा' इत्यनुवादात् पूर्वं रुद्रोऽपि शरणागत इति सिद्धम् ॥

३ तमेव हत्वा सबलं सबान्धवं विरावणं रावणमुग्रपौरुषम् ।
सलोकमागच्छ गतज्वरश्चिरं सुरेन्द्रगुप्तं गतदोषकल्मषम् ॥

'सुरेन्द्रः' विष्वक्सेनः । स्वलोकमिति सम्यक् पाठः ॥

4 सुभगश्चित्रकूटोऽसौ गिरिराजोपमो गिरिः ।
यस्मिन् वसति काकुत्स्थः कुबेर इव नन्दने ॥

5 'कुबेर इव नन्दने' –भूवाचकेन 'कु'शब्देन जगदुपलक्ष्यते, 'बेरं' शरीरं, 'कुबेरो' जगच्छरीरः, परमात्मा । 'नन्दन इव' वैकुण्ठनन्दनवन इव ॥

6 शिरसा त्वाऽभियाचेऽहं कुरुष्व करुणां मयि ।
बान्धवेषु च सर्वेषु भूतेष्विव महेश्वरः ॥

महेश्वरो विष्णुः ।

" यद्वेदौ स्वरः प्रोक्तो वेदान्ते च प्रतिष्ठितः ।
तस्य प्रकृतिलीनस्य यः परः स महेश्वरः ॥ "

(*continued on the next page*)

The worship of Śiva at Rāmeśvaram is stated in the Purāṇas[1] to be due to the installation of the *liṅga* there by Rāma himself. Worshippers of Śiva have sought warrant for the tradition in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the address of Rāma to Sītā, as they were passing in the aerial car (*Puṣpaka-vimāna*) over the site of the causeway over the ocean, which may be rendered thus: "The holy spot (*tīrtha*) which is now seen on the great ocean is famous as *Setubandha*, honoured by the three worlds. This spot is most holy and destroys the most heinous sins. Here formerly (*purā*) the lord Mahādeva proved propitious (*prasādam akarot*)."[2] Mahādeva is taken by Śaivas as Śiva. Maheśvara-tīrtha finds no justification in the poem for the word "*purā*" (formerly), if applied to Śiva. He notices that the Purāṇas make out that Rāma got down on the spot, while on his way to Ayodhyā from Lankā and consecrated the *liṅga* on the causeway, while the Rāmāyaṇa shows *he did not get down* from the *vimāna.* As this would be in conflict with the allusion to a *past* favour of Mahādeva, he interprets Mahādeva as Samudrarāja, *mahat* having as one of its senses

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(*continued from the previous page*)

इति पूर्वप्रकृतदहरविद्याकरणमन्त्रप्रणवप्रकृतिभूताकारवाच्या महेश्वर इत्युक्तेः । दहरोपास्यश्च अपहतपाप्मत्वादिगुणकः पुरुषोत्तमः "स उत्तमः पुरुषः" इति तत्समानप्रकरणे छान्दोग्ये श्रवणात् । अपहतपाप्मत्वं च रुद्रस्य नास्ति "अनपहतपाप्मा वा अहमस्मि" इति रुद्रेणैवोक्तेः । भूतसंहाराधिकृतस्य रुद्रस्य भूतेषु करुणा च गगनकुसुमतुल्या । अतः "स एकाकी न रमते । न तो विजुप्सितः" इत्यादि श्रुतिस्मृत्यादिभिः सुप्रसिद्धापारकारुण्यवात्सल्यादिगुणगणः पुरुषोत्तम एव महेश्वर इति दिक् ॥

[1] कूर्मपुराणे — सेतुमध्ये महादेवमीशानं कृत्तिवाससम् ।
स्थापयामास वै लिङ्गं पूजयामास राघवः ॥

पाद्मे— रामः पुष्पकादवरुह्य महादेवं प्रतिष्ठापितवान् ॥

स्कान्दे — सेतुमध्ये महादेवं लिङ्गरूपधरं हरम् ।
रामो वै स्थापयामास शिवलिङ्गमनुत्तमम् ॥

[2] एतत्तु दृश्यते तीर्थं सागरस्य महात्मनः ।
सेतुबन्ध इति ख्यातं त्रैलोक्येनाभिपूजितम् ॥
एतत्पवित्रं परमं महापातकनाशनम् ।
अत्र पूर्वं महादेवः प्रसादमकरोत् प्रभुः ॥

—युद्धकाण्डे, स. १२६, श्लो. २१-२२

"water".[1] Govindarāja accepts this interpretation as the only natural one in the context, rebuts the view that "Mahādeva" in the śloka means Rudra, on other cogent grounds, and denies the Purāṇas equal or superior validity over the Epics.[2]

The critical acumen of Govindarāja is shown by his examination and rejection of many verses and occasionally even entire chapters, after a detailed statement of his grounds. The largest number of such rejections is in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, on which his comments are unusually brief. As examples of Govindarāja's critical power in estimating the authenticity of texts, reference may be made to his examination of the views of Maheśvara-tīrtha who rejected, as an interpolation, the entire "*kaccit sarga*" in the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* (ch. 100), and the affirmation of the genuineness of the *sarga*, as well as the arguments by which he seeks to establish the spuriousness of the hymn to the Sun (*Āditya-hṛdaya*) which forms the 107th *sarga* in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* in most editions.[3] Govindarāja states that in some manuscripts the chapter was not to be found, that the old commentator Udāri refused to comment on it, and that it is in conflict with the doctrine of the supremacy of Nārāyaṇa, which is the

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[1] तीर्थस्तु– महदिति जलं । तद्रूपी देवो 'महादेवः' समुद्रः । तदाह वैजयन्ती =
'गंभीरं गहनं रत्नं गह्वरं शरणं वपुः ।
स्नेहः स्नेह्यं महच्छुद्रं वरुणं सर्वतोमुखम् ।
पातालं स्वादु दिव्यं च तानि पञ्चादशाप्सु च ।'
यद्वा महादेवयतिष्वन्यतमत्वात्समुद्रस्य महादेवशब्देनात्र समुद्र एवोच्यते ॥

[2] महादेव इति समुद्रराज उच्यते औचित्यात् । 'प्रभुः' समुद्रजलाधिष्ठाता । 'प्रसादमकरोत्' सागरं शोषयिष्यामीति कुपितस्य मे 'प्रसादं' प्रसन्नत्वम् 'अकरोत्' ॥ न तु अत्र रुद्रो 'महादेवः' तेन पूर्वं प्रसादकरणानुक्तेः ... पुराणवचनानुसारेणायं श्लोको लिङ्गप्रतिष्ठां बोधयतीति ॥ मैवं । उक्तदोषानिस्तारात्, इतिहासो हि परिग्रहातिशयात्, ग्रन्थसौष्ठवाच्च, 'इतिहासपुराणं पञ्चमम्' इति आदौ अधिकाक्षरत्वेपि पूर्वप्रयोगेणाभ्यर्हितत्वाच्च पुराणेभ्यो गरीयानिति, 'वेदः प्राचेतसादासीत्' इति वेदमयत्वोक्त्या चतुर्मुखवरप्रसादानमूलतया च प्रबलतरः ॥ तद्विरोधे तामसपुराणवचनानि न प्रमाणानि ॥ किं च पुराणं सर्गप्रातिसर्गादिष्वन्यपरामिति नेतिहासवत्पुरावृत्तकथने तात्पर्यंवत् ॥

[3] See the Venkatesvara Press. Edn. I, p. 21229 for the criticism or II, p. 380 of the Kumbakonam, ed.

fundamental tenet of epic.[1] Uḍāri was *not* a Vaiṣṇava nor a *Viśiṣṭādvaitin*, like Govindarāja.

Śrīvaiṣṇavas gradually split into two divisions, between which acrimonious controversies have ranged owing to doctrinal differences and differences in social usage. Though the two groups are not prohibited from intermarrying and do intermarry, reciprocal ill-feeling has grown from century to century. The rival sects are known as *Vaḍagalai* (Northern Learning) and *Teṅgalai* (Southern Learning). The cleavage is old, and became accentuated in the fourteenth century. The great champion of the "Northern" School is Vedānta Deśika, (1268–1369). He upheld the old *śāstraic* traditions, as embodied in Sanskrit literature, and *smārta* usage generally. The Southern School upheld the supremacy of the Tamil hymns (*Prabandha*) of the Dravidian saints or Āḷvārs. The points of difference are many, and are usually classified as eighteen. The differences in doctrine and usage are relevant in a consideration of Govindarāja's sectarian affiliations. The general view in South India is that he belonged to the Southern School, and was redeemed from its extremism by his great learning, including a mastery of the Vedic and ritualistic literature in Sanskrit, and by his bias towards the modes of life sanctified by the injunctions of *śruti* and *smṛti*. The position mertits examination in the light of Govindarāja's views as reflected in his *bhāṣya*, and by his references to his spiritual obligations.

The Teṅgalai School makes itself prominent for the first time in the life-time of its early champion Piḷḷai (junior) Lokācārya (d. 1340). Its most eminent teacher and organizer is Maṇavāḷa-mahāmuni or Ramya-jāmātṛ-muni (end of the fourteenth century). From the fifteenth century at least it became the custom for all Śrīvaiṣṇava writers to begin their books by invocations of their *pūrvācāryas* in sequence, ending with their own respective preceptors. Govindarāja's invocation stops with Rāmānuja, and then proceeds abruptly to his own *guru*, Śaṭhakopa.

[1] अयं च सर्गः केषुचित्कोशेषु न दृश्यते । उडारिणा न व्याख्यातश्च । आरम्भात्प्रभृति नारायणपरत्वविरुद्धं च अत्र प्रतिभाति सूर्यपरत्वम् । अस्मिंश्च काण्डे त्रिंशदुत्तरशतसर्गा उडारिणा गणिताः । एतदन्तर्भावे एकत्रिंशदुत्तरशतसर्गास्तेन गणिता भवेयुः ॥

Vedānta Deśika is so called by this title, his real name being Veṅkaṭanātha. Teṅgalais usually refer to him as Vedāntācārya, but never as "*Ācārya*" or by the honorific plural "*Ācāryāḥ*". But there are many references to him in Govindarāja's commentary in this honorific plural, and there is one specific allusion to him as "Nigamāntācāryāḥ" a designation used by his own followers, (comment on *Sundarakāṇḍa*, xxvii, 63: *evam āhuḥ Nigamāntācāryāḥ*). Such a deferential allusion to one of the unsparing critics of the tenets of his own sub-sect would indicate unusual liberal-mindedness and a courage to face the unpopularity in his own section that would follow, if the writer who made the reference was a Teṅgalai follower.

The Southern School discounts Vedic sacrifices in general and of living victims specially. The *Rāmāyaṇa* describes in detail many sacrifices, which Govindarāja supports by citation of the appropriate ritualistic authority, and he does so in a way which does not indicate any opposition to such *yāgas*. The knowledge displayed in the commentary is almost like that of one who not only knew the theory but had actually participated in the celebration of *yāgas* in which victims were offered.

In regard to the relations of the *dvijas* and *śūdras*, the Southern School shows tolerance of the relaxations of the *smṛti* restrictions on the latter. Thus in its view a gifted *śūdra* can be the teacher of a *brāhmaṇa*. It holds that a *śūdra*, who becomes a *prapanna*, is equal to the most orthodox Brāhmaṇa.[1] Honor is not due to mere birth. The *mūla-mantra* with the *praṇava* can be recited to *śūdras*. Govindarāja's views seem to show some inconsistency in regard to what may be due to non-*dvijas*. In commenting on *Bālakāṇḍa*, i, 97, which refers to the *reading* (*paṭhana*) of the poem by all the four castes, and the good results which will follow from such study, Govindarāja takes the orthodox stand that as the *Rāmāyaṇa* is inspired by the Veda, (*vedopabṛṁhaṇa*), the *śūdra*, who has no right to study the Veda, can only *hear* the *Rāmāyaṇa read* to him by a *dvija*. *Paṭhan* is interpreted as

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1 See V. Raṅgācārya's "Successors of Rāmānuja" in J. B. B. R. A. S., p. 132.

śṛṇvan.[1] In the alternative, he would concede to the *śūdra* only the right to study the summary of the poem in the first chapter (*saṃkṣepapāṭhamātre adhikārostīti siddham*). Again, in commenting on Rāma's question to Bharata (*Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, 100, 14) whether he honors Brahmans (*brāhmaṇāṁsca abhimanyase*), Govindarāja asserts that by mere birth, and without any examination of his learning or good conduct a Brahman is entitled to honor from the king. (" *Brāhmaṇān iti jātimātraparo vā*; *tadā vidyāśīlādikam aparīkṣya brāhmaṇatvamātreṇa yathāyogyam bahumānam vivakṣitam*). Similarly, the orthodox position is upheld by Govindarāja in the scholarly discussion as to what Fire Rāma was entitled to maintain in the forest, his conclusion being it was *aupāsanāgni* only, (vide commentary on *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, xcix, 12). These are positions in consonance only with those of the Northern School.

On the other hand, some differences from the Vaḍagalai position are evident in the commentary. In *Araṇyakāṇḍa*, lxviii, 36, it is stated that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa offered libations of water *in accordance with the śāstras*[2] to Jaṭāyu. Was it right to say that a libation to a dead bird (*tiryagyoni*) is ordained by śāstras ? Orthodox writers try to explain away the incident. *Padmapurāṇa*, cited by the *Tilaka* commentary (which now runs the *Govindrājīya* close in popularity) say that the rites were done by Rāma out of love (*snehāt*), i. e. not in accordance, with *śāstra*. Govindarāja faces the issue squarely, says the action was correct and in accordance with the famous injunction that they who were devotees of the Lord are not *Śūdras*, and that in every *varṇa* those alone are *Śūdras* who have no faith in Janārdana."[3] He rejects such

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[1] शूद्रस्य इतिहासपुराणयोः श्रावणमात्रं स्मृतिभिरनुज्ञातं न तु पठनम् । तथापि पठन्नित्यादि ऋषिवचनप्रामाण्यात् ' रचनाद्रयकारस्य ' इति न्यायेन अस्मिन् संक्षेपपाठमात्रे अधिकारोऽस्ति इति सिद्धम् ॥

पठन् द्विजो वागृषभत्वमीयात् स्यात् क्षत्रियो भूमिपतित्वमीयात् । वणिग्जनः पण्यफलत्वमीयात् जनश्च शूद्रोपि महत्वमीयात् ॥ वेदोपबृंहणे शूद्रस्य सर्वथानधिकारात् शूद्र इत्यत्र पठन्निति नानुषज्यते; किं तु शृण्वन्नित्यध्याह्रियते । ' शृण्वन् रामायणं भक्त्या ' इति श्रवणस्यापि महाफलत्ववचनात् ॥

[2] शास्त्रदृष्टेन विधिना जले गृध्राय राघवौ ।
स्नात्वा तौ गृध्रराजाय उदकं चक्रतुस्तदा ॥

[3] न शूद्रा भगवद्भक्ता विप्रा भागवताः स्मृताः ।
सर्ववर्णेषु ते शूद्राः ते ह्यभक्ता जनार्दने ॥

explanation as that the statement was intended only to show honor to Jaṭāyu (*praśaṁsā-param*) and that it is another instance, like Draupadī's marriage of five husbands, of obsolete epic usage, which has to be condoned as such. Citing the ascent in status of Viśvāmitra and of the *mokṣa* accorded to Śabarī, he maintains that devotion to the Lord supersedes mere brith.[1] This is a Teṅgalai tenet.

The Southern School interdicts baths in the Ganges on the ground that its waters are polluted by contact with Śiva's hair.[2] In Bālakāṇḍa, xlii, 27, it is sated that Rāma and Lakṣamaṇa, on reaching the banks of the Ganges with Viśvāmitra, sprinkled themselves with its water, 'holy by contact with a limb of Śiva' (*Bhavāṅga-patitaṁ toyam pavitram iti paspṛśuḥ.*) Govindarāja's comment is characteristic. The river is holy by contact with Śiva but not as holy as it was before it made the contact after springing from Viṣṇu's feet; hence, they simply touched the water (*paspṛśuḥ*) and did not plunge into it. (*na sasnuḥ*). Maheśvaratīrtha roundly interprets *paspṛśuḥ* as *sasnuḥ*.

Another Teṅgalai practice for which support is given by Govindarāja is the making of obeisance (*praṇāma*) by a *yati* or *bhikṣuka* to a *gṛhastha*.[3] This is contrary to *smṛti* precept, which is contained in such well-known saying as: "The ascetic must be saluted by every one, and the mother even by the ascetic." (*Sarva-vandyā hi yatayaḥ, prasūrvandyā hi sādaram*). An occasion for the expression of the Teṅgalai view of *praṇāma* is

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[1] ब्राह्मणत्वादि जाति(?)र्हि शास्त्रैकसमधिगम्या ननु गोत्वादि वदाकृतिगम्या। तेन तत्तुल्यत्वमाशंक्येत । अत एव विश्वामित्रस्यापि क्षत्रियत्वजातिरपनीता उपनीता च ब्राह्मणत्वजातिरिति उपपादितं बालकाण्डे । अयमर्थ उपपादयिष्यते च श्रमणी वृत्तान्ते । इदं च द्रौपदीविवाहादिवत् ऐतिहासिकविलक्षणव्याक्तिविशेषानियतामिति च नातिप्रसङ्गावकाशः ॥

[2] See the criticism of the Teṅgalai creed and practices in Veṅkaṭādhvari's *Viśvaguṇādarśa-campū* (Bombay, 1915), Sl. 220-237, and particularly the following.

न गाहन्ते गङ्गामपि नटजटासार इति
न मज्जन्त्यम्भोधौ लवणरसवेशन्तक इति ।
न पश्चैवं गव्यानपि पशुशकृत्सार इति ह
पिबन्त्येषां दोषान् क इह निपुणः स्याद्गणयितुम् ॥

[3] *Ibid.* 231:—

यतिमपि गृहिणां वन्दनं कारयन्तः

furnished by *Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa*, iii, 2-3, where Hanumān visits Rāma in disguise as a *bhikṣu*, and prostrates himself before Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (*vinītavat upāgamya Rāghavau praṇipatya ca*). How can a *bhikṣu* make a *namaskāra* to *gṛhasthas*? Commentators have been put to difficulty in explaining away the act. Some have explained *bhikṣu* as *brahmacārī*, and others have explained that Hanumān forgot himself and his ascetic disguise in his excitement when he saw the brothers. Govindarāja's view is that the prohibition of *praṇāma* to *gṛhasthas* by ascetics is only as regards salutation of ignorant *gṛhasthas*, since according to Manu (II, 155) seniority among Brāhmaṇas is by wisdom (*viprāṇām jñānato jyeṣṭhyam*). He holds that the ascetic who, recognising superior wisdom in a *gṛhastha*, still fails to salute him contravenes the injunction of Manu. (*yadi hi jñānādhikam dṛṣtvā karmamātreṇādhiko yatiḥ na praṇamet Manuvacanam virudhyate*). This is support of a pure Teṅgalai doctrine, which is obnoxious to Vaḍagalais.

An important doctrinal difference between the two schools lies in their conceptions of the position of Śrī or Lakṣmī. According to the traditional Śrīvaiṣṇava view, which the Northern School upholds, Śrī is a necessary aspect of Godhood, inseparable from Viṣṇu, equally uncreated and infinite, equally illimitable. God is *Śrī-nivāsa*. The Teṅgalais hold her to be a finite Being, greater than others, but still a created Being, like Viṣvaksena, though above him; it is open therefore to attribute to her defects, which can not logically be ascribed to God. In *Sundara-kāṇḍa*, xlii, 10, Sītā, whose identity with Śrī is repeatedly maintained by Govindarāja, denies to the Rākṣasa women that she knew Hanumān. (*Ahamatibhītāsmi, naiva jānāmi konvayam*). A controversy has raged as to whether Sītā did or did not utter a falsehood when she made this denial. Govindarāja implies that she uttered a falsehood, by his extenuation of the act. He quotes an old śloka (of which many paraphrases exist in Dharmaśāstra literature),[1] describing five occasions on

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[1] 'नैनम् जानामीति'।

"विवाहकाले रतिसंप्रयोगे प्राणात्यये सर्वधनापहारे।
मित्रस्य चार्थेप्यनृतं वदेयु: पञ्चानृतान्याहुरपातकानि"

इति स्मरणात् असत्योक्तिः॥ The ethics of permisible lying may be found

(*continued on the next page*)

which an untruth spoken does not constitute a *pātaka* (sin). He has explained the same dictum as inapplicable to the promise made by Daśaratha to Kaikeyī, as that promise was not made on one of the five exempted occasions. The gist of his finding is to recognize indirectly in Sītā something short of the moral perfection which should charcterise Godhead. Though it may be possible to argue that this was not *his* view, but Vālmīki's, it looks on the face of it as a concession to the Teṅgalai concept of Śrī being in the *jīvakoṭi* (created beings).

To sum up. Govindarāja was a learned expounder of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, devoted to the God of Tirupati, where he lived in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. He wrote his great commentary in instalmants, publishing them as written, receiving for the *bhāṣya* on the sixth canto encouragement and support from an opulent Vaiṣṇava named Bhāvanācārya. He was both critical and erudite, well versed in *Veda* and *śāstras*, and of tolerant views. His aim seems to have been not to commit himself markedly to either of the rival Vaiṣṇava schools in an epoch in which sectarian animosity had become tense. The probabilities are that he was born a Teṅgalai, who, through training and conviction, drifted away from many of the tenets of his sect, and learned to revere the great Vaḍagalai saint Vedānta Deśika. The middle position that he took has ensured for his commentary immunity from partisan attacks, which might have ignored its learning, critical acumen, aesthetic sense and eloquence, and condemned what is at present one of the best expositions of the national Epic.

(*continued from the previous page*)

discussed in Caṇḍeśvara's *Gṛhastharatnākara* (Bib. Ind. 1928), pp. 511–513, and Lakṣmīdhara's *Gṛhastha-kalpataru*, which is being prepared for publication by the writer.

ṚTA IN THE ṚGVEDA

By

V. M. Apte

H. Oldenberg,[1] P. Regnaud,[2] W. Neisser,[3] E. Schwyzer,[4] J. Vendryes[5]—these are but a few of the many Indologists of the West, who have paid special attention to the significance of the word *ṛtá* in Vedic literature, not to mention the various lexicographers and other too well-known Vedic scholars, Indian and non-Indian, who have treated of the word, in the course of their studies! And yet, in my view, the fundamental *physical* sense —the primary meaning— of the word, which appears alongside of, and is yet clearly distinguishable from its widely accepted secondary or derived sense and which so eminently suits a large number of passages in the Ṛgveda, has not been *well established* though hinted at, by Ludwig[6] and Tilak.[7] The present paper attempts to present the evidence in the form of the relevant Ṛgvedic passages, which, in the opinion of the writer, establishes this primary *physical* sense.

§ 2 *Ṛtá* is derived from $\sqrt{ṛ}$, to go and we recognize in it the suffix *ta*, which is employed almost exclusively to form past participles, chiefly with passive but sometimes with intransitive meaning. The more general and original sense of this suffix is preserved in some words used as adjectives or as substantives with concrete meaning such as our *ṛtá*, which should therefore, primarily, mean '(something) gone over (correctly)' or better, '(the correct order of) going' and secondarily

1 Zur Religion und Mythologie des Veda. Nachrichten von der Gesselschaft der Wissenschaften Zu Göttingen, 1915.

2 Le Mot Védique *ṛta*. Revue d'Histoire Religieuse. XVI 26.

3 Vedica; Bezzenberger's Beiträge Zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen, XIX.

4 Uber die altindischen und altiranischen Wörter für gut und böse; Festschrift Kaegi.

5 Les correspondances de vocabulaire entre l'indo-iranien et l'italoceltique, Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique. XX 265.

6 Commentar.

7 The Orion, p. 158

'the settled Order or Right.' When, in the Ṛgveda, the fixed path of *ṛtá* unerringly followed by the *devás* (originally 'the Shining Ones or the Luminaries') is spoken of in the Ṛgveda, it should, in my opinion, naturally mean 'the Zodiac' or the imaginary belt or zone in the heavens, within which the apparent motions of the sun, moon and the principal planet or *devás* are confined. The semantic development of the word is, in my view, exactly parallel to that of the word '*devá*' as shown below.

Ṛtá=I, The belt of the Zodiac; II, World-Order, Right, rite.

Devá=I, The Shining One; II, World-ruler, god.

But the burden of proving this proposition must fall on the Ṛgveda passages discussed below;—passages which clearly bring out this '*physical* sense of the word, as I proceed to show.

§ 3 An almost convincing passage is I. 164, 11[1]: 'The wheel of *ṛtá*, with twelve spokes, turns round and round heaven; here (i. e. within this wheel), O Agni, the seven hundred and twenty sons take their stand in pairs.' The circle of the zodiac, the apparent motion of the luminaries within which, gives us the twelve months ('spokes') and the 360 days and nights, is here referred to as the wheel of *ṛtá*. The days and nights are very appropriately described as 'standing in pairs.' They are described as 'sons' of the twelve months, just as I. 25.8 ab speaks of the "twelve months with (their) progeny" (prajā́). Verse 48 of this same hymn refers to this very wheel of *ṛtá*, mentioning in addition, the 'three naves (*nábhyāni*)' or the three seasons of four months each.

§ 4 The following 'Dawn' passages clearly indicate the *spatial* character of *ṛtá*. The Dawn (like other luminaries) starts her visible journey from a fixed point in this *ṛtá*. It is only when she closely follows the path of (i. e. laid along) *ṛtá*, that she does not miss the directions. IV. 51.8[2]: 'They draw

[1] I. 164. 11 :—

द्वादशारं नहि तज्जराय वर्वर्ति चक्रं परि द्यामृतस्य ।
आ पुत्रा अग्ने मिथुनासो अत्र सप्त शतानि विंशतिश्च तस्थुः ॥

[2] IV. 51. 8 :—

ता आ चरन्ति समना पुरस्तात् समानतः समना पप्रथानाः ।
ऋतस्य देवीः सदसो बुधाना गवां न सर्गा उषसो जरन्ते ॥

near, in the east, in the same way, extending (themselves) from the same place, in the same way. The goddesses, the Dawns, *waking from the seat of ṛtá*, are on the move, like kine let loose.' I. 123. 9 [1] : ' Knowing (as she does) the name of the first day, the Shining White One is born from out of the darkness. The Dame never misses the *seat of ṛtá*, approaching the appointed place, day after day.' I. 124.3 [2] : ' This Daughter of heaven has been seen, clothing herself with lustre, in the same way, in the east. She *follows correctly the path of the ṛtá* ; as one who knows, she does not miss the directions. V. 80.4ab [3] : ' She of changing colours, develops double strength, manifesting her body in the east.' The last two Pādas of this verse are identical with I. 124.3cd. III, 61.7ab [4] : ' The Bull (i. e. the Sun) urging on the Dawns at the bottom of *ṛtá*, has entered into the great heaven and earth.' X. 8 3cd. [5] : ' In the flight of this (Agni), the Red Ones (The Dawns ?) well-bottomed on the Horse (i.e. the Sun), find pleasure in their own body, in the womb of *ṛtá*.

§ 5 I. 136.2ab [6] : ' For the broad (Sun), a (still) wider path,

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1 I. 123. 9 :—

जानत्यह्नः प्रथमस्य नाम शुक्रा कृष्णादजनिष्ट श्वितीची ।
ऋतस्य योषा न मिनाति धामाहरहर्निष्कृतमाचरन्ती ॥

2 I. 124. 3 :—

एषा दिवो दुहिता प्रत्यदर्शि ज्योतिर्वसाना समना पुरस्तात् ।
ऋतस्य पन्थामन्वेति साधु प्रजानतीव न दिशो मिनाति ॥

3 V. 80. 4 :—

एषा व्येनी भवति द्विबर्हा आविष्कृण्वाना तन्वं पुरस्तात् ।
ऋतस्य पन्थामन्वेति साधु प्रजानतीव न दिशो मिनाति ॥

4 III. 61. 7 :—

ऋतस्य बुध्न उषसामिषण्यन् वृषा मही रोदसी आ विवेश ।
मही मित्रस्य वरुणस्य माया चन्द्रेव भानुं वि दधे पुरुत्रा ॥

X. 8. 3 :—

आ यो मूर्धानं पित्रोररब्ध न्यध्वरे दधिरे सूरो अर्णः ।
अस्य पत्मन्नरुषीरश्वबुध्ना ऋतस्य योनौ तन्वो जुषन्त ॥

6 I. 136. 2 :—

अदर्शि गातुरुरवे वरीयसी पन्था ऋतस्य समयंस्त रश्मिभिः
चक्षुर्भगस्य रश्मिभिः ।

(*continued on the next page*)

became visible; *the path of ṛtá was directed with rays...*' Here, the reference to the rays of the sun as spreading on and there fore, as it were, directing the path of *ṛtá* makes it certain that the path was high up in the heavens and was described by the motion of the Sun across the sky. In X. 80.6c,[1] the path of *ṛtá* is described as the *Gandharva* path and therefore, ***necessarily the path high up in heaven***, on which ***alone the Gandharvas are wont to travel.***

§ 6 In VI. 51.1c,[2] the Sun rising upwards, is described as the lovely and Shining face of *ṛtá* and in IV. 5–9[3] as 'Shining in the seat of *ṛtá.*' Varuṇa says (in IV. 42.4b),[4] 'I set heaven in the abode of *ṛtá.* In III. 54.6,[5] the Sun is described as observing '*heaven and earth rejoicing in the womb of ṛtá.* X. 65.8[6] tells

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(*continued from the previous page*)

युक्षं मित्रस्य सादनमर्यम्णो वरुणस्य च ।
अथा दधाते बृहदुक्थ्यं १ वयं उपस्तुत्यं बृहद् वयः ॥

1 X. 80. 6:—
अग्निं विश ईळते मानुषीर्या अग्निं मनुषो नहुषो वि जाताः ।
अग्निर्गान्धर्वीं पथ्यामृतस्याग्नेर्गव्यूतिर्घृत आ निषत्ता ॥

2 VI. 51. 1:—
उदु त्यच्चक्षुर्महि मित्रयोराँ एति प्रियं वरुणयोरदब्धम् ।
ऋतस्य शुचि दर्शतमनीकं रुक्मो न दिव उदिता व्यद्यौत् ॥

3 IV. 5. 9:—
इदमु त्यन्महि महामनीकं यदुस्रिया सचत पूर्व्यं गौः ।
ऋतस्य पदे अधि दीद्यानं गुहा रघुष्यद् रघुयद् विवेद ॥

4 IV. 42. 4:—
अहमपो अपिन्वमुक्षमाणा धारयं दिवं सदन ऋतस्य ।
ऋतेन पुत्रो अदितेर्ऋतावोत त्रिधातु प्रथयद् वि भूम ॥

5 III. 54. 6:—
कविर्नृचक्षा अभि षीमचष्ट ऋतस्य योना विघृते मदन्ती ।
नाना चक्राते सदनं यथा वेः समानेन क्रतुना संविदाने ॥

6 X. 65. 8:—
परिक्षिता पितरा पूर्वजावरी ऋतस्य योना क्षयतः समोकसा ।
द्यावापृथिवी वरुणाय सव्रते घृतवत् पयो महिषाय पिन्वतः ॥

us that heaven and earth share a common abode in the womb of *ṛtá* (compare also VII. 53.2). All these passages are clear evidence that *in the geometry of the universe, ṛtá described a well-defined figure*, which held within it, heaven and earth.

§ 7 Other passages, giving clear indications of the location of *ṛtá* in the Ṛgvedic cosmos, are the following :--IV. 21.3 [1] invokes Indra to come to the rescue 'from the farthest limit, from the abode of *ṛtá*.' X. 65.7 [2] speaks of the gods, the denizens of heaven, as occupying the womb of *ṛtá*. According to X. 123.2 [3] Vena (the Sun) shone on the summit of *ṛtá*. In I. 164.47, [4] the rays are described as descending from the abode of *ṛtá* into the darkness of the earth–II. 34. 13 [5] refers to the Maruts (the Rudras), the Storm-gods as having prospered in the seat of *ṛtá*, just as, according to VII. 60.5, [6] the Ādityas thrive in the home

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[1] IV. 21. 3 :--

आ यात्विन्द्रो दिव आ पृथिव्या मक्षू समुद्रादुत वा पुरीषात् ।
स्वर्णरादवसे नो मरुत्वान् परावतो वा सदनादृतस्य ॥

[2] X. 65. 7 :--

दिवक्षसो अग्निजिह्वा ऋतावृध ऋतस्य योनिं विमृशन्त आसते ।
द्यां स्कभित्व्य१प आ चक्रुरोजसा यज्ञं जनित्वी तन्वी३ नि मामृजुः ॥

[3] X. 123. 2 :--

समुद्रादूर्मिमुदियर्ति वेनो नभोजाः पृष्ठं हर्यतस्य दर्शि ।
ऋतस्य सानावधि विष्टपि भ्राट् समानं योनिमभ्यनूषत व्राः ॥

[4] I, 164. 47 :--

कृष्णं नियानं हरयः सुपर्णा अपो वसाना दिवमुत्पतन्ति ।
त आववृत्रन् त्सदनादृतस्यादिद् घृतेन पृथिवी व्युद्यते ॥

[5] II. 34. 13 :--

ते क्षोणीभिररुणेभिर्नाञ्जिभी रुद्रा ऋतस्य सदनेषु वावृधुः ।
निमेघमाना अत्येन पाजसा सुश्चन्द्रं वर्णं दधिरे सुपेशसम् ॥

[6] VII. 60. 5 :--

इमे चेतारो अनृतस्य भूरेः मित्रो अर्यमा वरुणो हि सन्ति ।
इम ऋतस्य वावृधुर्दुरोणे शग्मासः पुत्रा अदितेरदब्धाः ॥

of *ṛtá.* In VIII. 22.7,[1] the Aśvins are implored to approach along the paths of *ṛtá.* VIII. 12.3[2] tells us that Indra drove the waters (cosmic ?) like cars along the path of *ṛtá.* The 11th[3] verse of I. 46, a hymn to the Aśvins is very helpful: The Sun appears (v. 10) and then the path of *ṛtá* and the road to heaven become manifest to facilitate the journey to the farther goal (v. 11). V. 45.7[4] and 8[5] tell us that Saramā recovered the Cows (only) by going along *ṛtá* (v. 7) or along the Path of *ṛtá* (v. 8). The 'cows' are possibly the rays of Dawn (compare X, 67.5 ; 68.9).

§ 8 Finally, I may state that scattered throughout the Ṛgveda are indications of the *extent* and *dimensions* of *ṛtá*, as for example, its altitude (*śṛṅga*) in VIII 86.5, its lowest depth or bottom (*budhná*) in III. 61.7, its fount or well (*khá*) in II. 28 5, its network (*prásiti*) in X 92.4. Unfortunately, however, all these have been explained away as mere figurative descriptions of *ṛtá* in the sense of 'World-order' or 'Moral Order,' even when there was no necessity to do so !

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1 VIII. 22. 7 :—

उप नो वाजिनीवसू यातमृतस्य पथिभिः ।
येभिस्तृक्षिं वृषणा त्रासदस्यवं महे क्षत्राय जिन्वथः ॥

2 VIII. 12. 3 :—

येन सिन्धुं महीरपो रथाँ इव प्रचोदयः ।
पन्थामृतस्य यातवे तमीमहे ॥

3 I. 46. 11 :—

अभूदु पारमेतवे पन्था ऋतस्य साधुया ।
अदर्शि वि स्रुतिर्दिवः ॥

4 V. 45. 7 :—

अनूनोदत्र हस्तयतो अद्रिरार्चन् येन दश मासो नवग्वाः ।
ऋतं यती सरमा गा अविन्दद् विश्वानि सत्याङ्गिराश्चकार ॥

5 V. 45. 8 :—

विश्वे अस्या व्युषि माहिनायाः सं यद् गोभिरङ्गिरसो नवन्त ।
उत्स आसां परमे सधस्थ ऋतस्य पथा सरमा विदद् गाः ॥

SANKHA-LIKHITA BRAHMACARIYA

Its Pali interpretation confirmed in Chinese Texts

BY

P. V. BAPAT

In an old stock passage in the Nikāyas (Dīgha, 2nd sutta, §§40–41) we find the following paragraphs—

" Idha, Mahārāja, Tathāgato loke uppajjati Arahaṃ Sammāsambuddho.... So dhammaṃ deseti ādi-kalyāṇaṃ majjhe-kalyāṇaṃ pariyosāna-kalyāṇaṃ.... Taṃ dhammaṃ suṇāti gahapati vā gahapatiputto vā... ; iti paṭisañcikkhati ' sambādho gharāvāso rajāpatho, abbhokāso pabbajjā ; na-yidaṃ sukaraṃ agāramajjhāvasatā ekantaparipuṇṇaṃ ekantaparisuddhaṃ *sankha-likhitaṃ* brahmacariyaṃ carituṃ : yannūnāhaṃ kesamassuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajeyyaṃ ' ti. "

" Here, O great king, a Tathāgata is born in the world, an Arhat, a fully-enlightened one....He preaches a doctrine which is auspicious at the beginning, auspicious at the middle and auspicious at the end....It is listened to by a house-holder or the son of a house-holder....Thus he reflects : staying in a house is like staying in a crowded place, a place full of dust. Renouncing one's house is like moving out in the open. It is not easy for a person living in a house to practise the holy life—a life, entirely perfect and entirely pure, and (described as) *sankha-likhita.* Hence, I should shave off the hair on the head and beard, put on yellowish garments and go forth into the houseless state."

This passage is again and again repeated in the Nikāyas. It occurs in the Dīgha, suttas 3.30, 4.23, 6.16, 10.2.7, 12.19, 13.41, in most of which the passage occurs in the peyyāla abbreviations. It also occurs in the Majjhima, suttas no. 27, 36, 38, 51, 82, 112 etc. as well as in other Nikāyas, either in full or in an abbreviated form.

In what sense is the expression *sankha-likhita* used ? As far as the text goes, there is nothing in it to indicate the exact interpretation which was put upon it. This much, however, seems to be clear that it must refer to a life of holiness found, away from one's house, in a houseless state, in the perfect and pure life of a

wandering anchorite. We have an authoritative explanation given by Buddhaghosa early in the fifth century A. D. In DCm. i, 181, he explains it as 'likhita-sankha-sadisa, dhota-sankha-sappṭibhāga.' MCm. ii. 205, PugCm. p. 65 (Simon Hewavitaraṇa ed.) also give the same explanation. Dhammapāla in his Commentary (p. 308) on Ud. V. 6 (the story of Soṇa Kuṭikaṇṇa) gives the same explanation as that of Buddhaghosa. It means 'like a polished conch, like a conch washed clean.'

In his History of Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy (p. 241 n. 6) Prof. B. M. Barua suggests that the Pali Commentator, Buddhaghosa, has altogether lost sight of the historical significance of this expression. He thinks the expression means the holy life prescribed by Śaṅkha-Likhita, the two famous jurists, whose names had become proverbial, as may be judged from the use of this expression, in the time of the Buddha. Prof. P. V. Kane in his History of Dharmaśāstra (vol. I. section 12) gives a whole section on the Dharma-sūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita. In the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. VII. pp. 101-28, Prof. Kane has also given a collection of the quotations ascribed to Śaṅkha or Śaṅkha-Likhita, gathered from several texts. Many of these extracts are in prose and Prof. Kane suggests that there existed a prose sūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita, which was later followed by versified smṛtis. He also points out that in some cases there are discrepancies between prose sūtra and versified smṛtis. In the collection of eighteen smṛtis, there is a work called Śaṅkha-smṛti in 18 chapters as well as a short Likhita-smṛti. Ānandāśrama has published, in Vol. 45, Laghu-Śaṅkha-smṛti, Likhita-smṛti, Śaṅkha-Likhita-smṛti and Śaṅkha-smṛti. In the Mahābhārata (II. 8.11) Śaṅkha and Likhita are mentioned as great sages sitting as members of an assembly. In another place (Śāntiparva 23. 18-50) Śaṅkha remonstrates with his brother Likhita who had come to him on a visit, for having eaten fruits not given to him. He insists on Likhita's going to King Sudyumna and asking for the infliction upon himself of a legal punishment for the offence of taking things not given to him (adattādāna). Likhita has had his hands cut off for the offence but he gets them back after having gone through a penance.

Thus it will be seen that there is a regular tradition of the

school of Śaṅkha and Likhita among the Brahmins and it is not unlikely that this Brahmanical tradition was unknown to the Great Pali Commentator, Buddhaghosa, who often exhibits ignorance of Brahmanical beliefs and Brahmanical customs. In his Introduction (pp. xiii-xiv) to the Devanāgarī edition of the Visuddhimagga (Bhāratīya Vidyā Series no. 1, Andheri, Bombay 1940) Prof. Dharmananda Kosambi has shown how we can infer from Buddhaghosa's comment upon 'Bandhupādāpaccā' and upon 'Bhūnahu' that he was ignorant of the true interpretations of these terms, which one can understand correctly from the study of Brahmanical literature.

But Buddhaghosa is not alone. Dhammapāla also who exhibits a greater acquaintance with the Brahmanical tradition follows Buddhaghosa in his explanation. It may, however, be argued that Dhammapāla after all belongs to the same tradition as that of Buddhaghosa. But this is not all. There is another vast source-that of the Chinese translations of the Āgamas of the Sarvāstivāda School of Buddhism or of another work on Vinaya of the Hīnayānists. Serveral of the suttas from the Nikāyas referred to above at the beginning of this paper have their counterparts in the Chinese translations of the Āgamas such as Dīrghāgama, Madhyamāgama etc. These translations reveal no trace, whatsoever, of the proper names of Śaṅkha or Likhita, but they give only the general rendering of 'pure, holy life.' See Dīrghāgama[1] 13. 7a 3-4 ; 15, 9b. 5-6 ; 16.3b. 2. Other passages at 15.9a-9b, 16.19b. 5 pass over the expression in the peyyāla abbreviation. In Madhyamāgama also (31.2.6, 36.12.6) we find no other interpretation but 'pure, entirely pure' etc. These instances are, however, not convincing, as the Chinese translators might have entirely passed over the expression 'sankha-likhita' and given rendering only of the other two expressions 'ekantaparipuṇṇaṃ, ekantaparisuddhaṃ.' So it was necessary to find out a passage in a commentary where is given an expression corresponding to 'sankha-likhita' and actually commented upon. After a long hunt, fortunately, I could come across a passage of this type. In Shān-ɔien-phi-po-shā-lūh (Nanjio No. 1125), there is a passage (6.4b. 6-7 in the

[1] References are to the edition of bold letters in block print, apparently the same used by Nanjio for his Catalogue.

bold type edition; Vol. 24, p. 711b, 11-12 of the Taisho edition) which corresponds to Samantapāsādikā (commentary on the Vinayapiṭaka) vol. i. p. 203 where is commented upon the expression 'sankha-likhita' occurring in a passage taken from Vin. iii. 12, Suttavibhanga i. 5. 1-2. Here is the English rendering of the Chinese passage :—

"He thus thinks : To practise in one's house the Brahmacarya consisting of the practice of Conduct, Concentration and Insight (Sīla, Samādhi, Paññā) even for a day is to have it with imperfections. It is a matter which is very difficult and not appropriate for a stay-at-home. Like polishing of a gem (Mo-cho, Radical 112 plus 11 strokes and Radical 96—according to Couvreur 95 — plus 8 strokes).

Question—What is polishing of a gem (Mo-cho)?

Answer—Just as a lapidary who polishes a gem exceedingly is able to turn it white and pure, so to practise (holy life) in a house and turn it into what may be compared to a polished gem is a thing exceedingly difficult to accomplish."

Thus it will be clear from above that the word 'likhita' is interpreted as 'polished,' a sense agreeing with that found in Pali Commentaries. The word 'sankha' is interpreted in a wider, looser and a generic sense. The Chinese translator had probably no exact, specific idea of that word. We know how the conch (sankha) cocupies a prominent and esteemed position in the accessories of worship or the paraphernalia of the coronation of a monarch. See, for instance the list of objects exchanged by Emperor Asoka and Devānampiyatissa of Ceylon. (Samantapāsādikā, i. p. 75). He has, therefore, interpreted the word in the sense of a precious stone, a gem or a jewel. The translator has tried to come as near the original as possible. Sankha is considered to be an emblem [1] of whiteness or purity.

The two words used by the Chinese translator—Mo Cho—convey the same idea of purity of a gem. Couvreur in his Dictionnaire Classique da la Langue Chinoise (1930) gives on p. 584, 2nd column, under the word Cho an illustration of the use of this word. There he gives the example of a sage perfecting himself

[1] Śaṅkhavarṇakhuraḥ smṛtaḥ (Likhitasmṛtiḥ 14); na śaṅkhabhāvamujjhati śaṅkhaḥ śikhibhuktamukto'pi (Pañcatantra, 4. 110).

like a lapidary who cuts and polishes a precions stone. So the idea of extreme purity is clearly conveyed by these two words.

Now the question is : in what sense is the expression *sankha-likhita* used in the stock passage of the Nikāyas reproduced at the beginning of this paper ? The passage is from one of the oldest strata [1] of the Dīgha Nikāya, and for that matter even of all the Nikāyas. The writer's intention appears to convey the *nature* of purity rather than the origin or *source* of pure life. He wants to show that in a house-holder's life it is not possible to live that pure spotlese life–the life as pure as a polished conch-shell. This word, so to say, supplies an illustration explaining the two previous words 'ekantaparipuṇṇaṃ ekantaparisuddhaṃ ' 'perfect in all respects, pure in entirety.' The pure life of holiness that is implied here–the pure life of an ideal anchorite may be described to have been in existence long before Śaṅkha-Likhita. Even the earlier Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba and others contain passages which more appropiately describe the holy life of a Brahmacārī or an ascetic. On a careful comparison with the relevant Dharmasūtras of Gautama and Āpastamba, the writer of this paper is inclined to believe that these sūtras come closer to the earlier passages of the Nikāyas. If the holy life of an ascetic can be supposed to have gone under the name of Śaṅkha-Likhita—who, according to Prof. Kane, [2] may be placed somewhere between 300 B. C. and 100 A. D.—it would be more in the fitness of things to believe that it could have been styled after the Dharmasūtrakāras of the earliest past.

As has been shown, the Buddhist tradition does not support this view. Not only Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla of the Pali school, but also the Sarvāstivāda tradition, as represented by the Chinese translations of the Āgamas made towards the end of the fourth or at the beginning of the fifth century A. D. make no mention of these writers. Although Tipiṭaka literature exhibits but slight aquiantance with the Mahābhārata, Buddhaghosa does make references to the names of Rāmāyaṇa and Bhārata (Comment on akkhāna in D. sutta 1, para. 13) as well as to some of the principal characters in the Bhārata (Visuddhimagga ed.

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1 Annals of the B. O. R. Institute, VIII. 1-16

2 Ibid. Vol. VII. 105.

by Kosambi, VIII. 19). Sarvāstivādins who accepted Sanskrit as the language of their literature may certainly be expected to know more of the Brahmanical tradition. All these do not support the contention. The Chinese translation by Saṅghabhadra in 488–89 A. D. of the Vinaya-Commentary definitely interprets the expression as 'polished like a gem.' It is by no means certain that Buddhaghosa was the author of Samantapāsādikā, the Vinaya-Commentary, to which the Chinese Version quoted above corresponds, although tradition ascribed the authorship of this work also to him. Chapters 2, 6 and 7 of the Śaṅkhasmṛti (which may be said to be dealing with what may be compared to the holy life of an anchorite) does not contain, barring of course some matter which has no relation with the outward life of an anchorite, any topices which are not found in earlier Dharmasūtras. The Śaṅkhasmṛti may be considered to be a literary successor of the Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha or Śaṅkha-Likhita. It is a revised but a versified version of the earlier Dharmasūtra, in which the reviser has perhaps taken the liberty of modifying the earlier texts to suit the new ideas of later times. In any way, the Śaṅkhasmṛti as it exists now, along with the collection of passages made from the quotations ascribed to Śaṅkha-Likhita, does not justify any claim, on behalf of Śaṅkha and Likhita, to be the originators of sankha-likhita Brahmacariya. The Likhitasmṛti consisting of 92 verses dealing with rituals of sacrifice or śrāddha offerings has still lesser claim.

Thus we conclude that in spite of the Brahmanical tradition about the Dharmasūtrakāras, Śaṅkha and Likhita, which may have had an independent existence, there is no cogent reason to believe that *sankha-likhita* Brahmacariya had anything to do with the Brahmanical Dharmasūtrakāras, Śaṅkha and Likhita.

THE LAST MESSAGE OF VALLABHĀCARYA

BY

G. H. BHATT

It is stated in one[1] of the works of Vallabhācārya that he was twice asked by the Lord Kṛṣṇa to leave the world—once on the confluence of the Ganges and the sea, and once in Mathurā in the United Provinces—, but could not carry out that divine command, as his mission was not fulfilled. After travelling, more than once, in the whole of India, Vallabhācārya spent his days in Adel, a small village two miles away from Allahabad. When the Ācārya completed his important literary works, and commanded a good following, he received the third call from the Lord to take Saṁnyāsa. In response to the divine call the Ācārya made all preparations for becoming a Saṁnyāsī, took the Tridaṇḍa Saṁnyāsa, burnt all his property and lived on the bank of the Ganges, meditating upon the Lord, and desiring to meet Him as early as possible. Later on, the Ācārya went to Benares, and spent about a week on the famous Hanumān Ghāṭa, maintaining complete silence and abstaining from taking food. This was the last week of the order of Saṁnyāsa which continued, in all, for about two months. The Ācārya has very well expressed his views on Saṁnyāsa in one[2] of his short treatises.

The two sons of Vallabhācārya, Gopīnāthajī and Viṭṭhalanāthajī, who were seventeen and fifteen years old respectively, and the leading followers like Dāmodaradāsajī, waited upon the Ācārya even during the period of Saṁnyāsa, and followed him even to Benares. When they saw, on the second day of the bright half of the month of Āṣāḍha of the V. S. 1587 (=1531 A. D.), that the Ācārya was on the point of leaving this world, they re-

1 अन्तःकरणप्रबोध. The relevant verses are as follows—

आज्ञा पूर्वं तु या जाता गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे ॥ ५ ॥
यापि पश्चान्मधुवने न कृतं तद् द्वयं मया ।
देहदेशपरित्यागस्तृतीयो लोकगोचरः ॥ ६ ॥

2 संन्यासनिर्णय.

quested him to enlighten them as regards their duty in future. As the Ācārya was following the vow of silence, he wrote, in Sanskrit, three and a half verses[1] which embody the noblest teaching of the Ācārya. These verses are popularly known as Śikṣāsārdhatrayaślokī, and are commented upon by one of the later descendants of Vallabhācārya, Dvārikeśajī by name, who flourished in the early part of the nineteenth century A. D. The verses in question have been, from the earliest times, a source of inspiration to many descendants and followers of Vallabhācārya, and have exercised such a wonderful influence in the history of the Vallabhācāryan School that writers like Harirāyajī (17th century A. D.) could not resist the temptation of writing short treatises[2] on the same subject.

The last instructions, thus given by the Ācārya to his sons and followers, refer to four points which are most important from the view point of the Śuddhādvaita School. The first point that is properly emphasised is 'not to turn away from the Lord Kṛṣṇa under any circumstances.' There are, generally, four causes of the spirit of indifference to the Lord, viz. (1) worshipping deities other than the Lord Kṛṣṇa, (2) enjoying things without dedicating them to the Lord, (3) speaking evil things, and (4) the absence of good company. One who, under the influence of these four things, neglects the worship of the Lord, invites total ruin, and should therefore, try one's best to be free from this evil influence. The second point, mentioned by the Ācārya, is that one should not look upon the Lord Kṛṣṇa as an ordinary master in the world who invariably dismisses his servants when they are found to be guilty. The Lord is always kind to all those who, once for all, surrender themselves to Him,

1 यदा बहिर्मुखा यूयं भविष्यथ कथंचन ।
तदा कालप्रवाहस्था देहचित्तादयोऽप्युत ॥ १ ॥
सर्वथा भक्षयिष्यन्ति युष्मानिति मतिर्मम ।
न लौकिकः प्रभुः कृष्णो मनुते नैव लौकिकम् ॥ २ ॥
भावस्तत्राप्यस्मदीयः सर्वस्वश्चैहिकश्च सः ।
परलोकश्च तेनायं सर्वभावेन सर्वथा ॥ ३ ॥
सेव्यः स एव गोपीशो विधास्यत्याखिलं हि नः ॥ ३½ ॥

2 बहिर्मुखत्वनिरूपण and बहिर्मुखत्वनिवृत्ति

and does not reject these devotees even when they happen to show some weaknesses later on. The next point to which the Ācārya draws the attention of his followers is that the Lord never accepts the service of a person who is not completely devoted to Him, and whose interest more or less lies in the material world. The Lord should be, of course, worshipped in the manner, shown by the Ācārya himself. The last point that is referred to in the message is that one should worship the Lord from all points of view and under all circumstances, and the Lord, when thus worshipped, will manage all our things, both here and elsewhere.

After delivering this message to the world, the Ācārya entered into the sacred waters of the Ganges, and according to the tradition,[1] came out in the form of divine light which went up in the sky. The Ācārya lived in this world for fifty-eight years two months and seven days only.

The tradition, again, says that immediately after the disappearance of the Ācārya from this world, the Lord Kṛṣṇa manifested Himself before the sons and the followers of the Ācārya who were still waiting there mourning over the loss of their spiritual guide, and consoled[2] them by saying that they should not be nervous, that they should have complete confidence in Him, who is dear to the Gopīs and to whom the Gopīs are dear, and, should thereby, fulfil their goal. The Lord, further, said that the real liberation of an individual soul consisted in the enjoyment of its natural state after rejecting the material form made up of the twenty-eight elements. The followers of the Ācārya could, no doubt, gather courage by the words of the Lord and lived upto the highest ideal to such an extent that their names are, even now, remembered with due reverence.

The two young sons of the Ācārya maintained the best traditions of their father. The whole responsibility of the school devolved on the second son, Viṭṭhalanāthajī, after the demise of his elder brother Gopīnāthajī, and it must be said to the credit of

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1 Recorded by Dvārikeśajī in his Sanskrit Commentary on the last verses of the Ācārya, and by Yadunāthajī in his Vallabhadigvijaya.

2 मयि चेदस्ति विश्वासः श्रीगोपीजनवल्लभे ।
तदा कृतार्था यूयं हि शोचनीयं न कर्हिचित् ॥ १ ॥
मुक्तिर्हित्वान्यथारूपं स्वरूपेण व्यवस्थितिः ॥ १२ ॥

Viṭṭhalanāthajī that he not only succeeded in discharging his duties as the son and successor of the Ācārya but developed the aesthetic side of the Śuddhādvaita Vedānta, exercised greater influence in the different parts of India, enjoyed the patronage of many ruling princes and secured a greater following. The History of the Vallabhācāryan School clearly shows that the last wish of the founder was fulfilled by many followers of the School and whenever there was any undesirable case of departure, the result was most deplorable as predicted by the Ācārya. The last message of Vallabhācārya is sufficient by itself to give us a fair idea of the grand ideal set up by him, and to show, at the same time, how the charge of sensualism that is undeservedly levelled against the teaching of the Ācārya is quite groundless.

THE PLACE OF TĀJ IN WORLD ARCHITECTURE

BY

M. A. CHAGHTAI

It cannot be denied that every country and every nation has its own peculiarities and its own masterpieces in arts but there are a few of them which to day occupy an international position in the general domain of fine arts. The Tāj Mahāl of Agra today is, no doubt, counted as one of the marvels of world architecture for its special features which have been more or less described elsewhere[1] but one has well remarked that to 'describe the Tāj is absolutely impossible. It symbolises the poetry of architecture and embodies in marble the undying love of a king.'[2] It behoves us, therefore, to say something about its place in world architecture.

It should be clearly stated here that it is our aim to discuss some points of comparison and contrast by putting the Tāj among the famous domed buildings which are historically either earlier than it or at least contemporary with it.

There has been a long controversy about the origin of the dome as to whether it first appeared in the East or in the West. It has now been established that the dome existed in the East in very ancient days.[3] However, it can safely be contended that the Dome of the Rock (*Qubbatu's-Sakharah*), a building of impressive size and monumental character on an octagonal base has been existing at Jerusalem since the seventh century of the Christian era, when the Caliph Omar captured it in 637, although it embodies today many later developments.[4] The term Dome, as defined by the experts, can really be applied to the Dome of

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[1] Refer to Chaghtai, M. A. *Le Tadj Mahal d'Agra*, Brüsselles, 1938.

[2] The late Rt. Hon. Sayed Amir Alī, *Islamic Culture in India*, Vide Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, 1927, p. 516.

[3] Gosset Alphone. *Les Coupoles d'Orient et d'Occident*, Paris 1889, Creswell, *Persian Dome before 1400* vide Burlington Magazine, 1915, pp. 145 and 208; and *La geographie et les Origines du Premier Art Roman* by J. Puig I Cadafalch, Paris, 1935, p. 252.

[4] Encyclopedia Britannica 11th Ed, Art. *Jerusalem*.

the Rock and to other such domes that appear after it in adjoining countries, such as: Syria, Turkey, Egypt and Algeria. In Egypt especially the Dome of Ibn Tolun, and the grand mosque in Karavan, etc. are the replicas of that of the Rock.

From the very beginning the dome or *qubbah* among the Arabs has been a characteristic of a tomb and where such tombs are found in abundance in Islamic countries, these places were named Qubbah or Qubāb.[1] When the Muslim domination extended over an area wider than that of the Roman Empire and many nations embraced Islam whose architecture differed much from that of Rome and was in some cases even older, the Muslims employed Armenian masons in putting up their monuments. The adoption of the dome as a distinctive feature became common among the Arabs for their shrines and they showed in their construction the same judgment and skill as was shown by the Romans and Byzantines before them. 'But these were not the only dome builders on the earth ; and Strzygowski, the protagonist of Iranian inspiration, argues that the Eastern dome originated in Asia Minor or farther east, passed through Armenia to Byzantium, and thence to the Balkans and Russia under the patronage of the Greek churches.'[2] Arthur Kingsley Porter has well remarked that the pendentives (*mukarrinas*), the main feature of the dome construction, were known in the East at a very early epoch and the arch among the Arabs was so common as a special feature of construction that they used to say 'an arch never sleeps.'[3]

Similarly at Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, the dome with best specimens of pendentives appeared in St. Sophia in the early days, although it also witnessed many later developments.

Even before the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 at the hands of Sultan Muhammad II, almost all the empires including

[1] Encyclopaedia of Islam, Suppl. No. Art. *Qubba*. J. Strzygowski, *Origin of Christian Church*, Oxford, 1923, pp. 64. Yaqut Hamavi, *Mujam'ul-Buldan*, Vol. II, pp. 66, Vol. IV. p. 23, German Edition.

[2] Briggs, S. M., *Architecture* vide Legacy of Islam, Oxford, 1931, p. 160 ; J. Strzygowski, *op. cit.* p. 27.

[3] Porter, A. Kingsley, *Medieval Architecture*, New York, 1912, Vol. I, p. 105.

Muslim powers in different parts, had developed and established their own particular styles of architecture. It was the period when the ancient remains of the Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Byzantines and Iranians had begun to be counted as classics in art. Italy, however, was already enjoying a brighter aspect of life which is aptly called the Renaissance. The architecture of this period has well been described as below :—' The Tuscans never forgot the domes of their remote ancestors, the Romans adhered closely to Latin tradition, the Southerners were affected by Byzantine and Sarasenic models which the Italians blended in their architecture '.[1] This movement gave to Italy an immortal life in all aspects of Arts and Letters which no country or nation had dreamt of before. It also became the cause of attraction of a good many people from other parts of the world who sowed the seeds of revivals of learning in their own respective countries. As the Italian Renaissance was a movement for ' the attainment of self-conscious freedom by the human spirit ' as manifested in the European races, so the causes and effects of this Italian revival brought about tremendous change all over Europe both in cultural aspects and political awakening. Accordingly France enjoyed the effects of this revival in the period of Louis XIV as Italy did during the Renaissance.

This was the time when many travellers both from the East and the West began to tread the world and thus the communication in cultural aspects came into vogue between the East and the West and the travellers began to describe their observations of the marvels of art of other countries on comparative lines. Many French travellers went to India through Persia or by the sea and after visiting the Tāj, they wrote what they observed and compared it with their own architectural masterpieces both in Italy and France.[2]

As to the monumental function of the Tāj Mahāl, it is served by only two such domed European monuments, viz. the Pantheon of Rome and the Pantheon of Paris. The former is at present called St. Maria Rotonda.[3] It has a vaulted roof

1 Symond, Addington, *Renaissance in Italy* (The Modern Library Series) New York, 1935, Vol. I, p. 609.

2 Chaghtai, M. A. *Is there European Influence in the Taj*, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, Dn. 1940.

3 Baedekar, E., *Central Italy and Rome*, 1912, p. 199.

and it was founded in A. D. 112 on a circular base. The experts have compared its dimensions with those of the dome of the mausoleum of Sultaṇ Muhammad Adil Shah at Bijapur built in 1656 and proved that the latter known as the *Gol Gumbad* is the largest dome in the world. [1] The Pantheon of Paris was founded in 1735. In Europe domed monuments on a polygonal base are very scarce but we have plenty of them in the East. In Persia at Sultanya the mosque-mausoleum of Sultan Oljaitu Khuda Banda (1307) is one of the most beautiful and artistic domes of the East on an octagonal base. [2] In India the first so far known octagonal building is the tomb of Feroz Shah Tughluq at Dehli built in 1389. Humayun's tomb and the Tāj are built on a quasi-octagonal base, which the experts have called *Muthamman Baghdadi* and which is very rare in Europe.

M. Durand, a great French author on architecture has well arranged, as below, in his great work, the *Recueil et Parrellel* all such domed monuments of countries on a comparative[3] basis.

St. Sophia at Constantinople 7th century.

St. Marc of Venice 977.

St. Maria of Florence 1425.

Tāj Mahāl, the Mausoleum of the Wife of Shah Jahan at Agra 1631.

St. Peter of Rome 1626-1661.

Dome of Invalids at Paris, 17th century.

Pantheon of Paris 1735.

All these above noted European domes, contrary to the East, have almost one prototype, because they resemble each other both in appearance and fundamentals.

When I placed the plan of the Tāj before Prof. Paul Bigot at my *alma mater* L'Ecole Nationale Superiuere des Beaux-Arts, Paris to seek his advice on certain points, he at once pointed out that it was exactly similar to the Dome des Invalides, the present mausoleum of Napoleon. But this dome of Paris has its prototype in St. Maria de Carignana Eglise de L'Assomption, Genes,

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1 Watts, Ed. *The Largest Dome in the world*, The Daily Statesman Calcutta, 25th Oct. 1932.

2 Creswell, Capt. K A. C. *The Evolution of the Persian Dome*, 'Indian Antiquary, 1915.

3 Durand J. N. L. *Recueil et Parallel des Edifices de Tout Genre Ancient er Modern*, Paris, 1817, Pls. 9, 11, 12.

built in 1552, which has a similar plan and apart from it has four minaret-like towers on four corners. [1]

I revert to the discussion at the beginning. Fergusson says—'The one thing I was least prepared for was the extreme beauty of the interior of the building. I remember perfectly the effect of the Tāj Mahāl and other great imperial tombs at Agra and Delhi. But so far as my knowledge extends, the Dome of the Rock surpasses them all. There is an elegance of proportion—which, does not exist in any other building I am acquainted with.' [2] After quoting this opinion of Fergusson we find that almost all the above noted domed monuments of Europe and the East came into existence after the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem.

The Crypt is a great architectural feature of the Tāj and it is worth our while to trace its origin, while its particular functions concern a Mausoleum. In churches it was employed for the galleries of a catacomb or for the catacomb itself but later on it became a sub-terranean chapel known as a 'Confession' erected round the tomb of a martyr, or the place of martyrdom. The most important crypt being perhaps in Italy viz.—that of St. Mark at Venice. [3] Thus it became a necessary part of tombs and churches. The Musalmans also began to use it as the actual grave chamber for the mausoleums and various examples of this can be seen in Turkey [4] and other countries, but the best specimen being at Samarquand in the mausoleum of Bibi Khānum known as the *Gour-i-Amir*, because Amir Timur himself later on was buried therein. [5] It subsequently became a special feature of the Mughal mausoleums for the princesses who generally observe pardah; perhaps with the idea to keep even their dead bodies in seclusion this under-ground chamber was adopted for their actual graves. They called it *sardāna*. There are various

1 Gramort, Georges, *L'Architecture de la Renaissance en Italie*, Paris, 1931, p. 168, fig. 80 and Gauthier M. P. *Les plus Beaun Edifices de la Ville de Genes* pls. 40-43.

2 Lewis, T. Hayter, *The Holy Places of Jerussalem*, (London) 1888, pp. 26-27.

3 Encyclopedia Britannica, Art. *Crypt*.

4 Gabriel, Albert. *Monuments Turcs d'Anatolia*, Paris, 1930-34. Vol. I. p. 68.

5 *Les Mosquees de Samarcand, La Gour-Emir*, St. Petersburg, 1905.

mausoleums of male personages of the Mughals which are without it while those of princesses are with a crypt even at Lahore [1] and other places. Moreover, it cannot be denied that apart from this consideration in some places Muslim tombs can be seen bearing crypts where particularly the question of masonary concerns keeping in view the condition of sites on which they are built.

It will not be out of place to add here a few words about the *pietra dura* decoration of the Tāj with a view to distinguish it from the mosaics found in Jerusalem, Syria, Constantinople, Italy etc. Gustave le Bon has well said–' The Arabs make use of two sorts of mosaics ; one on the floor and wall covering them with pieces of marble or enamelled coloured pieces of bricks of a varied size and the other on the walls of the Mihrabs (arches). The latter is certainly Byzantine in character. ' [2] In the light of this, therefore, we may say that the decoration of the Tāj is quite distinct and is above all comparison.

After placing the Tāj among the well-known monuments of various countries it may be added that its special architectural features, embodied in its double dome, *pietra dura* decoration on its spendrils and perfectly symmetrical [3] and cylindrical round minarets, and underground sepulchral vault collectively give it a distinction in world architecture and thus it constitutes a class by itself. Points of resemblance may be found here and there between the Tāj and the best specimens of world architecture but this circumstance does not effect its independence for which it is regarded as unique and simply marvellous.

[1] Chaghtai, M. A. *The So-called Tomb and Gardens of Zebu'n-Nisa at Lahore*, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad Dn, 1935.

Some of the prominent Mughal Mausoleums

with crypt	A H	without crypt	A H
Lahore :—			
The so-called Anarakali	1024	Shah Abu'l-Maali	1024
Ali Mardan Khan's mother	1054	Jahangir	1037
Nur Jahan	1055	Asaf Khan	1051
Delhi :—			
Abdurrahim Khan Khanan's wife	1027	Humayun	963
Agra :—			
Qandhari Begam	1027	Akbar	1014
Tāj Mahāl	1040	'Itimadu' d-Dowla	1031

[2] Le Bon. Gustave. *La Civilization des Arabes*, Paris 1884 pp. 559–60.

[3] Chaghtai, M. A, *Pietra Dura Decoration of the Taj*, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, Dn. Oct. 1941.

ON PĀṆINI'S SŪTRA VII–i–90—WRONG WORDING OR CORRUPT READING?

BY

S. P. CHATURVEDI

The commentators of *Pāṇini* (=P) have proposed in many cases amendments in the wording of the P. Sūtras with a view to include the desired and exclude the undesired forms in the then current Sanskrit language. But sometimes their proposed amendments are off the mark: what they amend is not really an incorrect statement, but only a corrupt reading, for which P. cannot be reasonably held responsible. To substantiate the above remark, an attempt is made below in connection with P. 7–1–90.

The P. Sūtra (*gato ṇit.* 7–1–90) as read in the current text, lays down the strengthening of *o* into *au* in the first five forms (three in the nominative and two in the objective) in the declension of *go* (cow)–stem. The P. Sūtra (*autom-śasoḥ* 6–1–93) changes *o* of an *o*–ending stem into *ā*, if the affixes *am* and *śas* follow it. Accepting the present reading of the above two Sūtras as correct, a number of difficulties arise and they are discussed by *Patañjali* (=Pat.). The application of P. 6–1–93 in such conjugational forms a *acinavam* (first person singular, imperfect-*laṅ*-tense from the root *ci*– to gather) will have to be avoided *either* by limiting this sūtra to *go*–stem only (i, e, by reading *ā gotaḥ* in place of *autaḥ*=*ā*+*otaḥ*) *or* by bringing the natural *anuvṛtti* of *supi* in this sūtra from the preceding sūtra (6–1–9 2). The *am* in *acinavam* not being a *sup* (a declensional affix), the sūtra 6–1–93 is not applicable there. But there arises another difficulty. The general sūtra 6-1-93 (being applicable in the case of all *o*–ending stems) would be in natural course suppressed (*bādhita*) by the particular (*viśeṣa*) sūtra 7–1–90; and consequently the sūtra 6–1–93 cannot be applied in *gām* (the objective case singular from *go*–stem) and the undesired form *gāvam* would result. To avoid this difficulty, Pat. suggests that the sūtra 7–1–90 should read as *oto ṇit* and that the sūtra is then applicable to all *o* stems and not to *go* stem only. The P. 6–1–93 (*ā–otom śasoḥ*) consequently becomes a *viśeṣa* sūtra (being applicable in fewer

cases) in relation to the amended sūtra (= S.) *Oto ṇit.* Hence the apprehension, that S. 7-1-90 would suppress the S. 6-1-93, disappears and the desired form *gām* is obtained. The amendment of the S. 7-1-90 is desired for other purposes also; for this S. would cover the case of *dyo* stem also; and such forms as *dyām* (in '*dyām gaccha*' and "*dyāṃ te dhūmo gacchatu*") and *dyāvaḥ* (in "*yad dyāva indra te śatam*") would be easily justified. The other solution for avoiding the application of the sūtra (6-1-93) to *go* stem only by adopting the reading *a gotomśasoḥ* in place of *automśasoḥ* is thus rendered futile and becomes an *ekadeśībhāṣya*, for otherwise the above forms from *dyo* (*dyāvaḥ* and *dyām*) would remain unaccounted for.

The correct reading, then of the S. (7-1-90) as suggested by Pat. and explicitly stated by Kāśikākāra and other commentators is *oto ṇit.* When Pat. suggests the amendment of the S. 7-1-90, he proposes an amendment in the wording of the S. and is not correcting a misreading. Not only Pat., but all other commentators take the P. sutra 7-1-90 to be *goto ṇit* and comment accordingly.

But we should make a distinction between a corrupt reading and a wrong wording. That the S. 7-1-90 in the current form is corrupt text can be establishsd beyond doubt. If the reading *goto ṇit* has P's. sanction, the other S. also must have read as *a gotomśasoḥ*; otherwise the form *gām* would be unjustified. If on the other hand the present reading of S. 6-1-93 is necessary to account for the form *dyām* from *dyo*, as said by Pat. the other S. 7-1-90 also must be read as *oto ṇit* to account for the form *dyāvaḥ* (plural nominative from *dyo*). It is inconceivable that P. should provide for the form *dyām* and keep silent over the other form *dyāvaḥ* from the same stem. Thus *either* both the sūtras (6-1-93 and 7-1-90) have the reading *otaḥ or* both have *gotaḥ.* It should be remembered that both these forms (*dyām* and *dyāvaḥ*) are quoted by Pat. from Vedic literature. As it would be doing injustice to the genius of Pāṇini to regard that both the sūtras dealt with the forms of *go*-stem only and that he ignored the forms of the stem *dyo* (occurring in the Vedic lit.), it can be easily inferred that both the sūtras had the reading *otaḥ* and that the present reading of the S. 7-1-90 is merely a corrupt reading.

Another evidence can be brought forth in support of the above conclusion. There is no sense and rationale in adding *t* to *go* in *gotaḥ*. The *tapara-karaṇa* according to P. 1–1–70 is for the specific purpose of restricting the scope of letters indicated by the accompanying *aṇ* (vowel). And as *go* in *gotaḥ* is not a vowel, but a consonant-plus-vowel, the S. 1–1–70 cannot be applied in the present case.[1] Pat.'s attempt to explain *gotaḥ* in that light is clearly an uphill task and proceeds on the assumption of the corrupt text as a genuine reading. It is due to this assumption that Pat. ignores[2] the natural and most reasonable *anuvṛtti* of *aṇ* in the S. 1–1–70 from the preceding S. 1–5–69. Thus it is not unreasonable to suppose that the use of *t* in *gotaḥ* is against Pāṇinian technique. The reading of the S. must therefore have been in original P. text, *oto ṇit* and not *goto ṇit*. A slight corruption in the reading of the S. has been taken to be a genuine reading by the commentators. The proposed amendment of the S. 7–1–90, therefore, is really speaking, uncalled for.

[1] Cf. The Kāśikā on the S. 6–1-93.

वर्णनिर्देशेषु हि तपरकरणं प्रसिद्धम् ।

[2] Cf. Nāgeśabhaṭṭa in his *Uddyota* on the S. 7-1–90.

तपरस्तत्कालस्येत्यत्राणिति नानुवर्तनं इत्यनणोऽपि तत्कालस्य ग्रहणम् ।

INDIA AND THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY

BY

Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids

When, some sixty-five years ago, my husband retired from Ceylon Civil Service, and came home, a man still young in years, but thrown back, saddened and ill--had he not protested on behalf of certain peasants, thereby bringing on himself rebuke, and insidious attack, with temporary dismissal?--he pulled himself together, refused to return and started afresh as barrister. But he was haunted and pursued by the spiritual legacy bequeathed him from Ceylon—the making accessible to the scholar's world the world-literature that was India's legacy to Ceylon--the earliest known canon of Buddhist scripture and its exegesis, as still surviving in Ceylon.

This he had not come to study while in Ceylon, but it had been in a way laid before him in response to his inquiry. As magistrate there had come before him a case of, can I say? clerical succession to a cure? Was the deceased monk-parson to be succeeded by his own curate (sāmaṇera), or should it be an 'elder'? It was, he was told, a matter of 'canon law,' of Vinaya. Vinaya: what is that? And so he came to learn, not only about Vinaya and a Canon, but also of the survival, both blended with Singhalese and apart, of a literary diction, as dead as is Latin, and yet as alive, built out of old Indian dialects as the vehicle of the Canon which India had let go into exile, but which South Asia he preserved. And this he set to work to learn from a monk, ardent in faith though suffering from a mortal disease; a man who, as he expounded grammar, dropped into alert ears morsels of his formulated faith.

Behind an agnostic myopia Rhys Davids was religious in faith in spiritual growth. And he saw this as proceeding surely from growth in knowledge. Child of a fine will, he let will as mind, that is, will as reflective, take in awareness the leading place. We all still do it! The good monk's will had sown the seed; the pupil's will watered it (do not the Suttas speak of

man's 'becoming' as fostered by the rain of desire?); but it was as an idea that there came to dwell with him the plan for making fructify the new attention that had just begun to be given to monastic libraries of 'palm-leaf manuscripts.'

This meant much toil of thought and hand for a penniless lawyer, struggling to get briefs, to keep himself alive; one who had no bond as alumnus with British universities and whose German university gave no aid. But his fine will stood the test, and he waved aside the friendly gibes at the insolvency that would inevitably undermine his house of cards. He laid his plans to survey materials, and place collected Mss. among scattered editors. He drew powerful allies in the scholar-world into his net--was it not the 'Blessed One's' way?--to make critical editions, always in roman letter (a far wiser decision than had he chosen the mediumship of Devanāgarī) such men as Oldenberg the German, Trenckner and Fausböll the Danes, Minayeff the Russian, Richard Morris the fellow-Kelt, after whose established enterprise 'the Early English Text Society,' this younger child was named, Léon Feer the Frenchman and last but not least, Edmund Hardy. These men, to mention no others, gave their leisure hours for years for no pecuniary reward or wordly fame to examine, collate and edit the Pali manuscripts sent them by Rhys Davids, who himself with the comradeship of a scholar in religious history, J. Estlin Carpenter, edited the opening book of the compiled discourses or Suttantas.

Learned institutions began to subscribe; there were found by that probing net donations here and there, even from a crowned head, and it was with printing at lower rates than now, a substantial bank-balance carefully tended, which came into being, instead of the threatened bankruptcy. Oldenberg's first edition of the Vinaya, with a substantial financial backing from the India Office and the Berlin Academy, was approaching completion (1879-83), and served as, so to speak, a literary introducer of the new society's remainder of the Canon; but financially it stood upon its own feet. The better to win support from South Asian orthodoxy, the inclusion of the more pronounced Prakrit Jainist scriptures was abandoned, and a pair of Pali texts was issued every year.

In time two branches sprang from the parent stem. With increase of literary material, it became evident that Childer's great

work, his Pali Dictionary, needed rewriting. In his interleaved copy, bequeathed him by Childers, Rhys Davids, for twenty years, inserted every new word and phrase. These he had copied on slips, and distributed to half a dozen Indologists, in planning a dictionary which should be an instance of that brotherhood in work, the absence of which Renan had so deplored in his *Avenir de la Science*, then a new work. But like Renan, he was in advance of his age; the 'brotherhood' did not fructify, though only ill health hindered a great scholar and good man, Ernst Windisch, in carrying out his part. No completed section of letters was handed in save that of the letter *S*, by Sten Konow, and it became evident that the great work of a new dictionary would have to be done by one worker, old age now making it impossible that this should be the society's founder. Of Dr. W. Stede's timely aid there is no need here to speak. His ten years of unremitting labour and its result belong to this century.

The other new branch was a series of translations, to carry on more thoroughly the mere samples presented in *Sacred Books of the East* and begun, in *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, by Max Müller. Finances being still favourable, this was begun by an extra subscription volume every year till nearly thirty were published.

But meanwhile Europe had been laid waste by a ghastly war of five years, and whereas, by 1936, the Society's programme was approaching completion, so too were its financial resources. The war had crushed German university catholicism of effort, France was bled white, and printing had leapt up in price, so that the Society's expenditure was outrunning its receipts. It had sold out its modest capital; its remaining items were of exegesis only, arousing naturally less demand over and above such subscriptions as persisted. Then there fell on it yet another war—war of unprecedented rapine, impoverishing both aggressors and attacked. No European subscriptions could reach us; our best support in the book trade left a large debt owed to us. A misaimed bomb burnt out *all our reserve stocks*, and the Pali Text Society was left more or less ruined, insolvent, with some six (? or eight) volumes wherein to complete unfinished first editions, and bring out a few shorter works. For the first time since its start the

society can promise not even one text this year, although the materials are at hand.

I have sought for special financial aid from America's generosity, but have failed to get any. I may say, as yet, the same of India. Is she indeed not of a mind to take up this sorely wounded, this all but completed undertaking, so as to make possible, if not yet the reprinting of the results of 60 years output, at least the issue of some at least of those six remaining volumes? Of all our earlier South Asian 'orthodox' support, Ceylon alone is not now in the grip of this war. But Ceylon has long lost her early testimony of sympathy with our work to make world-literature of her scripture. She has shrunk into nationalism. In India we have still a small handful of subscribers. Will India now go further and adopt us? It is not likely I shall be here to write *Finis* to our work. Even were the issues of texts finished, we have still a half-finished Pali Concordance slowly piling up to serve the future scholar as only a good Concordance really can. But I leave very worthy representatives to carry on, notably Miss. I. B. Horner, M.A., now editing and publishing (at her own expense) the first complete translation of the Vinaya-Piṭaka, for *Sacred Books of the Buddhissts*, which I still edit, the Pali Text Society being unable to include more in its own series. Will India help? Will that most worthy fostermother of struggling scholarship, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, to whose Silver Jubilee we are sending greeting, make the safe and fit issue of at least some of those remaining six volumes its primary care? Will it send us, wounded and strangled, a message of help?

conclusion that the period separating these two writers must be wide enough extending over at least three or four centuries.

Even a casual reader of the Bhāṣya cannot fail to notice how Śabara proposes different interpretations for one and the same set of Sūtras. He first interprets an Adhikaraṇa in the way which possibly he thought best and then adduces other alternative interpretation (or interpretations) which must have very probably been accepted by some of his own contemporaries or perhaps even predecessors. This phenomenon is by no means rare in Śabara's commentary. Thus, for example, he proposes two interpretations each for M. S. IX. 2.21–24 ; IV. 3.27–28 ; VIII. 1. 34 and 39 ; VIII. 3.14–15 , and IX. 1.34–35. For M. S. IV. 1. 2 IX. 1. 1 ; and X. 1.1–3 he offers three each ; but he records no less than four different interpretations for M. S. IX. 2.25–28. This phenomenon leads us to draw two different conclusions : (1) that Śabara had before him no definite tradition for the interpretation of the M. S. and (2) that he must have been preceded by several commentators on the M. S. who often poignantly differed from him ; but who being inferior are so much eclipsed by the overwhelming work of Śabara that they all together with their works are now no more than mere names to us–a condition to which they appear to have been reduced at a very early date.

The same appears to be the case with regard to the actual text of the M. S. Thus we find that whereas the Vṛttikāra appears to have read M. S. I. 1. 3 with a न in it, Śabara reads it without a न. But we have another clearer instance where Śabara actually notes a different reading and explains it. Thus at M. S. XI. 1. 14 Śabara adopts the reading 'ऐकशब्द्यादिति चेत्' and notes the other reading with the remark 'ये त्वेककर्म्यादिति सूत्रं पठन्ति तेषामयमर्थः'. Here again we have a circumstance which appears to strengthen the conclusions arrived at above.[1]

But we need not rest on mere inferences for proving that Śabara had before him no sure and unbroken tradition to help

[1] The same again is the case with M. S. I. i. 4 which according to Śabara is सत्संप्रयोगे पुरुषस्येन्द्रियाणां बुद्धिजन्म तत्प्रत्यक्षम्; the Vṛttikāra, however, changes the places of सत् and तत् in the sūtra and reads तत्संप्रयोगे पुरुषस्येन्द्रियाणां बुद्धिजन्म सत्प्रत्यक्षम् ।

him in the task of interpreting the work of Jaimini. We can actually quote the words of Śabara himself to show that he had not only no tradition to guide him in his work, but that in some cases he was actually at his wit's end to find out a proper topic and interpretation for some adhikaraṇas. Thus, for example, we find that while commenting on M. S. II.3.16 he makes no secret of his inability to find out a suitable interpretation for the Adhikaraṇa and in plain terms declares his indebtedness to the Vṛttikāra.[1] Thus absence of any unbroken tradition before Śabara not only regarding the interpretation of the M. S. but regarding even the actual reading of the same, the variety of interpretations proposed by him for some of the adhikaraṇas, and also a plurality of predecessors are circumstances which, I believe, warrant us in concluding that there must have been a gulf at least three or four centuries wide separating the author of the M. S. from the commentator thereof.

The Vṛttikāra, the only earlier commentator of the M. S. quoted or referred to by Śabara also seems to be separated from him by about a century or so. Not that he is held in very high esteem by Śabara as some are inclined to argue.[2] In all the places where Śabara refers to him (and they are no less than ten) there is not a single case where he is beyond doubt referred to with the honorific title Bhagavān.[3] The reference to Bhagavān Upavarṣa occurring as it does in the Vṛttikāra-grantha itself, cannot be

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1 तदेतदगमकं सूत्रमेव तावदनर्थकम् । ....अथ का अत्र प्रतिज्ञा कश्च संदेह इति वक्तव्यम्। वृत्तिकारवचनात् प्रतिज्ञां संशयं चावगच्छामः ।

2 Kane, p. 13; and KM. p. 8 n.

3 Dr. Keith in this connection refers the reader to M. S. II. iii. 16 and III. i. 6. (cf. KM. p. 8n). Prof. Kane refers to one more passage VII. i. 2 (a misprint for VIII. i. 2.) cf. Kane, p. 13. Of these the first i. e. II. iii. 16 I have discussed in the body of the article. The second viz., III. i. 6, though referring to the Vṛttikāra, contains nothing to establish Śabara's reverence for the Vṛttikāra. (cf. अथेदानीमत्र शेषान् वृत्तिकारः परिनिश्चिकाय ।). The third one added by Prof. Kane refers to the Vṛttikāra in plural. But out of the ten odd references made by Śabara to the Vṛttikāra this is the solitary case where Śabara against his wont uses the plural while referring to the Vṛttikāra. It cannot as such be accepted as a conclusive proof to establish Śabara's reverence for the Vṛttikāra, especially when we remember that there are at least seven places where he is referred to in singular only with no honorific title.

said to be a clear reference to the Vṛttikāra himself.[1] The only other place where such a reference is alleged[2] to have been made occurs in Śabara's commentary on M. S. II.3.16 where our commentator after declaring his indebtedness to the Vṛttikāra in no ambiguous terms writes :—'अत्र भगवानाचार्य इदमुदाहृत्य वत्सनिकान्ता हि पशव इति इदं संशयमुपन्यस्यति स्म किं यजिमदाभिधान एष आलभतिरुतालम्भमात्र वचन इति.'

But even this cannot be admitted as a clear reference to the Vṛttikāra; for the whole passage quoted above would appear to be nothing but a mere quotation from the latter's commentary so that the honorific terms Bhagavān and Ācārya would refer to Jaimini himself and fittingly too, rather than to the Vṛttikāra who never seems to have commanded very high respect from the Bhāṣyakāra. That these high sounding tributes were easily the share of Jaimini is more than amply illustrated by later usage. Even Śabara himself uses the term Ācārya to denote, not the Vṛttikāra, but Jaimini[3] himself more than once. We also find that the title Ācārya has been applied by him to the various authorities[4] quoted by Jaimini in the body of his work. But there is not a single instance of the term Ācārya occurring in the Bhāṣya being beyond all doubt applicable to the Vṛttikāra alone. It, therefore, does not seem likely that in this one place alone Śabara against his usual practice, might give away the title to one who is far inferior to the stars forming the galaxy of the Mīmāṁsā of the creative period. The conclusion thus arrived at is further corroborated by the circumstance that Śabara not

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[1] It has been argued that the Vṛttikāra Grantha is only a résumé and that Śabara is responsible for the reference to Upavarṣa, who is none else than the Vṛttikāra, a view which appears to be supported by Kumārila. (cf. KM. p. 8). But against this view goes the fact that the Tantra-vārtika mentions Upavarṣa as Mahābhāṣyakāra (cf. Kane, p. 13) which means that he cannot be the same as the Vṛttikāra. Thus at any rate so far as the question of Vṛttikāra's identity with Upavarṣa is not settled the passage in question also cannot be accepted as conclusively proving Śabara's reverence for the Vṛttikāra.

[2] See note 3 on p. 87 above.

[3] Cf. M. S. III. i. 4; VIII. iii. 7; XII. i. 8; &c.

[4] Thus, for example, Lābukāyana at M. S. VI. vii. 37; Kārṣṇājini at M. S. VI. vii. 35; Kāmukāyana at M. S. XI. i. 56; Bādari at M. S. III. i. 3; VIII. viii. 6; Ātreya at M. S. IV. iii. 8; Aitiśāyana at M. S. III. ii. 43; and Ālekhana at M. S. VI. 5. 17.

only criticises the Vṛttikāra but more often than not refers to him in singular alone without any honorific term so much so that it is only once that Śabara, it would appear, has condescended to use a plural form in referring to him.[1]

Śabara's manner of referring to the Vṛttikāra presents a glaring contrast to his manner of referring to other great authors whom he holds in very high esteem. Take the case of Pāṇini, for example. Of the five or six places[2] where Śabara mentions the name of Pāṇini, we find as many as four where Pāṇini's name is accompanied by the title Bhagavān. The title Ācārya also is used by him with great frequency while referring to the great authorities like Bādari and Aitiśāyana. We may, therefore, feel justified in concluding that the Vṛttikāra did not occupy a very exalted position in the esteem of Śabara which, at the same time, should not be taken to mean that Śabara treated him with scant respect.

Is the Vṛttikāra then to be looked upon only as an earlier contemporary of the Bhāṣyakāra? We may without much hesitation answer this question in the negative on the strength of the fact that while Śabara seems to have before him no definite tradition to guide him in his task of interpreting the M. S., the Vṛttikāra seems to be in possession of some, which even Śabara is constrained to accept as we have already noted above.

Reviewing the relation of Śabara to Jaimini on the one hand and to the Vṛttikāra on the other we may now very plausibly conclude that Śabara is removed from the former by at least three or four centuries while it is only about a century or two at the most that removes him from the latter. But Jaimini, as I have endeavoured to show elsewhere[3] cannot be dated later than about 500 B.C. Śabara will, therefore, have to be placed somewhere in the first century B. C.

Such a conclusion regarding the date of Śabara would certainly be looked upon with great misgivings particularly because it differs too widely from the opinions expressed by such stalwarts

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1 M. S. VIII. i. 2.

2 M. S. VI. i. 2 (twice); X. vi. 5; X. viii. 4 in all these places Pāṇini is styled Bhagavān. But he is not so styled at M. S. X. viii. 4 and I. i. 5.

3 Vide my article 'On the Probable Date of Jaimini and his Sūtra' in Bhandarkar Or. R. Institute, Annals, Vol. XXI, pp. 63–72.

in the work of Patañjali we find that it occurs in the midst of a series of statements which appear like quotations.[1] It is, therefore, very likely that Patañjali is quoting the stanza in question from some other source. At any rate it is but certain that Śabara is not indebted to Patañjali for this stanza, for the simple reason that he has introduced it with the remark 'ऊने च वाक्ये दोषश्रवणात्' which shows that he is referring to some work which could be designated Śruti, a title which by no stretch of imagination can be made applicable to Patañjali's work. The incident referred to in the stanza is very old and we find it recorded in Brāhmaṇa literature. It is some such work that Śabara is drawing upon while quoting this stanza. That he is not quoting Pātañjali is also proved by the fact that Patañjali reads it differently.

Śabara's priority over Patañjali also seems to be supported by the fact that whereas the former refuses to recognize the Atharvaveda[2] the latter not only accepts it but also tells us that it has nine branches.[3] Again in M. S. X. 8.1–4 there is an interesting

[1] Having stated the main advantages of studying grammar Patañjali goes on to enumerate the secondary purposes served by the study of grammar in the following words :— 'इमानि च भूयः शब्दानुशासनस्य प्रयोजनानि । दुष्टः शब्दः । यदधीतम् । यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते । अविद्वांसः । विभक्तिं कुर्वन्ति । यो वा इमाम् । उत त्वः । सक्तुमिव । सारस्वतीम् । दशम्यां पुत्रस्य । सुदेवो असि वरुण इति ।' The explanatory stanzas or statements that follow are most of them traceable to their original sources in spite of Patañjali's failure to mention any of them. Thus यदधीतम् &c. occurs in the Nirukta I. 18 with the only difference that whereas Patañjali reads यदधीतम् Yāska reads यद्गृहीतम्. It is also found in the Saṁhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda. चत्वारि शृङ्गा etc. and चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता etc. are Ṛg-Veda IV. 58. 3 and I. 164. 45 respectively. Both these verses are also found to recur in the Nirukta Pariśiṣṭa. The former of these is also quoted and explained by Śabara without making any reference to any other explanation as being put upon it by the grammarians. सक्तुमिव तितउना &c. is found at RV. X. 71. 2 and is also found to recur in the Nir. IV. 10.

[2] Śabara speaks of the three Vedas viz. ऋग्वेद, यजुर्वेद and सामवेद to the exclusion of the fourth. Cf. त्रयीविदः used by him at M. S. II. i. 35. Commenting on this and the next two sūtras Śabara complacently discusses the lakṣaṇas of the three Vedas, but makes no reference to the Atharva Veda. This would show that the AV. had not as yet risen to the status of the other Vedas.

[3] 'नवधाथर्वणो वेदः' writes Patañjali commenting on the Vārtika. 'सर्वे देशान्तरे'.

discussion regarding the statement 'नानुयाजेषु येयजामहं करोति' which according to the prima facie view is a vikalpa; but according to the Siddhāntin is a paryudāsa. Commenting on this adhikaraṇa Śabara makes the Pūrvapakṣin quote the authority of Bhagavān Kātyāyana against Pāṇini; and uitimately winds up the whole discussion with the remark 'सद्वादित्वात च पाणिनेर्वचनं प्रमाणम्। असद्वादित्वान्न कात्यायनस्य। असद्वादी हि विद्यमानमपि अनुपलभ्य ब्रूयात। तस्मात् पर्युदास इति।' Here Śabara could have defended his position by referring to Patañjali (provided he was acquainted with him and his महाभाष्य) instead of dismissing the discussion with the unconvincing remark quoted above. There appears to be no ground, therefore, to suppose that Śabara was acquainted with Patañjali and his work.

Coming now to the Smṛti literature we find that Śabara must have had a pretty vast material of this branch of literature before him. He regards Smṛti as being almost on a par with the Vedas.[1] Commenting on M. S. VI.1.5 he refers to this branch of literature by the word स्मृतिशास्त्र and says that it was studied by men. Thus Śabara does show his acquaintance with this literature in general terms; and yet he has left us almost in the dark as to the exact works that he had before him. But from the various passages[2] which Śabara has given us from these works it is quite clear that he is always referring to and quoting from prose Dharmaśāstras only and that he had no metrical Smṛtis before him. Of course he has quoted one verse at M. S. VI. 1.12; which is found to correspond to a verse in our extant Manusmṛti.[3] But this verse is introduced by him with the simple re-

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1 'वेदतुल्या हि स्मृतिः। वैदिका हि पदार्थाः स्मर्यन्त इत्युक्तम्। ......स्मार्तािश्रेते वैदिका एव।' Śabara on M. S. VI. ii. 22.

2 'गुरुरनुगन्तव्योऽभिवादयितव्यश्च। वृद्धवयाश्च प्रत्युत्थेयः संमानितव्यश्च॥' (M. S. VI. ii. 21); 'अष्टकाः कर्तव्याः, गुरुरनुगन्तव्यः, तडागं खनितव्यम्, प्रपा प्रवर्तयितव्या, शिखाकर्म कर्तव्यमित्येवमादयः' (M. S. I. iii. 1); 'एवं हि स्मरन्ति मन्त्रभूतानि आर्षाणि नित्यानीति' (M. S. IX. ii. 1); 'एवं हि स्मरन्ति विग्रहवती देवता इति' (M. S. IX. i. 6); 'स्मरन्ति हि देवता यष्टुः फलं ददातीति' (M. S. IX. i. 8); 'एवं शिष्टाः स्मरन्तीति याजनाध्यापनप्रतिग्रहा ब्राह्मणस्यैव वृत्त्युपाया इति' (M. S. XII. iv. 36).

3 भार्या दासश्च पुत्रश्च निर्धनाः सर्व एव ते।
यत्ते समधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्य तद्धनम्॥

Thus reads Sabara; while Manu VIII. 416 reads 'भार्या दासश्च पुत्रश्च त्रय एवाधनाः स्मृताः'. This stanza is also found in MBh. Udyoga, 33, 64 which reads 'त्रय एवाधना राजन् भार्या दासस्तथा सुतः'

mark एवं च स्मराति without any reference to Manu. Nowhere else do we find Śabara quoting from his smṛti. On the contrary we find prose quotations in Śabara's bhāṣya which have good parallels in the extant Manu-smṛti.[1] Again at M. S. VI. 2.21 and various other places smṛti passages are taken for discussion; and curiously enough they are one and all in prose. It would thus be clear that though Śabara has a vast mass of dharma-śāstra literature before him it was mainly in prose while the metrical Smṛtis or Dharma-śāstras if any had not as yet attained that position of authority which they appear to hold later on. This remark holds good in the case of Manu also who is referred to in his Bhāṣya by Śabara only once under M. S. I.1.2. There the pūrva-pakṣin is made to argue that since Manu and others have given instructions regarding Dharma it follows, therefore, that they had the knowledge of Dharma inspite of their being only human beings.[2] This argument though on the prima facie side is yet enough to show that in the days of Śabara there were certain works on Dharma-śāstra composed by Manu and others and that they were respected as such in some circles. But the attitude of Śabara towards all these works is made clear by the rejoinder he gives to the above argument. He says 'उपदेशा व्योमोहादपि भवन्ति' which clearly shows that Manu and other law-givers referred to by the pūrva-pakṣin did not command much respect from Śabara. So also the verse above referred to as corresponding to a verse from the extant Manu-smṛti is put in the mouth of the pūrva-pakṣin and contains a view which Śabara has set forth only to denounce it ultimately. From all this it would be clear that though Śabara shows acquaintance with Manu and his work yet he does not hold it as being authoritative ; nay he is even prepared to denounce its statements and also indirectly hint that it may also be open to correction. This means that by the time of Śabara Manu and his work had just appeared in the field and that they were not universally respected. Now so far as the date problem is concerned we are told that the extant Manu-smṛti was composed

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[1] 'नोद्यन्तमादित्यमीक्षेत नास्तं च यन्तम् ।' M. S. IV. i. 5 ; & VI. iv. 25 corresponds to Manu. IV. 37. Also cf. ; Ap. D. S. I. 31. 18.

[2] अविदुषामुपदेशो नावकल्पते । उपदिष्टवन्तश्च मन्वादयः । तस्मात्पुरुषाः सन्तो विदितवन्तश्च ।'

between second century B. C. and second century A. D.[1] Hence taking into consideration the relation of Śabara with Manu and his work we may plausibly conclude that the former must have lived at a time which cannot be much later than the earlist date which can be assigned to the latter ; or in other words that Śabara must have lived somewhere in the first century B. C.

Again while commenting on the M. S. X. 4.23 Śabara makes a reference to the इतिहासपुराण and their views on देवता. But what works he exactly meant is uncertain. Generally the word इतिहास[2] is applied to the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, the two great epics of India. But beyond this solitary reference there is not a single place where Śabara would appear to be referring to either of these epics. As an example of an absurd statement Śabara gives a sentence[3] in prose which curiously enough occurs in a versified form at MBh. Sabhā Ch. 66.11. But the very fact that Śabara chooses to quote the prose form is enough to show that he was unaware of the versified one. Similar is his attitude towards the Purāṇas. Beyond the word occurring in the compouud expression इतिहासपुराणs Śabara appears to have given us no lines which can be traced to any of the extant Purāṇas. The only surmise that can be based on the solitary reference to Purāṇas by Śabara is that he was aware of the existence of not one purāṇa but perhaps several works going by that name though the exact number and the names of these works are hard to determine.

Coming to the last point we may note that though he had many an occasion to refer to लौकिकवचनs Śabara has never given us a quotation from any of the well-known classical works even of the earliest date known to us. Very often he gives us examples from ordinary conversational tongue as used by the people in his time and naturally many of the लौकिकवचनs given by him are in

1 Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I, p. 151.

2 Commenting on M. S. IX. i. 44 Śabara writes 'मेधातिथेर्मेष इत्येवमादि इतिहासवचनमिव प्रतिभाति । इतिहासे च विधौ सति आदिमत्तादोषो वेदस्य प्रसज्येत ।'. This would appear to indicate that Śabara did not mean the two great epics when he used the term इतिहास.

3 'अम्बुनि मज्जन्त्यलाबूनि शिलाः प्लवन्ते पावकः शीतः' Under M. S. I. i. 5; and IV. iii. 3.

prose.[1] But metrical lines also are not wanting[2] and more than once we find Śabara quoting verses which are hardly traceable to their original sources.

Besides these there are several other quotations[3] dealing with technical points which appear to have been drawn by Śabara from the floating mass of technical poetry. For he always introduces these with the words 'एवमामनन्ति (IV. iii. 3)'; श्लोकमप्युदाहरन्ति (IV. iv. 24; VII. i. 12; etc.); श्लोकश्च भवति (IV. iv. 28); but there are several others which are given without any introductory remark whatsoever.

Such then is in short the evidence provided by a study of references to and quotations from the various branches of Sanskrit literature as we find them in the Śābara Bhāṣya. Having thus gathered together all these pieces of evidence, both positive as well as negative, we may briefly restate them by saying that Śabara mentions only three persons by name viz. Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Upavarṣa; that no work is actually referred to by him by its specific name though he has often quoted from various works like the Nirukta and the Aṣṭādhyāyī; that a specific mention of

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[1] Cf. e. g. 'यादृशोऽस्य वेशस्तादृशो नटानाम्' (M. S. III. iv. 9); 'इयं गौः क्रेतव्या देवदत्तीया। एषा हि बहुक्षीरा स्त्र्यपत्या अनष्टप्रजा चेति' (M. S. I. ii. 20); 'नद्यास्तीरे फलानि सन्ति' (M. S. I. i. 2); न भवन्तः समाजं गच्छन्ति न भवन्तः प्रेक्षका भवन्तीत्युक्ते नूनमन्ये गच्छन्तीति गम्यते' (M. S. IX. iii. 2).

[2] Cf. e. g. 'जरद्गवो गायति मत्तकानि' (M. S. I. i. 32) पम्पाकुलायप्रतिमाश्च वृक्षाः' (M. S. VIII. i. 6); 'नीलोत्पलवनेष्वद्य चरन्तश्चारुसंरवाः। नीलकौशेयसंवीताः प्रणश्यन्तीव (V. L. प्रनृत्यन्तीव) कादम्बाः॥' (M. S. I. i. 24). It should be noted here that this stanza is metrically defective according to the definition of अनुष्टुभ् which requires that the seventh syllable in the fourth पाद shall be short; while it is long in the stanza under discussion [Def. of अनुष्टुभ्—'श्लोके षष्ठं गुरु ज्ञेयं सर्वत्र लघु पञ्चमम्। द्विचतुःपादयोर्ह्रस्वं सप्तमं दीर्घमन्ययोः।']; and 'इतः पश्यसि धावन्तं दूरे जातं वनस्पतिम्। त्वां ब्रवीमि विशालाक्षि या पिनक्षि जरद्गवम्।' (M. S. IV. iii. 11.).

[3] Cf. e. g. 'हेतुर्निर्वचनं निन्दा प्रशंसा संशयो विधिः।' etc. (M. S. II. i. 33); 'आधानं पौर्णमास्यां चेत् वृत्ते दर्शे करिष्यते।' etc. (M. S. IV. iv. 22); 'प्रकृतात् कर्मणो यस्मात् तत्समानेषु कर्मसु। धर्मप्रदेशो येन स्यात् सोऽतिदेश इति स्थितिः॥' (M. S. VII. i. 12); 'साधारणं भवेत् तन्त्रं परार्थे त्वप्रयोजकः। एवमेव प्रसङ्गः स्याद् विद्यमाने स्वके विधौ॥' (M. S. XI. i. 1); and 'छन्दोगा बह्वृचाश्चैव तथा वाजसनेयिनः। उच्चनीचस्वरं प्राहुः स वै भाषिक उच्यते॥' (M. S. XII. iii. 16).

Kātyāyana as Bhagavān Vārtikakāra supplies us with the uppermost limit for Śabara's date, while the lower limit for the same can be fixed with tolerable certainty on the strength of various pieces of negative evidence which taken singly may not be of much use in proving anything positive, but which together may afford grounds strong enough to suggest at least a high probability in certain direction, particularly when they all appear to point in the same direction. Thus there is the absence of any direct reference to पतञ्जलि or any of the metrical Smṛtis, or to any of the classical works or authors, which appear to speak for a date of Śabara as not being later than about 100 B. C. a conclusion we have arrived at above on the strength of Śabara's relation with the Sūtrakāra on the one hand and with the Vṛttikāra on the other.

CAUDHĀRAPĀḌĀ (LOṆAD) INSCRIPTION OF KEŚIDEVA; ŚAKA 1162.

BY

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT

The stone bearing this inscription was found lying in an open field in the outskirts of the village Caudhārapāḍā, near Loṇad in the Bhiwandi taluka of the Thana district (Bombay Presidency). According to the *Bombay Gazetteer* [1] it was first noticed in February 1882. Reference to the contents of this inscription, with some difference in details, has already been made by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, in *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIV, p. 212 ; it is also noticed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, in the *Progress Report*, Arch. Sur. of India, Western Circle, for the year 1905-6, p. 30, and by Dr. A. S. Altekar, in *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 416. Its text however has never been published. [2] I am editing it here from the ink-impressions prepared by me.

The inscribed stone measures about 6.2 ′ x 1.5 ′ in length and breadth and about 10 ″ in thickness. The writing covers a space 1.2 ′ broad and 4′ high. At the top of the stone are figured in low relief the representations of the Sun, the Moon and a Kalaśa in the centre. Below the inscribed portion appears the Ass-curse, very often noticed in the Śilāhāra [3] and Yādava [4] Inscriptions of the Mediaeval period.

The inscription consists of twenty lines of writing. The letters are deeply carved and carefully executed, but the surface of the stone which was originally made quite smooth has been damaged by exposure to weather and several letters, especially in the latter half of it, have been defaced and become illegible.

[1] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I. part ii, p. 20. foot-note 3.

[2] It is however not included in Dr. Kielhorn's List of Inscriptions of Southern India. *Epi. Ind.* Vol. VII, Appendix.

[3] Cf Six Silahara Inscriptions, *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 269ff. Inscriptions A, B, C, E and F.

[4] cf. *Ibid.* p. 281.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 12th century A. D. With the exception of a few letters they approach in every respect to the characters of the present day and there is nothing noteworthy about their forms.

As regards orthography, it may be noted that the *Pṛṣṭha-mātrā* is used iṇ places to indicate the medial *é* and *ö*; *Va* is used for *Ba* in many places, and *Kṣa* for *Khya* (line 11).

The language of the inscription is incorrect Sanskrit. But for the opening sentence (line 1), the portion appearing between lines 5–11, and the last six words in the last line, the whole inscription is in verse throughout. The verses are numbered and they are six in all. There are several mistakes in the composition of the record and some of the verses are incomplete.

The inscription is of King Keśideva, son of Aparārkka, born in the family of Jīmūtaketu, the crest–jewel of the Vidyādhara-vaṁśa. He is styled here as Mahārājādhirāja and Kouṅkaṇa-Cakravarti.

The object of it is to record the grant of the village Brahma-purī, by Keśideva, to one Soma–nāyaka, son of Śarvva, a priest, devoted to the worship of God Ṣompeśvara (or Ṣumpeśvara.) It also records the gift of the village Mājasapalli, included in the boundary of the village Vo(Bo)pa–grāma, to the community of priests, worshipping the God.

The grant was made on the occasion of a Śiva–rātri day (mentioned twice in the inscription) which fell on Tuesday, the 14th day in the dark–half of the month of Māgha, in the Śaka year 1162. The cyclic year then was Vikārin. This date corresponds to A. D. 1240, January 24th, which was a Tuesday as stated in the inscription.[1] It further records that the grant was made in front of God Ṣompeśvara.

The inscription opens with an obeisance made to Vināyaka. The first verse is devoted to the praise of God Ṣumpeśvara

[1] Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. IV. p. 82. Regarding the particulars of this date, it may be noted that Bhagwanlal reads the year as Śaka 1161 and the day as Monday. (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 212). The *tithi* is given as 13th day in the *Bom. Gaz.*,. Vol. I. pt. ii, p. 20. Both these are obviously wrong as the estampage before us clearly reads them as above stated. Dr. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, correctly restores it to Śaka 1162, but Dr. Altekar, *Ind. Cult.* Vol. II, p. 416, following the *Bomb. Gaz.*, takes it as Śaka 1161.

(a form of Śiva) who is described as the cause of creation, stability and destruction of the earth and as one, who dispels the distress of devotees. The next verse states that in the family of Jīmūtaketu was born Aparārkka, whose son was Keśideva. He is further extolled in praise by saying that in his powerful reign the Earth even forgot some of the best kings like the illustrious Rāma. In the prose portion that follows the names of the ministers of Keśideva are given, which are as follows Śrī Jhampaḍa Prabhu, the Prime Minister; Rājadeva Paṇḍita, the officer in charge of War and Treaties; and Śrī Ananta Prabhu, the officer in charge of the Śrīkaraṇa (Treasury).

In verse 3, the donee is described as devoted to the worship of God Ṣompeśvara. It states that Keśideva granted him the village Brahmapurī, which was very pleasing to the eyes on account of the Śiva temple standing there.

The inscription then gives the names of four (including Somanāyaka) priests as Soma-nāyaka, Sūryya-nāyaka [1] Govinda nāyaka and Nāū-nāyaka, to whom Keśideva granted the village Mājasapalli, for their maintenance.

This is followed by the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. Even though it is nowhere stated in the inscription to what dynasty Keśideva belonged, it can easily be inferred that he was from the Śilāhāra dynasty of North Koṅkaṇa, from his *birudas*, the manner of stating the names of the ministers, which has many parallels in other Śilāhāra inscriptions and from the reference to Jīmūtaketu, from whom all the Śilāhāra kings trace their descent.

Śilāhāra Aparārkka (alias Aparāditya) father of Keśideva, is known to us from his two inscriptions namely, the Prince of Wales Museum Inscription[2] and the Parəl Stone inscription,[3] which are dated Śaka 1107 and 1109 respectively. The present inscription of Keśideva is dated Śaka 1162 and thus there is a very large gap of about 53 years in the history of the Northern Śilāhāras, which must be attributed to the long reign of either of them.

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1 This name was formerly read as *Rāma nāyaka* in the Bom. Gaz., *op. cit.*

2 Cf. *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. V, p. 169ff. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIII, p. 269ff. Inscription D.

3 *J. B B. R. A. S*, Vol. XII., p. 333.

The references to the Ṣompeśvara (possibly a corrupt form of Someśvara) is very interesting. The nature of the donation and the occasion on which it was bestowed, makes us believe that Keśideva was a devotee of Śiva. In point of fact, many kings of the North Koṅkaṇa branch of the Śilāhāra dynasty were Śaivite. Thus Jhanjha, an ancestor of Keśideva, had built twelve Śiva temples, as the copper-plate grants of his successors [1] describe him. Chittarāja and his younger brother Mummuṇi were responsible for repairing the famous Śiva temple at Ambarnātha near Kalyāṇa. [2] Arikesari, one of the copper-plate grants [3] tells us, had visited the shrine of Someśvara (at Prabhāsa in Kāṭhiāvāḍa) in his childhood at the instance of his father. This shrine was also visited by Aparākka, the father of the present donor. [4] It is no wonder therefore that we see Keśideva granting a donation to the priests of a Śaiva Temple.

As regards the geographical places mentioned in the inscription, the village Brahmapurī must be identical with modern Caudhārapāḍā, where the inscription-stone is still lying. The village Vo(Bo)pagrāma is modern Bāb-gāon situated about two furlongs to the east of the find-spot of the inscription. Mājaspalli, which was iucluded in the boundary of Vopagrāma cannot be traced now. The Ṣompeśvara, temple, is now represented by the basements of a temple in ruins, near the mound on which the inscription stands. Some Śaivite sculptures found in the neighbourhood of this mound are now preserved in a small shrine in Caudhārapāḍā. These are described in the Bombay Gazetteer,[5] where the above mentioned localities are identified.

1 Berlin Museum Plates of Chittarāja, Śaka 956; *Z. D. M. G*, Vol. 90, p. 284. Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Mummuṇi, Śaka 971, *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 53ff. Kharepatan Plates of Anantadeva, Śaka 1106, *Ind. Ant*, Vol. IX, p. 33ff.

2 Ambarnath temple Inscription, Śaka 982, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IX, p. 219 and Vol. XII, p. 329.

3 Kharepatan Plates of Anantadeva, *op. cit.*

4 Prince of Wales Museum Inscription of Aparāditya II, Śaka 1107, *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 269ff.

5 Vol. XIV, p. 212.

Text[1]

[Metres :— Vv. 1, 5, 6 Anuṣṭubh ;

Vv. 2, 3 and 4, Śārdūlavikrīḍita]

1 ओं[2] नमो विनायकाय । नमाामि भुवनोत्पत्तिंस्थितिसंहारकारिणं(णम्) । श्रीमत्षुंपेश्व-
2 रं भक्तजनसर्वार्तिहारिणं(णम्) ।।१।। श्रीविद्याधरवंशमंडनमणिर्जीमूतकेतोः कु-
3 ले विख्यातोस्त्यपराक्र्कराजतनय(यः) श्रीकेशिपृथ्वीपतिः । यस्यापारपवित्र-
4 पौरुषनिधेरालोक्य राज्यस्थितिं(तिम्) । श्रीरामादि महीभुजां भगवतीं धत्ते
5 धरा न स्मृतिं(तिम्) ।।२।। स(श)कसंवत् ११६२ विकारिसंवत्सरांतर्ग्गत माघ वदि १४ ।[3]
6 चतुर्द्दश्यां भौमे[4] शिवरात्रौ पर्व्वाणि अद्येह समस्तराजावलीसमलंकृ-
7 -त महाराजाधिराज कौंकणचक्रवर्त्ति श्रीकेशिदेवकल्याणवि-
8 जयराज्ये तथैतत्प्रसादात्समस्तराज्यमंडलचिंताभारं समुद्वहति ।[3]
9 महामात्ये श्री झंपडप्रभु महासांधिविग्रहिक राजदेवे पंडिते श्री ।[3]
10 –करणभांडागारे अनंतप्रभु प्रमुखेषु सत्सु एतास्मिन्काले प्रवर्तमाने
11 सति ब्रह्मपुरीग्रामदानशासनं समाधिलिक्ष(ख्य)ते यथा ।। श्रीषोंपेश्व-
12 रदेवपूजनसदाव्यासक्तस(श)र्व्वात्मजः । सत्पात्राद्विजसोमनायक[5] ब-
13 टोः संतानभोग्यास्थितिं । श्रीब्रह्मपुरीपुरारिभवनक्ष्माभृन्मनोहा-
14 रिणिं । वी(वि)स्तारयति + निर्म्मलमती(ति) श्रीकेशिपृथ्वीपतिः ।। ३ ।। बटुक
15 नामानि कथ्यंते । सोमनायकः । सूर्य्यनायकः[6] । गोविंदनायकः । नाऊ ।.[3]
16 नायकः । इति चत्वारो बट(टु)काः ।। निर्व्वाहाय पुरारिपूजकबटुश्रेणी द्वि-
17 जानां सदा वो(बो)पग्रामगतां स्वसीमसहितां मां[ज[7]]सपल्ली पुरा[ा]* दत्ताश्रीशि-
18 -वरात्रिपर्व्वाणि विभोः षोंपेश्वरस्याग्रतः श्रीमत्केशिनरेश्वरेण धि(धी)मता चं-[8]
19 -द्रार्क्कताराग्रधि ।। ४ ।। [राज्य][9]स्य मंत्रिणान्यैर्व्वा कर्त्तव्यं धर्म्मपालनं(नम्) । धर्म-
20 -ध्वंशे + + + + + + + +[10] नरकास्थितिं(तिम्) ।। ५ ।। तथाचोक्तन्पूर्वाचार्य्यमुनि-
21 भिः । सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां भुमेरप्येकमंगुलं(लम्)) हरन्नरकमाप्नोति या-
22 वदा भूतसंप्लवं(वम्) ।। ६ ।। मंगलं महाश्रीः । [शुभंभ[9]]वतु ।। लेखकपाठकयोः ।।

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1 From an ink–impression.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

4 For this date, see *above* p. 99 foot–note.

5 This was formerly read as Soma–nāga Kavi, cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 212; but the estampage before us clearly reads सोमनायक बटोः

6 *Bom. Gaz.*, *ibid.*, gave this name as *Rāma–nāyaka.*

7 Exigencies of metre require a dīrgha akṣara in this place.

8 The construction is faulty.

9 Only faint traces of the words in the brackets are seen on the stone. These eight letters are very much damaged.

A NOTE ON GAṆARĀJYA

BY

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal of revered memory did a distinct service to Indology by his valuable contributions to different fields of Indian History. It was he who laid much significant emphasis on the term *gaṇa* as a republican form of constitution.[1] Ancient India had made many experiments in governmental organization by adopting different forms of constitution and had worked satisfactorily republican forms as well as monarchical forms of government. The fundamentals underlying both the forms of governmental organization were democratic institutions which served as effective checks on the president of the republic or the monarch of the kingdom whenever they strayed from the path of virtue or *dharma*. For the state was made up of two authorities, the political authority and the legal authority. The legal authority was the sovereignty of the law which was *dharma*. Does not the Upaniṣad proclaim that the law is the king of kings?[2] There should be implicit obedience to this paramount law of the state. Whether he be president of the republic or the monarch of an empire, he could not make laws nor overrule them. He should act according to the letter and spirit of the law. This was a device of deft and skill on the part of the ancient Indian statesmen. By this wonderful mechanism the political authority was made to rest on principles of right and justice. The head of the state could not easily indulge in the luxury of despotism or tyranny. He should act according to his *svadharma*. Legally his rights get dwarfed before the sacred task of discharging his duties. If he should evoke respect and honour from his subjects he should in his turn respect and honour them. In short the willing cooperation of the people[3] and the head of the state was a

1 *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I.
2 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* I–4, 12.
3 *Ar. Śās.* BK. IV. 5.

fundamental factor reckoned with in the ancient Indian polity, This tended to a large measure to the creative unity and not the artificial unity which is the make up of several modern states. For the unity that is based on ballot box cannot be counted as real unity.

The object of this paper is to show how this fundamental unity vitalised ancient Indian society and how it was the potent weapon of the state to act effectively and successfully in the affairs of the body politic. The *gaṇa* form of government was a very ancient form of political organization. There is a definite reference to it in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*[1] The celebrated grammarian, Pāṇini, is actually aware of its working. He mentions the Saṅgha and states that the Saṅgha was a *gaṇa.*[2] This means that the Saṅgha is equated to *gaṇa.* Kauṭalya follows this interpretation when he associated Saṅghas with republican forms of government.[3] From this one has to gather that both the terms *gaṇa* and Saṅgha were synonymous.

If we turn from the evidence of Brahmanical literature to the Buddhist and Jaina works, here again we meet with rich details and masterly analysis of republican constitutions. There is no clash of ideals and ideologies between the Brahmanical and Buddhist literature on the fundamentals of a pure form of government. The evidences on the other hand supplement and complement one another. In the Buddhist canonical works even the religious Saṅghas of the Buddhists were worked on republican principles, and the great Buddha was of opinion that the system was bound to serve its end so long as its members met in a full assembly and conducted its proceedings when the full assembly sat in sessions. This was what was meant by the expression Gaṇarājya. Literally rendered it was government by the assembly when all the members were present and cast their unanimous vote on the resolutions brought forward.

When we come to the epoch of the epics, we have a fairly full description of a *gaṇa* which in modern political parlance, can be rendered a confederacy. It is said that *gaṇas* possessed of Saṅ-

[1] VIII. 14.

[2] III. 3. 86.

[3] *Ar. Śās.* BK. XI. 1.

ghāta vṛtti and saṅghāta yoga.[1] Nīlakaṇṭha interprets saṅghāta yoga as aikamatya prayoga. It was the feeling of oneness, of unity of purpose and of action. It was a cooperative endeavour of the most efficient variety. No differences entered the confederating units which were actuated by common ideals and by common will. It was realised that the entire success of a *gaṇa* government was based on the good will of its members, on the principle that 'united we win and divided we fall.' Here we have to note a very significant statement.

भिन्ना विमनसस: सर्वे गच्छन्ति अरिवशं भयात् । Śānti. 107.13

If differences arise among the members of the confederacy, and if the latter are not of one mind and hold different views on the affairs of the state and society, weakness sets in and the *gaṇas* fall easily into the hands of the enemy, overcome by mutual dread and suspicion. If the *gaṇa* organization is not well knit and is open to dissensions among the members who form that group, the enemy who lies in wait for an opportunity, takes advantage of the weakness and succeeds in overthrowing it. Differences of opinion are due to greed and jealousy (lobha and amarṣa).[2] This is true of any great organization consisting of refractory elements. The solidarity of any organization depends on the harmonious adjustment of the individual to that group. Here is the scope for the individual to develop his personality. But if the individual is animated by selfish interests and becomes erratic in his improvement, there is no salvation to that individual or to the group of which he is a member. The *gaṇa* government has all elements which go to make up sovereignty. It is for the gaṇamukhyas to confer together and arrive at decisions which would be binding on all. In the best interests of the *gaṇa* the leaders of the group should assemble, put their heads together and act so as to ensure what is called lokayātra. By this the *gaṇa* was able to amass good wealth, defy the enemy with its disciplined superior force and offer prompt justice. The *gaṇa* organisation afforded equality of opportunity and not the dead mechanical level of equality. The *gaṇa* was a synthesis of the wills of its res-

1 *Śānti.* 107. 13–14.

2 गणानां च कुलानां च राज्ञां भरतसत्तम ।
वैरसंदीपनावेतौ लोभामर्षौ नराधिप । Ibid. 10.

pective members. That is why there is no much insistence on saṅghāta in almost every other line of this chapter on *gaṇa*.

तस्मात्संघातमेकाहुर्गणानां शरणं महत् । Ibid. 32.

The political realism of a *gaṇa* government is deeply marked in the cāra (espionage), mantra (counsel), bala (armed forces), sāma dānavibhedana (means of diplomacy) and skilled foreign policy.[1] The secrecy of mantra is said to be jealously guarded and should be kept a close preserve of the Pradhāna or the President-leader of the *gaṇa* organization. It should not be a public property of the *gaṇa*. If this were otherwise, it defeats the very purpose of the mantra. The institution of cāra comes under this category.[2] From the realistic point of view of the strength of a *gaṇa*, it is pointed out with much force that the real danger is more internal than external.[3] The foreign enemy can be suppressed, vanquished and kept out by a well balanced policy, equipment and organization. There is not much dread on that account. But the actual danger to the organization comes from what we may call internal politics. It is the intransigent, disgruntled and disloyal sections of the organization that could not be easily managed. They alone form the clog in the wheel of a *gaṇa's* progress. It is therefore up to the *gaṇa* leaders to pursue a policy which would cater to the welfare of the whole *gaṇa*.[4] We have to note here specially the expression gaṇahitam. Otherwise it would be fraught with danger to the gaṇarājya. Internal disaffection cuts at the root of any organization.[5] So there is incessant insistence on the unanimity of the *gaṇa* assembly. This infuses new life into the organization and enables the *gaṇa* to add to its wealth and other material resources.[6] For no organization can stand secure without a replenished treasury and a contented people. And students of Hindu polity know that such gaṇarājyas flourished successfully and with a long lease of life which can be counted by centuries, from about 1000 B. C. to the end of the Gupta rule about 500 A. D.

1 Ibid. 12. 2 Ibid. 24. 3 Ibid. 28-29.

4 Ibid. 25. 5 Ibid. 29. 6 Ibid. 15.

ORIGIN OF THE BHĀGAVATA AND JAINA RELIGIONS*

BY

P. C. DIVANJI

I. *Introductory Remarks*

Out of the two religions whose origin I propose to trace in this paper the name of the second is familiar to everybody because it is the living faith of an important section of the indigenous inhabitants of this country. That of the first however is likely to be unfamiliar even to a majority of the Hindus, not to speak of the non-Hindus, because there is not now in India any section of the population whose religious beliefs and practices bear that label. It is not however that it has been totally extinct. It survives in the different forms of Vaiṣṇavism current in the northern and southern parts of India. Those forms are not however derived from it directly but from an intermediate modification thereof called the Pāñcarātra Dharma started by Śāṇḍilya, which had mixed up its dogma and forms of worship with those of the Tāntrikas and made it so complex and Anāryan as to compel the strict followers of the Vedic school like Bādarāyaṇa and his commentator Śaṁkara to attack it, as a non-Vedic cult[1]. All those Vaiṣṇavite forms are attempts made by learned philosophers and devout worshippers between the 10th and the 16th centuries to restore the pristine purity and simplicity of

* A paper read before the Philosophy and Religion Section of the XI Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Hyderabad from the 20th to the 22nd December 1941.

1 Br. Sū. II. 2. 42-45 and Śaṁkara's Bhāṣya thereon. (N. S. P. ed. pp. 572-75). It is very significant that what the Sūtrakāra and Bhāṣyakāra attack is only that part of the doctrine of the Bhāgavatas, then merged in the Pāñcarātras, which consisted of the production of the Jīva called Saṁkarṣaṇa from Paramātmā, called Vāsudeva, that of Pradyumna, the universal mind from Saṁkarṣaṇa and that of Aniruddha, the universal ego, from Pradyumna. The reviser of the Mahābhārata claims (XII. 3. 163) that the original Pāñcarātra Śāstra had been composed by Citraśikhaṇḍin, the joint name of the seven Ṛṣis, Atri, Aṅgirasa, Pulaha, Pulastya, Kratu, Marīci and Vasiṣṭha in the 7th Manvantara of Svayaṁbhū Manu.

the old Bhāgavata faith and yet none was thoroughly successful in doing so for one reason or another. It is, therefore, necessary first to define that creed before tracing its origin.

2. Even as regards Jainism it is necessary to do so because although to this day the original designation has been adhered to by a widely-spread and influential portion of the Indian community, there are several sub-divisions therein owing their rise to irreconcileable differences in matters of dogma and forms of worship. These had sprung up at different times during its long history owing to divergent causes and so it is difficult to get an idea at once as to what its original form was.

II. *The Bhāgavata Religion and its Origin*

3. The Bhāgavata religion is the religion of the Bhāgavatas. That term was employed by its followers to designate the object of their adoration and meant one who was possessed of the six attributes, splendour, strength, fame, prosperity, knowledge and detachment, mentioned in the couplet:—*Aiśvaryasya samagrasya vīryasya yaśasaḥ śriyaḥ, jñānvairāgyayoścaiva ṣaṇṇāṁ bhaga itīraṇā.* In the Paurāṇic mythology these attributes are ascribed to Viṣṇu. In the earlier Vedic age, they were those of Āditya who had twelve phases, the name of one of which was Viṣṇu but in the later Vedic age sages had begun to have a conception of one Supreme Deity of whom the other former deities, Indra, Varuṇa, Rudra, Agni, Pṛthvī etc., were realised to be different and partial manifestations and the Virāṭ (cosmos) to be its complete visible manifestation, though not the measure of its magnitude. The sage who was first inspired with the knowledge of this deity was Nārāyaṇa, whose name is always associated in Paurāṇic mythology with that of another sage named Nara. He, on getting this inspiration, composed the well-known *Puruṣasūkta*,[1] wherein he described the process of evolution from the Virāṭ Puruṣa by his own immolation. Another sage Hiraṇyagarbha thought over the stage earlier than that of the manifestation of the Virāṭ and was inspired with the thought that such a stage must be that of a golden egg. He accordingly composed the *Hiraṇyagarbhasūkta*[2]

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[1] R. V. X. 90.

[2] R. V. X. 121. See also R. V. X. 129.

describing the process of evolution upto the manifestation of the universe as he had conceived it. A third sage thought over the relation between the human soul and that out of whom the universe consisting of the diverse objects including the old Vedic deities had been evolved. Strange as it may seem, this sage was of the female sex. Her name was Vāk and her father's name according to Sāyaṇa was Ambhṛṇa Ṛṣi. She realised that the two were identical and in a fit of ecstasy composed a hymn propounding her conviction.[1] I have not collected together all the philosophical hymns from the Ṛgveda but the above are typical ones of the psychical revolution that had been taking place during the period when they were composed. It is but natural that those sages who had been inspired with such lofty conceptions should have begun to look upon the old ideal of rising upto heaven by means of sacrifices and attaining happiness there as unworthy of a highly-developed soul, to think out the problems as to why a soul with so much potentiality should have been condemned to misery of diverse sorts and how it can be raised to its original purity. The results of their contemplation were the conceptions of the bondage of Karma, of the higher ideal of liberation from it and of the means for attaining it being the development of the virtues of non-violence, truth-speaking, non-stealing, celibacy or abstinence from sexual enjoyment and non-acceptance of gifts except so far as it may be necessary for the sustenance of life and the contemplation of the Essence in solitude with a mind unperturbed by thoughts about oneself or about any external object. These are what are called the Pañca Mahāvratas, and Abhyāsa and Vairāgya. The propagation of such views must naturally have led to the gradual establishment of what is called the "Ascetic Age," *i. e. to say*, an age in which many thonghtful men and women after attaining puberty betook themselves to forests in order to be able to devote their lives exclusively to an attempt to realise the high ideal above set forth

[1] Ibid. 125. Winternitz refers to other philosophical hymns also in the Ṛgveda namely R. V. I. 164. 46 and X. 69 and 85 and one in the Atharvaveda namely, X. 2, XI. 8, XII. 1, XIX. 53. I believe, there must be many more in both. He also refers to the subordination of Indra and other earlier Vedic Gods to Viṣṇu in the Yajurveda. (His. of Ind. Lit. Vol. I, pp. 99-100, 154-55).

without being hampered and led astray by temptations. It must be in this age that what Dr. Winternitz calls "Ascetic poetry"[1] must have originated and been developed. Apart from that the *Mahābhārata* refers to the existence of a distinct work on Tyāga-śāstra known as *Saṁyogavadha* composed for the guidance of the Brāhmaṇas of the Bhāllavī Śākhā.[2]

4. As is natural all the men in the Vedic age could not have the aptitude to lead a secluded forest life.. The society must therefore have been divided into the followers of the two paths, that of an active life called Pravṛtti Dharma and that of a retired life called Nivṛtti Dharma. Our Paurāṇic works contain many references to these Dharmas which were in fact only different ways of approach.[3]

5. Let alone the Pravṛtti Dharma for the present. The originator of the Nivṛtti Dharma seems to be Nārāyaṇa, the author of the Puruṣasūkta above-referred to, who had been living in solitude at Badarikāśrama.[4] He had a very ardent devotee also in the person of Śāṁkhāyana Sanatkumāra, at times referred to simply as Kumāra or as Skanda, who never lived in a house. One tradition of the tenets of the Bhāgavata religion is spoken of in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* as having originated from him, he having heard it from Saṁkarṣaṇa and communicated it to Parāśara, the latter to Maitreya, and the last to Vidura, brother of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, born of a Śūdra mother.[5] Another tradition is that Nārāyaṇa had imparted the teaching to Bṛhatśravā alias Nārada, the latter to Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana alias Apāntaratamas, he to his son Śuka, the latter to King Parīkṣita, son of Janamejaya and Romaharṣaṇa Sūta, who had heard it recited to that king by Śuka

[1] His. of Ind. Lit. Vol. I. by Winternitz pp. 473-75; Some Problems of Indian Literature (Cal.) pp. 21-40.

[2] Mbh. XII. 3. 46. 16-20.

[3] Mbh. XII. 3. 20-29, 36-44, 118-26, 163; Bhāg. Pu. III. 8. 7 where Sanatkumāra is said to be Nivṛtti dharmarata.

[4] Bhāg. Pu. III. 4. 21-22, V. 4. 5, XII. 9. 7; Harivaṁśa 73. 19-29.

[5] Bhāg. Pu. 8. 1-9; IV. 8. 1. In Mbh. XII. 3. 106-07, he narrates the Viṣṇu Māhātmya.

in the Naimiṣāraṇya, to Śaunaka and others.[1] The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*[2] on the other hand contains a recital of the teaching of the Highest Essence (Bhūmā) having been imparted by Sanatkumāra alias Skanda to Nārada when the latter represented that his heart had been overpowered with a feeling of remorse although he had studied the four Vedas, the Itihāsa-Purāṇa and all other sciences, that he had heard from persons of the type of the sage he had approached that a man who knows the self overcomes remorse and that he was anxious to do so.

6. Apart from these lines of teachers and pupils there is a general observation in the following verse of the said Purāṇa. '*Ātmārāmāsca munayaḥ nirgranthā'pyurukrame Kurvantyahaitukīṁ bhaktimitthaṁbhūtaguṇo Hariḥ.*'[3] Here the term *Nirgranthāḥ* is significant. It is an adjective qualifying the noun *munayaḥ* and means those who are without bonds. The context in which this verse occurs shows that the said term could not have been used here in the sense of the Jainas as in the Buddhist Pali Literature[4] and that the bonds here spoken of are the bonds of attachment to one's family, to the objects of sense-enjoyment etc. The context is that when Sūta says that Dvaipāyana Vyāsa having composed the *Bhāgavata Saṁhitā* taught it to his son Śuka who was *Nivṛttinirata*, Śaunaka asks him why though he was so Śuka studied this great Saṁhitā and the above is the answer of Sūta to that query.

7. Lastly, there are in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* several illustrations of great devotees of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa such as Kardama and Kapila, Dhruva and Pṛthu, Priyavrata and three of his sons,

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1 Ibid. XII. 4. 41-43. So far as this tradition relates to the imparting of this knowledge by Nārāyaṇa to Nārada, it is corroborated by Mbh. XII. 3. 162. This Nārada must be different from his namesake who is often referred to in Śrī Kṛṣṇa's life-account in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. According to another episode in the Bhāgavata itself (II. 5-7) again, one Nārada had acquired knowledge from Brahmā. Further up in II. 9 it is however made clear that Nārāyaṇa himself had imparted it to Brahmā, the latter to Nārada and the last to Dvaipāyana.

2 Chān. Upa. VII. 1-26.

3 Bhāg. Pu. I. 7-10.

4 S. B. E. Series No. XII, Introduction by Jacobi, p. XXXIV. On the Indian Sect of Jainism by Bühler, pp. 3-5.

Kavi, Mahāvīra, and Savana, Ṛṣabha, Bharata and Sumati and the 9 Yogeśvaras and Avadhūtas,[1] which go to show that the Bhāgavata Dharma was originally so strict in the matter of discipline that it was inconsistent with its tenets to lead the life of a house-holder. It is true that some of these such as Dhruva, Pṛthu, Priyavrata, Ṛṣabha and Bharata did live the life of a house-holder for some time but it is also true that they had been persuaded to do so for some time for the benefit of humanity and that the predominant feature of the Dharma was Pāramahaṁsya, *i. e*, a life of perfect detachment from social environments.[2]

8. It is obvious from the above that the sage, Kapila, the propounder of the Sāṁkhya doctrine, was born after the completion of the Tenth Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda to which Nārāyaṇa, the founder of the Nivṛtti Dharma had made a valuable contribution. It is therefore reasonable to infer that in the said Dharma, the Sāṁkhya doctrine could have no place although in *the Bhagavadgītā, the Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, that doctrine is interwoven with the doctrine of the Bhāgavatas.[3] The authorship of all these works in their original forms is ascribed to Veda Vyāsa. It is therefore probable that it was he who brought about a reconciliation between the Ṣāṁkhya doctrine and the old Nivṛtti Dharma on acknowleding the propounder of the former as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa. The theory of Avatāras as a whole too was a product of his imagination, the material for it having been drawn from the Vedic hymns and the Gāthās current in his time which were being recited at sacrificial meetings. The reason for starting it seems to be that between Nārāyaṇa and Dvaipāyana there was a wide gap of several centuries. During that interval several members of the priestly and princely orders had left their marks on the Vedic and non-Vedic literatures that had sprung up in the meanwhile. When the latter proceeded to revive the old social order, which had been disorganised and was on the point of disruption owing to the destruction of several important

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[1] Bhāg. Pu. III. 21-33 ; IV. 8. 12-44 ; V. I. 15 ; XI. 2-5, 7-9.

[2] Bhāg. Pu. I. 4. 31. In some of the colophons the work itself is called *Pāramahaṁsī Saṁhitā*

[3] ERE. Vol. II—Bhakti-Mārga by Grierson. pp., 539-51.

Kṣatriya families in the Mahābhārata war and that of Brāhmaṇa and Vaiśya families owing to the after-effects of that war on the economic condition of the country and also owing to the apathy towards home-life generated by the wide prevalence of the doctrine of the Nivṛttimārga, he must have seen that the only way to reconcile the Vedic and non-Vedic cults and preserve the memories of the great men of the past in both of them was to create a social order on the basis of a division of functions and to provide the literature appropriate to each class.[1] He accordingly collected together the Vedic hymns and the sacrificial, musical and magical formulas, divided them into four parts according to the functions to be performed by the four priests employed in a sacrifice and revived the orders of the four Varṇas and Āśramas. For those who did not believe in the attainment of happiness in another world but were nevertheless anxious to regulate their life spiritually he started the theory of Karmayoga and inspired faith in it by identifying Śrī Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu and having composed the *Bhagavadgītā* laying down the principles of the old Pravṛtti Dharma brought it in a line with the Nivṛtti Dharma by making room in the Karmayoga for the theory of the Avatāras which could enable him to increase the importance of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. There yet remained a class of people to whom neither the Vedas nor the Bhagavadgītā were intelligible. For them he composed the original Bhārata called the fifth Veda,[2] illustrating elaborately the principles underlying the text.

9. The European scholars, guided, I suppose, mainly by Prof. Ray Chaudhary say that the Bhāgavata religion had been founded by Śrī Kṛṣṇa, son of Vasudeva and Devakī, and the pupil of Ghora Aṅgīrasa on the teaching of the Sūryopasanā, or Puruṣavidyā, which he had learnt from his said teacher, that the Yādavas of the Sātvata clan were its followers, that it was a revolt against the old Vedic religion and that the *Bhagavadgītā* is the authoritative work of that religion.[3] It must however have been clear

[1] See on this point Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā (edited by Otto Schrader, Madras 1916) Ch. XIX according to which the Ṣaṣṭhītantra-Śāstra was the source of all the orthodox systems referred to in the verse commencing with the line:—

Trayīsāṁkhyaṁ yogaḥ paśupatimataṁ Vaiṣṇavamiti

[2] Bhāg. Pu. I. 4. 14-23; VII. 1. 25; XII. 6. 36-80.

[3] ERE. Vol. II—Bhagavadgītā, by Garbe, pp. 535-38;—Bhakti-mārga by Grierson pp. 539-51; His. of Ind. Lit. by Winternitz Vol. I. p. 457.

from what has preceded that the Bhāgavata religion is not a new religion but a modification of the old Nivṛttimārga started by Ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa, the Vedic sage and that whereas it is true that Śrī Kṛṣṇa had in his age modified the way of adoration of Nārāyaṇa by propounding the view that a Kṣatriya need not renounce the world in order to be able to realise the identity of the individual soul with the Supreme soul and that he can realise it by leading a life of a Kṣatriya in the true sense of it, *i. e. to say*, by continuing to discharge his duties as laid down in the Dharmaśāstra without allowing his mind to be swayed by the emotions promoted by self-interest and a desire to enjoy the fruits of the efforts involved in the discharge of such duties, it cannot be true that he had started a new cult and that too in opposition to the Vedic cult dominated over by the Brāhmaṇa class because there was enmity between that class and Kṣatriya class. Nor can it be believed that the *Bhagavadgītā* as we now have it was his composition. If we read that work carefully and reflect over the incidents of Kṛṣṇa's life as narrated in the *Mahābhārata* and some of the Purāṇas, the principal among which is the *Bhāgavata*, we can come to the conclusion that by his sympathy for and exertions in the interest of the good and the dedication of his life to the extermination of the vain and the wicked, whether they were Anāryans like Narakāsura and Bāṇāsura or Āryans like Kaṁsa, Jarāsaṁdha and Śiśupāla, he had been looked upon by a large section of his contemporaries of both sexes as an incarnation of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa and adored as such even in his lifetime, [1] that through Arjuna, Uddhava and a few of them who lived in close contact with him he had explained the philosophical outlook on life which guided his extraordinary conduct and that although he had never renounced the world, he had made such an impression even on a section of the reculuses of his time like Nārada, Veda Vyāsa, and Maitreya that after his demise their devotion towards him and their belief in his doctrine increased in intensity and one of his devotees Veda Vyāsa saw in his doctrine a satisfactory remedy for putting an end to the danger of the total disruption of the Aryan social structure which had

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[1] This is corroborated even by Hemacandra (Tspc. Ch. VIII, Sargas 2–7).

already set in through various causes and made use of it with the help of the previous literatures of both the Nivṛttimārga and Pravṛttimārga for restoring the glory of the Varṇāśrama Dharma with its excellent checks and counter-checks in the shape of the mutual rights and duties of the four classes and the four orders. I say that this was the restoration of an old organisation in a somewhat modified form because its origin goes back to the day on which Viśvāmitra, a Kṣatriya king having abandoned his kingdom and his military career along with it, retired to a forest in order to attain Brahmarṣitva on acknowledging it to be superior to Rājarṣitva. Prior to that a long and bitter struggle had been going on between the members of the priestly and princely orders ever since the time of Paraśurāma and Sahasrārjuna, each trying to establish his suporiority over the other. But when thereafter order was restored the Brahmans acknowledged Viśvāmitra as one of the Brahmarṣis and one of the best of the Vedic Seers, gave him a place among the seven Ṛṣis and admitted the Gāyatrī mantra composed and made use of by him for the attainment of his goal as the most efficacious of all the Vedic mantras and the quintessence of the Vedic teaching.

III. *The Jaina Religion and its Origin*

10. The European scholars, of more recent times,[1] who have devoted some time to the thought as to the original form and the time of origin of the Jaina religion have come to the conclusions that the theory propounded by the earlier European scholars that Jainism was an offshoot of Buddhism is not well-founded, that there is sufficient evidence in the Jaina and Buddhist works as to the existence of a sect of Nirgranthas, the then designation of the Jainas led by Mahāvīra there called Nātaputta, that such similarity between the religious tenets and practices of the Buddhists and the Jainas as that on which the earlier scholars laid considerable stress was easily explicable as having been derived from the common Aryan source, that though Mahāvīra cannot be believed to be the first to propound that religion as his parents had

[1] On the Indian Sect of the Jainas by Bühler, pp. 25–39, 46–47; S. B. E. Vol. XII. Intro. by Jacobi, pp. XIX–XXXVIII; ERE. Vol. II—Jainism by Jacobi, pp. 465–66.

been following the cult of Pārśvanātha, whom the Jainas believe to be their 23rd Tīrthaṁkara, the accounts of the other 22 Tīrthaṁkaras given in the Jaina works are so much vitiated by vagueness and hyperbolism that for the purpose of the History of Religions, Jainism cannot be believed to have been started earlier than between B. C. 877 and 717. Two south Indian scholars have only changed the latter limit to 777. [1]

11. In view of the evidence and the conclusions set forth in the preceding section hereof, all the conclusions of the modern scholars except the last, though based upon somewhat different data, seem to be sound. As for the last, it is necessary to bear in mind that the theory of the European scholars that the cult of Viṣṇu had been started by Kṣatriyas as a revolt against the tyr anny of the Brāhmaṇas cannot be believed to be true in view of the facts that certain Ṛṣis of the later Vedic age, who were undoubtedly Brāhmaṇas had already conceived the existence of an Almighty Puruṣa, realised the essential identity of the individual soul with Him, hit upon the bondage of Karma as explaining the wide gulf of difference in the powers of knowledge and action that existed between the two and conceived the idea of Mokṣa (release) from it as being capable of being achieved by a process of purification which consisted of a course of spiritual discipline. It was for undergoing this discipline, securing that release and realising of that pure nature of the self, that thoughtful members of all the castes had been renouncing the world and leading a secluded life in the forests. According to a well-known rule of the Dharmaśāstra, a non-Brāhman could not take the Saṁnyāsa-dīkṣā. It is therefore natural that there should have grown up a class of the so-called unorthodox ascetics along with the orthodox ascetics, and that they should have taken to the path of devotion to either Viṣṇu or Śiva hoping to be released from their bonds by the favour of the deity in whom they had faith and to have in moments of excitement given expression to their experiences and sentiments in songs and ballads composed in their mother-tongue, which must have been different from the language of the learned and which the Europeans have label-

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[1] His. of Ind. Lit. by Gowen (1931) p. 259; ERE. Vol. II—Jainism by Jacobi, pp. 465-66; Ayyangar and Rao: Studies in South Indian Jainism, p. 19.

ed as " Ascetic Poetry " and have found to have been drawn upon as well by the Bhāgavatas and Jainas as by the Buddhists and Śaivas. The very fact that the so-called unorthodox ascetics adopted most of the rules and the mode of dress of the order of Saṁnyāsis is sufficient evidence of there being harmony rather than discord between the ascetics of the two classes. To add to that there are numerous stories in the *Mahābhārata* which go to show that there used to take place a free interchange of views between them to the mutual advantage of both and that of the society in general. [1]

12. Now, the first Tīrthaṁkara of the Jainas according to their canonical books called Ādinātha (the First Lord) was Ṛṣabhadeva, son of Nābhi and Marudevī. The Kalpasūtra of the Śvetāmbaras does not seem to contain any more information about him except that he had inherited the kingdom of his father in Ikṣvākubhūmi in Bhāratavarṣa, that after having ruled for several years and teaching the people during those years 72 sciences including the art of writing, the science of arithmetic and the knowledge of omens, the 64 accomplishments of women, the hundred crafts and the three occupations of men, he renounced his kingdom, retired to the forest and was the first to lead the life of a mendicant and became the first Jaina and the first Tīrthaṁkara. [2] The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* [3] on the other hand acclaims him not only as a great devotee of Viṣṇu and a great Yogī but also as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu because he had in his lifetime been so successful in eradicating his individual consciousness and in being in tune with the Infinite that he had ceased to be conscious of the existence of his physical body, that his limbs had consequently ceased to perform their normal functions and that therefore he was an ideal Paramahaṁsa who is above the limitations imposed by the Āśramadharma of the Saṁnyāsis. As contrasted with the

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1 His. of Ind. Lit. Vol. I, pp. 380-94, 473 &c.; Some Problems of Indian Literature, pp. 21-40; Mbh. I. 75-93, III. 100-13, 187, 273-90, V. 11-17, 120-23, XII. 3. 88-91, 92, 94-97, 340, XIII. 100, XIV. 16-19.

2 S. B. E. Vol. XII. pp. 281-85.

3 Bhāg. Pu. V. In Mbh. XII. 1. 125-30, Ṛṣabha is called a Brahmarṣi and one of the Sāṁkhyācāryas who preceded Kapila.

Kalpasūtra, it gives many more details about his family and his descendants. It says that Ṛṣabha's father, Nābhi was one of the sons of Agnidhra, that the said Agnidhra was again one of the sons of Priyavrata who was of one of the two sons of Manu, that Kapila the famous propounder of the Sāṁkhya doctrine was the son of Devahūtī who was a sister of the said Priyavrata and had been married to the sage Kardama, that Bhārata after whom this country was named Bhāratavarṣa (the Country of Bharata) was one of his hundred sons, that out of the other 99, nine did not marry and renounced the world and devoted their lives exclusively to the contemplation of the Almighty, that Nimi, one of the kings of Mithilā, the capital of Videha (roughly speaking the modern Bihar), had taken spiritual instructions from them, that after having ruled for several years Bharata too had renounced his kingdom and become a recluse and that his son Sumati too, had followed a similar course and had attained a state similar to that of Ṛṣabha.[1] The Jaina works agree in this so far as to say that Bharata was one of the 63 Śalākāpuruṣas and the first Cakravartin amongst them, that Sumati was their fifth Tīrthaṁkara and that Kapila was one of the 9 Vāsudevas who are included in that number 63.

13. I have also been able to identify some of the other kāpuruṣas of the Jainas, namely, Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, Ariṣṭanemi and Jarāsaṁdha whose lives were intertwined to a very great extent. When I read the *Triṣaṣṭhi-śalākāpuruṣa-carita* of Hemacandra and the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* of Jinasena I was much surprised to find that their authors had been speaking of Kṛṣṇa with as much reverence as the Bhāgavatas except for believing him to be the Supreme Brahma in human form, referring to him by the various names Dāmodara, Hari, Govinda, Murāri, and others, which the Vaiṣṇavas hold dear, that they had narrated all the incidents of his childhood which are found narrated in the works of Bhāgavata school, that they had also been looking upon Jarāsaṁdha as a tyrant who deserved to be killed and that they also believed Balarāma to be a helpmate of Kṛṣṇa as did the Bhāgavatas. Of course there are certain differences as regards the

[1] Bhāg. Pu. XII. 5-7.

common points between their life-stories as narrated in the works as to the ascendants and descendants of Kṛṣṇa. The reason for their entering into many more details of historical interest seems to be that they looked upon Kṛṣṇa as a highly developed soul of the status of Vāsudeva or Viṣṇu, who was only next in rank to a Tīrthaṁkara, who too was only the most highly developed soul of his age, as opposed to the Bhāgavatas, who looked upon him as Nārāyaṇa or Saguṇa Brahma incarnate and were as such very little interested in the human side of his life and those of his ancestors and descendants. Now such historical details as they supply were not obviously necessary for bringing into relief the tenets of their religion e. g., that Kṛṣṇa's great-grandfather was Āndhaka-Vṛṣṇi, that his grandfather was Śaurī, who had founded Śauryapura at a distance of about 50 miles from Mathurā, that he was a ruling chief there under the suzerainty of Jarāsaṁdha of Magadha, that after having reigned there for several years he renounced the kingdom in favour of the eldest of his ten sons named Samudravijaya and retired to a forest, that Vāsudeva was his youngest son and was living under the control of his eldest brother, that he had acquired proficiency in several arts, the chief of which were those of singing and playing on musical instruments and horse-training, that he was such an adept in the former and was at the same time so handsome that whenever he stirred out in the town and amused himself by music even the married women of the town gave up their house-hold work and gathered together to hear him, that the leading men of the town once complained about him to his elder brother, that thereupon he was ordered not to leave the palace compound without permission, that finding this restraint irksome he once broke through it and wandered about from place to placc, that wherever he went, he attracted the attention of either the ruling chief or a nobleman of the place and became his son-in-law, that after he had collected seven or eight wives in this manner he had an occasion to show his skill in the military science to his eldest brother Samudravijaya, who was ranged against him in battle, that the latter recognised him and took him back to his capital with his wives and kept him in his military service, that there he came in contact with Kaṁsa, son of Ugrasena, who having been abondoned immediately after his birth on account of inauspicious

signs on his body had been brought up by a Bania, that Samudravijaya was once ordered by Jarāsaṁdha to send a contingent against a rebellious Gaḍhavī, that he sent for the purpose the regiment commanded by Vasudeva assisted by Kaṁsa, that the latter by his bravery defeated the Gaḍhavī, arrested him and produced him before Vasudeva, who through Samudravijaya took him to Jarāsaṁdha, that the latter was so pleased that he offered to give to Vasudeva the Jagir of Mathurā and his daughter Jīvayaśā but the latter would not accept them saying that it was Kaṁsa who deserved them by his bravery, that as the latter was reputed to be the son of a Bania Jarāsaṁdha was reluctant to give him his daughter but afterwards convincing proof of his being the son of a Kṣatriya was produced and Jarāsaṁdha gave him both his daughter and the Jagir. [1] The works of the Bhāgavata school are completely silent about all these incidents but there is such a touch of reality about them that one is persuaded to believe that the Jainas must have had some independent source of information about them. In fact Jinasena narrates [2] in his Introduction that he had based his narrations of the family of Hari on the original work composed by Suvratanātha, the 20th Tīrthaṁkara who like Kṛṣṇa belonged to the Yādava clan, that since he composed his work, several other Jaina Sādhus had also written accounts of the family of Hari and that he had based his work on materials gathered from all of them. Hemacandra, too states in his *Lives of Sixty-three Eminent Personages* that he had gathered the materials for them from older works. [3] I am therefore led to believe that the charge that the Jainas had made out their Paurāṇic works from the Bhāgavata sources on twisting facts so as to suit their purpose must be dismissed as unfounded and that as regards certain matters of historical interest the Jaina works are more informative and reliable than the Bhāgavata works.

14. According to them Samudravijaya had a son Ariṣṭanemi born at Śauryapura, very near the time when the whole Yādava clan consisting of three branches migrated to Saurāṣṭra owing to

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[1] Tspc. X. VIII. 2-7, 8, 10, 11; Hv. Pu. IV. 22-36.

[2] Hv. Pu. Intro. pp. 3-5.

[3] Tspc. Intro.

to the invincibility of the attack on Mathurā by Kāla, who according to them was a son of Jarāsaṁdha. Because of his outstanding virtues, Ariṣṭanemi had become a pet of Kṛṣṇa and therefore received his constant attention in the matter of his education. Although at the time of the last encounter with Jarāsaṁdha he had grown up to be a full-fledged youth he had not fallen in love with any girl as Kṛṣṇa's sons Pradyumna, Śāmba and others, who were almost equal in age to him, had. He was once persuaded to consent to marry and even went to the house of the father of a princess named Rājīmatī but turned back from it on seeing a row of cattle tied to posts in readiness for being slaughtered for the nuptial feast and cutting off their ropes with his sword. Since then he remained in the family house for about one year but that was only for preparing himself for a life of renunciation and after that period he left the house for good, first went to Ujjain, stayed there for some time and at last returned to Mt. Revataka (Girnār) and having practised severe austerities there attained Kaivalya or as the Jainas say Kevalīpada. Naturally enough he was soon surrounded by some followers, all of whom were recluses like him.

15. Dr. Ray Chaudhary has taken a note of his being a first cousin of Kṛṣṇa in his *Early History of the Viṣṇavas* but beyond that he has not made any use of the biography of that saint given at considerable details in the Jaina works. The reason for it seems to be that he was concerned with adducing evidence of Kṛṣṇa being a historical personage who had lived many centuries prior to the beginning of the Christian era, his being identical with the pupil of Ghora Aṅgīrasa, who is referred to in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*[2] as the person to whom the Puruṣavidyā expounded in that Upaniṣad had been taught by the said sage and with his being the founder of the religion in which the object of adoration was Bhagavān Viṣṇu, after whom the followers of the creed were known as the Bhāgavatas. The European scholars are not prepared even to concede that there was any such historical personage as Ariṣṭanemi, although following the lead given by Dr. Ray Chaudhary they admit the historical existence of Kṛṣṇa–Vāsudeva, his identity with the Kṛṣṇa of the

1 Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect. pp. 172–74.
2 Chān. Upa. III 17.

Chāndogya Upaniṣad and his being the founder of the religion of the Bhāgavatas.[1] The principal obstacles in the way of their making any concession in the case of Ariṣṭanemi are (1) that according to the Jaina works there was a very long distance of 84,000 years between him and the 23rd Tīrthaṁkara Pārśvanātha and (2) that there is no reference whatsoever in the Paurāṇic work of the Hindus as to Vāsudeva having an elder brother named Samudravijaya and the latter having a son of the name of Ariṣṭanemi. As for the first, it must be admitted that it is not possible with our present knowledge to explain what the Jaina authors mean when they say that there was a distance in time of so many thousands of years or so many Sāgaropamās between one of the Tīrthaṁkaras and another but that for that reason alone it would not be reasonable to brush aside the whole of the life-story of Ariṣṭanemi given in several Jaina works which had been based on very old Prākrit works as a figment of imagination. The non-mention of the names of Vāsudeva's brother and brother's son in the works of the Bhāgavata school can be easily explained by the circumstance that the Bhāgavata writers had made use of only so much of their traditional knowledge as was necessary for glorifying Kṛṣṇa as the Supreme Deity who had assumed a human form for the protection of the good and the chastisement of the wicked. There are, as shown above, many other facts of purely historical or human interest appearing from the Jaina works which have even not been hinted at in the Bhāgavata works.[2] The word *Ariṣṭanemi* appears at least in the Śāntipāṭha of the Muṇḍaka, Praśna, and Māṇḍukya Upaniṣads of the Atharvaveda. It is, of course, there an epithet of Tārkṣya *i. e.* Aruṇa, the herald of the sun and means, "he, the circumference of whose wheels is perfect or unhurt." In Pāṇini VI.2.100 there is a reference to an Ariṣṭāśritapuram (a city where Ariṣṭa had taken up an abode). Apart from these, however, the Jaina works go to show that Ariṣṭanemi had not married and had renounced the world, that the original Jaina doctrine was that none

[1] His. of Ind. Lit. by Winternitz Vol. 1, pp. 457; ERE. Vol. II—Bhagavadgītā by Garbe, pp. 535–38;—Bhakti-mārga by Grierson, pp. 539–51.

[2] The Harivaṁśa does contain some stray bits of traditions collected together from a particular region, probably the south of India, at a time later than that of the composition of the Mahābhārata.

who had not completely given up his connection with every worldly object and had not prepared himself by severe penances and contemplation in solitude could attain Kevalīpada, which qualified one for a Tīrthaṁkaraship, that Kṛṣṇa had in his life-time revived the old ideal of the Pravṛtti Dharma about which sufficient has been said already and that Ariṣṭanemi believing the absolute necessity of renunciation for the realisation of the powers inherent in the human soul, of a better quality than were apparent from the conduct of Kṛṣṇa, had cut himself adrift from society and applied himself seriously to the problem of their realisation in a solitary place on the mountain-top of Girnār. They also show that after he realised his ideal, he had attracted many persons towards himself and persuaded some to follow his own example and others like Kṛṣṇa to give up drinking and that the drunken brawl that took place amongst the young Yādavas and ended in their mutual destruction was the consequence of their having indulged in drinking in spite of absolute prohibition enforced by Kṛṣṇa. Add to these the facts that after the death of Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana amplified the former's teaching to Arjuna and starting the theory of the Avatāras in order to inspire faith in the Karmayoga doctrine tried to establish that the problem of what is Karma and what is Akarma had baffled the best philosophers, that it was practically impossible for an embodied soul to remain completely inactive, that the same result which is sought to be achieved by Saṁnyāsa (of Karma) can be achieved more easily and more harmlessly by Yoga (of Karma), that even the Śāstras do not ordain the abandonment of the prescribed duties, that real renunciation lay in cultivating a habit of indifference to the fruits of such Karma and that if that habit is firmly acquired, the mind becomes pure and there arises the knowledge of the Essence which has the effect of eradicating the dormant evil propensities or the animal instincts of desire for enjoyment, anger, hatred, envy etc. and that of making the heart so crystal-clear as to enable a man to realise the Essence which is everywhere. [1] This doctrine though intended for the benefit of the weak and illiterate was very closely connected with the old Varṇāśrama Dharma and a belief

[1] Bhagavadgītā III, IV, V, VI, XVI, XVII & XVIII.

in the Vedas and implied at least a tacit consent to the continuance of injury to animal life. It is significant that the Jaina works contained detailed accounts of the lives of the first Tīrthaṁkara Ṛṣabhadeva and the twenty-second, twenty-third and twenty-fourth Tīrthaṁkaras, Neminātha, Pārasvanātha and Mahāvīrasvāmi only. Thereout as stated before, Ṛṣabha is revered both by the Bhāgavatas and Jainas. It was, I believe, on the question of the interpretation of the life of Ṛṣabha and similar older saints that a difference of views must have arisen between them on the question of Varṇāśrama Dharma, the existence of an All-powerful Omnipresent, Omniscient God and the assumption by him of human and other forms for helping the good and chastising the wicked, acknowledgement of the Saṁhitās, and Brāhmaṇas as the ancient works of the Āryan religion, the necessity of absolute Saṁnyāsa for the relisation of the highest truth which a human soul is capable of realising and the capacity of Niṣkāma Karma to enable man to realise it, that must have caused the parting of ways between Ariṣṭanemi and Veda Vyāsa and their respective followers. Till then they had many things in common. That is the reason why we find common beliefs in the doctrine of Karma, the necessity of Yoga for freedom from the bondage of Karma which is the cause of Saṁsāra, the subordination of the Vedic gods Indra and others to the Puruṣa, similar customs and rules of conduct of the recluses etc.

IV. *The Probable Time of Their Origin*

16. It will have been seen from the above that I believe that even in the Vedic age, there were two kinds of Dharmas, Nivṛtti Dharma and Pravṛtti Dharma, current in Āryan society, that these were in fact not two Dharmas in the sense of two religions but only two Mārgas or Panthas for attaining the same ideal, that it was from the former of them that the Bhāgavata and Jaina Dharmas had been evolved by the followers of Kṛṣṇa and Ariṣṭanemi owing to some fundamental differences as to beliefs and practices between them and as to the attitude to be taken up by the followers of the Viṣṇu cult towards the Vedic literature, the Varṇāśrama-vyavasthā and the continuance of the performance of sacrifices even by a section of the Āryan race. It would,

therefore, not be out of place here to try to point out when the parting of ways took place.

17. As to that since that event took place soon after the Mahābhārata war we can arrive at its probable date if we consider that of the said war itself. That date has been the subject of many learned disquisitions by several scholars based on literary, astronomical and other data. The earliest date arrived at by some of them is B. C. 3102.[1] The origin of the two religions cannot therefore be placed earlier than about B. C. 3050 to 3000. The latest date arrived at by some is B. C. 1100.[2] The said origin cannot therefore have taken place later than between B. C. 1050 and 1000. Attempts are being made at present by the archaeologists to find out some evidence which would enable them to fix the exact date of the Kuru-Pāṇḍu war. When they will find it, the question of the date of origin of the said two religions will be easily solved and all controversy will come to an end.

[1] His. of Ind. Lit. by Winternitz Vol. I. p. 473.

[2] Chrnology of Ancient India by Pradhan (Calcutta 1927) pp. 169-75, 268-69 ; Journal of India History Vol. XIX. Pt. I.—The intervening age between Parīkṣit and Nanda by Triveda, pp. 1-16.

SOME CURIOUS MIDDLE INDIC AORISTS

BY

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In the Mahāvastu, Senart's ed. ii. 221.17 and iii. 216.7, there occurs twice, according to the mss., a form *prādur–ahi.* It is obviously from *prādur–bhū* and means "became visible, appeared." Senart emends to *–ahu* (for *abhūt*). But he would probably not have made this emendation if he had been aware of certain Pali forms which confirm the mss. reading.

In Jātaka i 54. 4–5 we find *pātur–ahiṃsu*, 3 pl., "appeared." Further, from other compounds of *bhū*, *ajjhabhī*, to *adhibhavati*, which should be read It. 76.6 (ed. *ajjhabhū*), and *anvabhī*, or °*bhi*, to *anubhavati*, to be read DN. iii. 147.10, 149.2 ; see Andersen and Smith, Crit. Pali Dict., s. vv.

These passages confirm each other and prove that, in the Protocanonical Buddhist Prakrit to which both Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit literatures go back, the root *bhū* had, at least in some compounds, an aorist *–abhi*, *–abhī*, *–ahi*, (*–ahī*), 3 pl. *–ahiṃsu* (*–abhiṃsu* ?). So far as I can find, Geiger and other Pali grammars do not mention these forms ; nor have I found any explanation of them.

They seem to me obviously modifications of *abhū(t)*, *ahū*, *ahu*, or the like, and 3 pl. *abhuṃsu*, *ahuṃsu* or the like (*abhuṃsu*, often written *abhūnsuḥ* and the like, is a very common form in the Mahāvastu). The vocalism of these forms was modified to fit the commonest aorist type of Protocanonical Prākrit, which ended in 3 sg. *–i* (or *ī*), 3 pl. *–iṃsu* ; see Edgerton, *JAOS* 57.19ff. *(a)gami*, *(a)gamiṃsu* etc.

Similarly, compounds of *bhū* also had a 3 pl. aorist *–ahaṃsu*, *(a)bhaṃsu*. We find *pātur–ahaṃsu* in Jāt. i. 11. 2 (and as v. l. in i, 54, 5, above) ; and *adhi–bhaṃsu* SN. iv. 185. 31 (Andersen and Smith s. v. *adhibhavati*). This last is correctly explained by Geiger § 163 as having its vocalism by analogy with another aorist type in 3 sg. *–ā*, 3 pl. *–aṃsu* ; e. g. *(a)gamā*, *(a)gamaṃsu*. No *–*abhā*, *–*ahā* or the like has been found ; nor have I as yet found such 3 pl. forms Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.

SŪKARA-MADDAVA AND THE BUDDHA'S DEATH *

BY

FA CHOW

Sometime ago, when I first read the passage, pertaining to the Buddha's accepting Cunda's invitation, in the English translation [1] of the 'Mahā-parinibbāṇa-suttanta,[2]' I was rather puzzled to see how Dr. Rhys Davids could have interpreted the word 'Sūkara-maddava' as 'dried boar's flesh.'[3] Later on, I found that some Indian Scholars too think like him viz., that the death of the Buddha was due to eating some kind of meat. It would not matter at all, if this were a fact, but I am afraid the texts have been wrongly interpreted.

The different interpretations of Buddhaghoṣa and Buddhayaśas :-

The interpretation referred to above, was first given in Buddhaghoṣa's commentary, [4] but he also gave two other different explanations :

Firstly—

" Some say 'Sūkara-maddava' is a kind of soft food, a preparation of well-cooked soup, which is made out of the five products of the cow..............."

Secondly—

" But others say, 'Sūkara-maddava' is a kind of medicinal preparation, which is prescribed in the book of the science of Rasāyana. Cunda prepared this medicine, as he hoped (that thereby) the Blessed One's death might not take place."

Beside the above three different interpretations of the word 'Sūkara-maddava,' we have one more from the Chinese transla-

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* Communicated by Dr. V. V. Gokhale, Poona.

1 Buddhist Suttas. S. B. E., vol. xi, pp. 70-73.

2 Dīgha-nikāya. Mahā-parinibbāṇa-suttanta, pp. 126-128. P. T. S.

3 Buddhist Suttas. S B. E., vol. xi., p. 71.

4 Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī. See S. Devamitta's Sinhalese edition, p. 395.

" Eke bhaṇanti sūkara-maddavaṃ pana mudu-odanassa pañca-gorasa yūsapācana-vidhānassa nāmametaṃ ti, yathā gavapānam nāma pākanāmaṃ, Keci bhaṇanti sūkara-maddavaṃ nāma rasāyanavidhi taṃ pana rasāyanasatthe āgacchati, taṃ Cundena Bhagavato parinibbāṇaṃ na bhaveyyāti rasāyanaṃ paṭiyattanti."

tion of the Dīrghāgama,[1] which was translated by Buddhayaśas of Cabul,[2] a great authority on Hīnayāna Buddhism, and a contemporary of Buddhaghoṣa, who went to China about A. D. 402, and translated four works[3] of Hīnayāna Buddhism into Chinese in A. D. 403–413. One of these works is Dīrghāgama, otherwise known in Pāli as Dīghanikāya.[4] I have rendered below the relevant important passages from the Chinese Dīrghāgama.[5]

" Now, the Blessed One stayed in the Bhūmi[6] City as long as he desired, then he said to the Venerable Ānanda:

' Let us go on to Pāvā. '

' Be it so, ' replied the Venerable Ānanda.

" Then the Blessed One robed himself, and taking his bowl, and accompanied by a great company of the brethren, he proceeded to Pāvā Via Malla.[7] When he reached there, he stayed in the Jata garden.[8]

" At that time, there was a person, Cunda by name, son of an artisan. He heard, that the Buddha had come over to the city from Malla, so he immediately dressed himself up and went to the Buddha's place. There he saluted the Blessed One's feet with his head and face. After the salutation, he seated himself on one side. Then, the Lord Buddha gradually instructed, preached, inspired, and gladdened him with the Dharma and other suitable teachings.

" When Cunda heard the religious discourse of the Buddha, he was very happy and showed his devotion by inviting the Blessed One to dine at his house the next day, and Buddha accepted his invitation in silence. Then he rose from his seat, saluted the Blessed One and went back to his own residence.

[1] Nanjo Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka in China and Japan (Oxford 1883) No. 545.

[2] See Nanjo Catalogue. Appendix ii, p. 408.

[3] See Nanjo nos. 68, 545, 1117 and 1155.

[4] See Chizen Akanuma: The comparative catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pāli Nikāyas, Tokyo.

[5] Nanjo no. 545. Shanghai Tripiṭaka Edition, bundle 15. vol. iii. p. 76.

[6] This is another name for Pāli Bhoganagara. See M. Przyluski: Le parinirvāṇa et les funèralles du Buddha. Journal Asiatique, Nov.-Dèc. 1918. pp. 423–424.

[7] This seems to be a village or a sub-town between Bhoganagara and Pāvā. It is also possible that such a place was inhabited by the Mallas, hence comes this name.

[8] This garden differs from the Pāli Ambavana

" The same night Cunda prepared different kinds of food and he went to the Buddha on the following day and addressing him said.

' O Blessed One, the meal is ready. '

' Then, the Blessed One robed himself, and taking his bowl, and accompanied by a great company of the brethren, he proceeded to Cunda's residence, and there he seated himself on the seat prepared for him. After their arrival, Cunda immediately served the Buddha and the brethren with different kinds of food. Among these there was *one prepared from a separate stew of ears of the sandal-wood tree, which was considered a great delicacy in those days*, which he offered only to the Blessed One. For, Buddha told him not to give that preparation to any of the bhikṣus. But in the great company of the brethren, there was an old bhikṣu, who had entered into the Order only lately, who rising from his seat drank out of the dish of the ' ear-stew ' preparation. ''[1]

What does the phrase ' the ears of the sandal-wood tree ' mean? The explanation is, there is a kind of fungus which is in shape like an ear on a sandal-wood tree. It is still a common practice in China, that whatsoever fungus grows on the tree is called ' tree-ear '[2] (shu-er) or ' wood-ear ' (mu-er); while those grown on the ground we call mushrooms (chün). So when Buddhayaśas rendered this word, he was obliged to observe the distinction between the two, hence we find the word ' tree-ears. ' It is evident then, that 'Sūkara-maddava' is not 'dried boar's flesh' but a kind of fungus.

Another point, which should be borne in mind, is that this text was translated into Chinese in A. D. 312-413 while Buddhaghoṣa was still in India, and had perhaps not even written on Buddhism. As according to Rhys Davids, he went to Ceylon in about A. D. 430, the time of his writing commentaries could not be earlier.[3] It is therefore, after all, not improbable that he did not know, that the word ' Sūkara-maddava ' could also be taken in the sense of ' fungus. '

[1] This translation may be compared with the S. B. E., vol. xi., pp. 70-73 for having a clear idea of both the texts.

[2] There are two kinds of ' wood-ears ' or fungus : one is white and the other black. The former one is ten times more costly than the latter. People usually take it as a kind of tonic.

[3] Also see B. C. Law : The life and work of Buddhaghoṣa p. 11.

People may be inclined to think that the Chinese translator may have changed the meaning of the original text and instead put in something else.[1] This is not impossible, but Buddhayaśas was not a scholar of this type. The following passage is an illustration of his faithfulness and another proof of our statement that Sūkara-maddava is not 'pig-flesh.'

"Now,[2] the Blessed One told Ānanda and said :

'Henceforth I shall allow the bhikṣus to take five kinds of food, i. e., rice, wheat, biscuit, fish, and meat. And let them be fully satisfied with them."

Here, we find 'meat' and 'fish' mentioned at the same time. It shows clearly that he was not at all influenced or affected by opinions held by the Chinese Buddhist Society in his own time, and inclined to change these words into names of vegetables. In the present case, therefore, if Sūkara-maddava were really the word for 'pig-flesh,' then he would not have hesitated to put it into Chinese accordingly as he did in the above mentioned translation; since that is not so, it must have been correctly interpreted as a kind of fungus grown on a sandal-wood tree.

Here is then a fundamental difference between the interpretations of Buddhaghoṣa and Buddhayaśas. There is one point which we can not quite understand. When Buddhaghoṣa wrote his commentary, there were already three different interpretations in existence before him, why did he prefer the 'pig-flesh' interpretation ? Was it because he was himself a non-vegetarian? or did he simply take it faithfully to mean 'the soft of a pig,' as he had done in his Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī ?[3]—viz. :

"Sūkara-maddava means that the pig-flesh is of a pig, which is neither too young nor old, it is excellent, soft and oily, and nicely prepared and properly cooked."

If his explanation were faithful I am afraid he might have been misinformed.

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[1] This idea is expressed by A. Waley in his article: "Did Buddha die of eating pork?" See Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, I. 1932, p. 343-54.

[2] Dharmagupta-Vinaya. See Nanjo no. 1117. Shanghai Tripiṭaka Edition, bundle 15. vol. iii, p. 76.

[3] See Devamitta's Sinhalese edition, p. 395.

"Sūkara-maddavaṃ 'ti nāti taruṇassa nāti jiṇṇassa eka-jeṭṭhaka-sūkarassa pavattamaṃsaṃ taṃ kira muduñ c'eva siniddhaṃ ca hoti, taṃ paṭiyādāpetvā sādhukaṃ pacāpetvā'ti attho."

The different meanings of Sūkara-maddava

We have examined the different interpretations of Buddhaghoṣa and Buddhayaśas. Now let us look at the term 'Sūkara-maddava' from the linguistic point of view, which may enable us to throw some further light on its meaning.

The word 'Sūkara' means pig, and hog; and 'maddava' means mild, gentle, sweet and soft as the Pāli dictionary of the P. T. S. explains it.[1] But according to A. Waley's opinion this work is capable of at least four interpretations.

" Granting that it comes from the root MRD 'soft' cognate with Latin *Mollis*, it is still ambiguous, for it may mean 'the soft of a 'pig's soft food' i. e. food eaten by pigs. But it may again come from the same root as our word 'mill' and mean 'pig pounded,' i. e. 'trampled by pigs.' There is yet another similar root meaning 'to be pleased,' and as will be seen below one scholar has supposed the existence of a vegetable called 'pig's delight.'[2]

Regarding his last point Waley says, that Neumann took 'Sūkara-maddava' to mean 'pig's delight' and assumed that that was the name of some kind of truffles. (Preface to the Majjhima-Nikāya. p. xx.).[3]

Further, it is stated in the Udāna, that the word 'Sūkara-maddava' in the great commentary (now lost) was said to be the flesh of a pig made soft and oily ; but that some said it was not pig-flesh but the sprout of a plant trodden by pigs.[4]

Thus, if we compare all these different interpretations and classify them, we shall realize that the 'pig-flesh' interpretation is hardly tenable.

It is a sound maxim, that whenever we come across some difficult words in the old text, which are liable to have at least half a dozen interpretations, we should employ the method of reading the context carefully, finding out the most suitable mean-

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1 See P. T. S. Pāli dictionary. p. 180 and p. 142.

2 See Mèlanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, I, 1932, p. 344.

3 See Mèlanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, I. 1932, p. 346.

4 Ibid., p. 345. When last summer I was staying in Poona, Prof. N. K. Bhagwat showed me a kind of grain called 'Ḍukarī' (डुकरी) in Marathi. This word may mean 'luscious to the pigs'. It is not improbable that this is a substitute for 'sūkara-maddava'.

ing for that particular word or passage and then, draw a conclusion.

If we read the passages about the Buddha's visit to Cunda in the Mahā-parinibbāṇa-sutta, [1] we get the following important points which go against the 'pig-flesh' interpretation.

I. When Cunda invited the Buddha to take a meal at his house, he had already become his disciple; because he was instructed, aroused, inspired, and gladdened by the religious discourse of the Blessed One. Now, it is not idle to suppose, that in this religious discourse, Cunda should have heard at least one of the five precepts for all Buddhists, i. e. 'not to kill life.' [2] If that be so, how would he dare to kill a pig [3] when inviting the Blessed One to take a meal at his house?

II. In the history of India, perhaps the Buddha was the first person to preach the doctrine of equality and brotherhood among men. Therefore he shared everything with others down even to the contents of a begging bowl. [4] Then, why did he ask Cunda to serve him alone with the 'dried boar's flesh'? Was he fond of meat-eating? Were there any special reasons for it?

III. And again why did he ask Cunda to bury the remnants of the prepared 'boar's flesh' in a hole and say to him:

"I see no one, Cunda, on earth, nor in Māra's heaven, nor in Brahma's heaven, no one among Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, among gods and men, by whom, when he has eaten it, that food can be assimilated, save by the Tathāgata." [5]

Was the *flesh of a pig* so difficult to digest? Was this the usual opinion in India in the time of the Buddha? or was it perhaps a kind of poisonous plant which was very harmful to the human system?

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[1] See Dīgha-Nikāya, vol. II. pp. 126–128. P. T. S. or see S. B. E., vol. xi., pp. 70–73.

[2] 'Pāṇātipātā veramaṇi sikkhāpadaṃ' Amongst the five precepts for lay-disciples, this is the first one. See 'Khuddaka-pāṭha'.

[3] Cunda made all his preparations at night, therefore, there was hardly any chance for him to buy things from outside. Even if he could do so, how was it possible that the flesh of a pig which was neither too young nor too old could be sold in the market place just at that particular moment? Since it was soft and oily, it also could not be *dried* boar's flesh.

[4] See S. B. E., vol. xi., p. 10.

[5] Ibid., p. 72.

Pork-eating in China is as common as milk-drinking is in India. There, people never find any difficulty in digesting pig-flesh nor do they suffer from any troubles after eating it. How was it then that after his taking the pig-flesh of Cunda, the Buddha was attacked with the dire disease of red dysentery,[1] and such acute pain came upon him, that it caused his death ?

Conclusion

From what I have said above' there is a greater likelihood of Sūkara-maddava being a plant or fungus liable to poison the body sometimes, rather than 'boar's flesh', particularly as older Chinese sources, indicated above, are definitely in favour of the vegetarian interpretation.

Lohita-pakkhandikā. See Dīgha-Nikāya, vol. II, p. 127. P. T. S.

INDRA THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE HIGHEST PHYSICAL ASPECT OF NATURE *

BY

V. A. GADGIL

It is noteworthy to point out that the two most important factors or corner-stones of Indo-Āryan or Vedic culture that deserve very close attention are firstly the Gods and secondly the Ṛta, the Institution of Sacrifice. In fact the whole of Vedic culture is mainly centred on these two points. It has already been shown by me in a paper contributed to the Oriental Conference held at Tirupati in 1940 that the conception of Ṛta stands for the Institution of Sacrifice, the one law governing the whole of the Universe and Gods are the guardians of this Ṛta. Four Gods viz. Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra and Agni stand out conspicuously in their relation to Ṛta. Of these four, Mitra being merely a replica of Varuṇa, the remaining three are chiefly known as *Ṛtasya gopā.* Of these three again, Varuṇa's intimate relation to Ṛta has been fully discussed in the paper referred to above. Next in importance to Varuṇa stands Indra whose relationship to Ṛta is calculated to throw some light on the nature of his activities. That almost all the Vedic Gods represent some aspect of nature either moral including spiritual and ethical or physical seems to be generally accepted by scholars. If then Varuṇa represents the highest aspect of Monotheism on the moral side as has clearly been shown in the same paper, Indra stands out prominently as the most important representative of the highest physical aspect of nature ; nay, he appears to represent in fact the most powerful natural phenomenon on the physical side next in importance or even equal to the role of Varuṇa on the moral side in the Vedic Pantheon, (cf. RV. IV, 42 ; VII, 28, 4 ; 82, 2 ; 84. 2 ; VIII, 85, 6),

When one thinks of Ṛta and its relation to the three main Vedic Gods i. e. Varuṇa, Indra and Agni, the urgent necessity to know the exact significance of these constituents of Vedic cul-

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* Paper read at the Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad session, 1941.

ture becomes so evident as to need no further emphasis. The role of Agni is equally too obvious to need any more elucidation. He is the only messenger of Gods and friend of mortals (Mitra) on the one hand and on the other the sole representative of Gods on Earth as the guardian of Ṛta. In brief, he is the indispensable link between the Gods and the mortals. Varuṇa, as said above, is the highest and the oldest Vedic God (cf. RV. II, 27, 10 ; V, 85, 2 ; VI, 68, 9 ; VII, 87, 5 ; etc.), the eternal lord and upholder of the Universe and as such represents the highest aspect or principle of Monotheism. One is however confronted with the highly baffling and difficult problem of finding out what physical aspect of nature is precisely represented by Indra who figures prominently in the Vedic Pantheon as the great counter–part of Varuṇa being his equal on the physical side. To get a proper perspective of his nature and role it is deemed expedient and in a way necessary too to take first into consideration those Vedic passages in which Varuṇa and Indra are jointly invoked. In the nine hymns of the Ṛgveda jointly addressed to these two Gods (cf. I, 17 ; III, 62 ; IV, 42 ; VI, 68 ; VII, 82–85 ; X, 24) many points of contrast emerge showing clearly that Varuṇa is the one God whom all Vedic Gods follow and whose Ordinances have a binding force over the whole of the Universe and who is thus a God of peace and quiet whereas Indra loves battle, kills Vṛtra and makes room for Gods and men (cf. IV, 42, 2, 5 ; VII, 82, 5 and 6 ; 83, 9 ; 84, 2). In short, if Varuṇa stands for a passive moral principle, Indra stands for an active physical element of nature representing conflict and indomitable war–like spirit, even though both are equally guardians of Ṛta in their own spheres of activity.

In the life of the world two principles stand out conspicuously above all, governing our activities viz. that of peace and that of strife or conflict. Vedic scholars have been trying their best to explain Indra's nature but their attempts were unfortunately not crowned with success which they deserve because in our humble opinion they all the while were thinking of the isolated acts attributed to him as divorced from this general principle of nature of which he in fact forms as integral a part as Varuṇa does. It will be interesting to consider in this connection various theories put forward by scholars to explain the nature of the

phenomena underlying Indra's sphere of activity. According to Roth, for instance, he is a sky God during day time from the Sun-rise to the Sun-set. Benfy would have us believe that he represents that aspect of the sky which just precedes rain-fall. In the opinion of Maxmuller he is a rain God embodying most of the traits of Jupiter, while other scholars like Bergaigne would consider him as a God of War. Oldenberg's point of view, however, that he is a storm God sending thunder and lightning appears to be a synthesis, as it were, of various points of view mentioned above and as such makes a further advance over them. It no doubt explains partially the element of strife but it is to be remembered that the phenomenon of storm is only one of the many cases of conflict in nature all of which can hardly be explained by assuming that Indra is a storm God. For instance, the conflict between light and darkness which should have been really speaking the most prominent feature of his sphere of activity is not properly explained by Oldenberg's theory. Then again to maintain with Bergaigne that Indra is a God of War does not take us any way further in as much as it does not give us a clear idea about Indra's nature as the only counter-part of Varuṇa. Hillebrandt's view, on the other hand, that Indra must have been originally a Sun-God and that Vṛtra, his enemy, must have represented a winter giant in a Northern climate, is certainly calculated to explain the Vṛtra myth from one point of view. But Hillebrandt himself seems to admit the limited scope of application of his theory when he further says that to suit Indian climatic condition Indra, originally the Sun-God, got transformed into a storm God or merely a Rain-God. Apart from the failure of his theory to explain varied nature of Indra's role, it must be admitted that his is the most cogent and preferably the most practical point of view. Nevertheless it does not fit in well with the scheme of nature either on philosophical or scientific grounds nor is it satisfactorily corroborated by Vedic passages. As pointed out above Indra stands on a par with Varuṇa on the physical side. It is difficult to understand how the Sun can hope to attain that position; for he can hardly be considered as the highest God on the physical side, representing the highest physical aspect of nature. Besides like Indra and Varuṇa the Sun or Sūrya is not primarily known as *ṛtasya-gopā* and therefore does not stand in the same relation to Ṛta as Indra does. Varuṇa,

Indra and Agni form as it were a triangle whose central point is Ṛta, the Institution of Sacrifice whereas Sūrya nowhere in the Vedas occupies this position. On the other hand he is the mighty eye of Varuṇa (cf. VI, 51, 1). Moreover it is pointed out in the Ṛgveda that Indra has raised the Sun on high in Heaven and that he gave light to the Sun, Dawn and Heaven (cf. I, 32, 4 ; 7, 3). It is further said that a thousand Suns would not equal Indra nor both Worlds and that Indra surpasses in greatness Heaven, Earth and air (cf. III, 46, 3 VIII. 59, 5). All these Vedic passages can hardly be interpreted in support of the Sun's identification with Indra. The Māyā of the latter just like that of Varuṇa is too well-known a fact to need further comment (cf. II. 53, 8 ; VI, 47, 18). This Māyā which is nothing but the mysterious power (*Śakti*) only attributed to the highest manifestation of the *Almighty* in the moral and the physical sphere, is generally not attributed so conspicuously to any other Vedic God except Varuṇa and Indra. The Sun as is well-known does not possess this Māyā of Varuṇa or Indra.

All these theories set forth above have thus turned out to be inadequate for the purpose of knowing Indra's essential nature. It is, therefore, necessary to probe into the mystery of nature with a view to get at that highest physical aspect which will correspond with the description of Indra who is primarily the representative of conflict in nature. It is needless to say that the greatest conflict in nature on the physical side is that between *Tejas* and *Tamas* representing also the forces of good and evil respectively on the moral side. The whole of Āryan Culture bears an eloquent testimony to this fact in so far as it refers to this conflict in some form or other and to the ultimate victory of the forces of good physically represented by *Tejas* over those of evil represented by *Tamas*. This is the situation as far as Āryan Culture is concerned. Even philosophically speaking *Tejas* is the first actual manifestation of mighty power and lustre in nature. Coming further to the latest researches in Science especially, in the field of atomic research, the smallest electric spark or flash discernible in the final dissection of the atom resulting in the discovery of electrons is nothing but a form of *Tejas* in which the first unmanifest cause of the Universe makes itself manifest. Without

going further into the details of this intricate as well as enticing problem in the field of science, suffice it to say here for our purpose that *Tejas* and *Tamas* stand for the two elements essential in any conflict in nature. The latter, in fact, is not in the nature of an entity in the strict philosophical sense; nevertheless it remains still the most powerful element of hindrance or obstruction in nature. Indra may be said to represent the *Tejas* whereas *Vṛtra* stands for the *Tamas.* The vivifying or animating power of the former is very well-known, and equally evident is the obstructing nature of *Tamas.* In this connection it is very interesting to note that Yāksa while trying to derive the word *Indra* mentions *bhūtāni indhe* as one of the possible derivations. We are inclined to think that he has hit the point properly though rather accidentally. The same authority gives the derivation of Vṛtra also as *yadavṛṇot tadvṛtrasya vṛtratvamiti.* Vṛtra has the power to obstruct, to surround or envelop and this trait is possessed by *Tamas.* Later on anything that surrounds and thus is a potent cause of hindrance, is called by the name of Vṛtra whether it be a cloud or winter-snow or any such mystifying object. The primary and essential function of Indra is, on the contrary, to animate, to give light and to make room by dispelling darkness or removing any other form of hindrance (cf. I, 6, 3 ; VIII, 6, 17 and 28-30). It is a well known fact that these are the functions of *Tejas* and the Sun is one of the most powerful forms in which this *Tejas* (Indra) manifests itself. A flash of lightning or an electric spark is another form of its manifestation. The part this *Tejas* in the form of the Sun plays in the formation of clouds and the ultimate discharge of waters is not difficult to understand. Similarly the fact that the rise of strong winds resulting in storms is also ultimately to be traced back to the power of *Tejas* which is thus primarily responsible for currents of wind, is also a thing of common experience. It is this *Tejas* which is the cause of all luminaries including the Sun in heaven (cf. I, 102, 2 ; X, 138, 6). Vṛtra, the obstructor, is the formidable adversary of the *Tejas.* The epithet *ahi* given to him in the Vedic literature refers to his deceptive nature as he appears in many forms according to the nature of the legend. He is the first born of the dragons, (cf. I, 32, 3) and is described as footless and handless (cf. I, 32, 6 and 7 ; III, 30, 8). Such Vedic

passages go to show that he stands for darkness, a dark cloud, the winter-snow and all such forms of evil, enemies human or otherwise of Āryan progress. Indra (*Tejas*), on the other hand, stands as the national hero fighting all our battles either in the physical sphere or even in our social and political sphere of activities. There are many Vedic passages which reveal Indra's sphere of activity as mainly concerned with the release of heavenly as well as earthly waters. For instance, the hymn I, 32 describes vividly the scene when he smote down Vṛtra and released heavenly waters. His relation to waters in any form is well brought out in the well known Viśvāmitra hymn III. 33.

Closely connected with the Vṛtra episode and the release of heavenly as well as earthly waters is Indra's most important function viz. the winning of light. He freed the Sun from darkness (cf. V, 40, 6). In this passage there is a clear reference to *Tamas* as an adversary of the Sun whom Indra helps. He created the Sun and the Dawns (cf. II, 12, 7). Again it is he who manifests the light (cf. X, 27, 24) and produced the lightnings of the sky, the Sun, Heaven and morning (cf. II, 12, 3; 13, 7; VI, 30, 5,). He along with Viṣṇu generated Sūrya, Dawn and Agni and thus made spacious room for sacrificing (cf. VII. 99 4). Sūrya does not transgress the ordered limit set by Indra (cf. III, 30, 12). It is Indra who scattered the blinding darkness so that man saw clearly (cf. IV, 16, 4). He carried forward the Sun's chariot at the close of the night (cf. V. 31, 11 ; X, 171, 4) and released the wheel of Sūrya from the great oppressor (cf. IV, 28, 2). He and Soma gave morning her light and led the Sun on high (cf. VI, 72, 2). These Vedic passages and many more not cited here to avoid repetition show unmistakably Indra's intimate connection with the winning or manifestation of light and further indicate clearly that neither the Sun nor the flash of lightning can be justifiably said to be that physical aspect of nature which Indra in fact respects as he is their creator. Much less still a vague conception of Indra as a representative of the phenomenon of storm is calculated to explain properly these Vedic passages. It is, therefore, *Tejas* that Indra may aptly and corrrectly be said to represent. Really speaking the winning or manifestation of light should have

been originally his main function. How Vedic passages, on the contrary, repeatedly refer to the release of heavenly as well as earthly waters as the most important exploit of Indra may perhaps be explained by the fact that Indra who just like Varuṇa belongs to the Indo-Iranian or even to the Indo-European period and was primarily concerned with the winning of light and secondarily with the release of waters, later on came to be extolled by the Vedic Āryans as the winner of waters and cows in view of peculiar climatic conditions of India exercising powerful influence over their minds. Under the circumstances it is very probable that Vedic scholars were erroneously led to look upon the Vṛtra myth resulting in the release of waters as the only important sphere of Indra's activity which can serve as the only reliable criterion for judging the nature of the physical aspect underlying his various activities. That is how different theories trying to explain isolated acts of Indra ultimately failed to take the most comprehensive view of various phases from a synthetic point of view.

Further it may be interesting at this stage to take into consideration Indra's relation to the Maruts, his companions, who are said to be the offspring of Rudra (cf. II. 33, 1). Many Vedic passages reveal clearly that the Maruts most probably represent roaring winds accompanied by flashes of lightning (cf. I, 85 ; V, 54, 11 ; 57, 5 etc.). Rudra, the father of these Maruts, is called the best of the physicians (Cf. II, 33, 4). In this connection the following facts deserve careful consideration as throwing much needed light on the physical aspect of nature represented by Rudra and the Maruts. The former as said above is very closely associated with medicines and other healing remedies and is later on identified with Śiva, who is intimately connected with mountains. On the other hand the power of *Tejas* in the form of Sun-light in animating all the beings and in preserving their health and in exercising powerful influence on plants and herbs is so remarkable that one will hardly fail to notice the close relationship between *Tejas*, plants, waters, roaring winds and the mountains.

All these facts make it probable that Rudra seems to be a mountain-God as Oldenberg rightly points out in so far as plants,

herbs, and waters so essential for the health of all beings are abundantly found on mountains with whom even the Maruts representing the roaring winds are so intimately connected. Rudra's relation to the Maruts and Indra can thus be properly understood in view of the fact that the Sun-light (a form of *Tejas* represented by Indra) possesses in a remarkable degree marvellous health giving properties and that plants, herbs, waters and the storms are the contributory causes in this mysterious phenomenon of nature.

It may be pointed out that in the light of this discussion concerning Indra's identification with *Tejas*, obscure allusions in the Indra-hymns may now perhaps be explained more satisfactorily than any other previous theory made it possible. For instance, in the thirty-eighth Sūkta of the third Maṇḍala which appears to be a cosmological Indra-hymn, the poet starts on a mental expedition to celestial poet-sages (probably of ancient times) with a view to elicit some information from them about the process of creation etc. (ṛks 1 and 2a). Accordingly he learns from them that they being inspired by a mental vision fashioned the Heaven and their mental effort aided by a fine spirit tended to abide by the law (ṛk 2bcd). Keeping their secrets, they decked the Rodasī for the sake of rule. They then measured out the two broad worlds, regulated them and placed between them the Asura (i. e. Indra standing for *Tejas*) for their support (ṛk 3). All surrounded him when he stood up clad in splendour, the self-refulgent God (Indra i. e. *Tejas* in the form of the sun) moves along. The mighty Asura bears a great name; assuming many forms he stood above the immortal ones i. e. Gods (ṛk 4). The ancient Bull possesses, indeed, many invigorating forms of nourishment. Varuṇa and Indra rule over the entire Universe from ancient times (ṛk 5). Both these Gods pervade all the three worlds. The Vedic poet saw in a mental vision the Gandharvas following their ordinance (ṛk 6). The ancient poets thus invested whatever belongs to this Bull (Indra) with names and supplied forms to every Asura aspect in which he manifested himself i. e. Tejas appearing in many forms got various names (ṛk 7). Indra (*Tejas*) now appears in the form of the Savitṛ, the all impelling God, with his lustre and being praised covers both the worlds as a woman covers her children i.e. Tejas in the form of the Savitṛ

becomes the supporter of both the worlds (ṛk 8). This vision about the creation and Indra's part therein which the ancient poets revealed in their moment of inspiration corresponds quite appropriately with Indra as the representative of Tejas, the first and foremost physical manifestation in nature.

In the eighteenth hymn of the fourth Maṇḍala which describes Indra's birth and his killing of his father, one comes to know Indra (Tejas) in another aspect viz. that of lightning. Macdonell explains rather partially the incident about Indra's birth in an unnatural way through the side of his mother (cf. IV, 18, 8) when he says that this trait may possibly be derived from the notion of lightning breaking forth from the side of the cloud. It will, however, be better and more reasonable to assume in this connection that *Tejas* (Indra) in the form of the lightning comes out from the side of the heavenly waters (Indra's mother) which take the form of a cloud (Indra's father). The epithet *apām napāt* may with propriety be applicable to both Agni and the flash of lightning ; for the heavenly waters are the mother of Indra (in the form of lightning) and the cloud is here conceived as his father whom he is said to kill (IV. 18, 12). The idea uuderlying this poetic description will be explained by the fact that the cloud disappears when the heavenly waters are discharged in the form of rain after the appearance of lightning. Again at VI, 59, 2 Indra and Agni are said to be twins. It is now easy to explain this reference as both are forms of Tejas.

It is hoped that this discussion of different points of view, culminating in Indra's identification with Tejas supported by relevant Vedic passages, critically examined, will considerably help our understanding of the nature of Indra's activities and will further facilitate Vedic research as far as other Vedic Gods are concerned.

MANUSMṚTI AND SAGOTRA MARRIAGES

BY

K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR

The verse invariably quoted in support of the proposition that Manusmṛti prohibits the marriages between persons of the same gotra is as follows :—

असपिण्डा च या मातुः असगोत्रा च या पितुः ।
सा प्रशस्ता द्विजातीनां दारकर्मणि मैथुने ॥

(Manu. III. 5)

Strictly translated the first line of the verse would mean " one who is not the Sapiṇḍa of the mother, and who is not of the same gotra of the father " such a girl is praiseworthy in the case of the twice-born for the duties of the house hold wife.

The famous commentators like Kullūka, Medhātithi and others accept this reading of the first line. For Medhātithi says

This strict interpretation of this first line would lead us to some absurd conclusion. It would mean that the girl of the Sapiṇḍa relationship of the father is not prohibited. To avoid this Kullūka very ingeniously says that by the word ' च ' the expressions असपिण्डा and असगोत्रा are to be connected both with मातुः and पितुः. According to him the girl must not be of the Sapiṇḍa of the mother and Sagotra of the mother and must not be of the Sapiṇḍa and Sagotra of the father also. He says.— चशब्दात् मातृसगोत्रापि मातृवंशपरंपरनाम्नोः प्रत्याभिज्ञाने सति न विवाह्या तद्दितरा तु मातुः सगोत्रा विवाह्या इति संगृहीतम् ।.........पितुः या सगोत्रा न भवति चकारात् पितृसपिण्डापि ॥

This interpretation put on the word च appears rather far-fetched ; for the particle 'च' ordinarily connects only the two expressions. Here in this line it only connects the expressions असपिण्डा च या मातुः and असगोत्रा च या पितुः According to Kullūka the expression असगोत्रा is to be applied to मातुः also and then it would mean, that even the girls of the gotra of the family of the mother of the girl also are prohibited for marriage.

At present in the case of Yajurvedi Brahmans, the gotra of the father and mother also is to be ascertained and the Sagotra girl on the mother's side and father's side is prohibited. These Brahmans alone, it must be said, are strictly following the tenets of Manusmṛti in this respect.

Curiously enough Kullūka himself perhaps saw that his interpretation goes too far when it prhohibits generally all marriages of the girls of the gotra of the mother. He therefore qualifies his statement thus. मातृवंशजन्मपरंपरनाम्नोः प्रत्यभिज्ञाने सति न विवाह्या तद्दितरा तु मातृसगोत्रा विवाह्या इति संगृहीतम्. He means to say that those girls, the gotra and the traditional name of the family of whose mother is known should not be married. Other girls who are sagotra with the mother i. e. whose gotra is the same as that, of the (father) of the mother can be married. One fails to understand how Kullūka deduces this interpretation. What are the words in the original line of Manusmṛti on which Kullūka is commenting, which are capable of this interpretation put on them by Kullūka ?

Kullūka apparently puts this interpretation just to avoid the conflict of the teaching of Manu with that of Vyāsa. For he quotes the verse of Vyāsa in support of his interpretation by saying 'तथा च व्यासः'. Thus, Kullūka instead of giving exact interpretation of the original verse of Manu on which he is commenting, has put in his exposition an additional matter relying upon the passage in the Smṛti of Vyāsa just to show probably that the views of Manu and Vyāsa are in consonance with each other and there is a sort of samanvaya between the two Smṛtis. It can be said, therefore, that Kullūka has not cared to see the spirit and real intention of Manu but has tried to put the meaning of Vyāsa in the verse of Manu. According to the strict interpretation of Kullūka those persons then who marry at present girls of the same gotra as that of the family of the mother are ingeniously supposed not to know the traditional name and gotra of the mother of the girl !!!

The text of Manusmṛti relied upon by Vijñāneśvara, the famous commentator of Yājñavalkya does not make mention of असगोत्रा, in his commentary Mitākṣarā. His reading of the first

line in question is " असपिण्डा च या मातुः असपिण्डा च या पितुः इति मनुः (Vide the Mitākṣarā on verse 53 of the ācārādhyāya of Yājñavalkyasmṛti). Serkar also regards that Mitākṣarā has this reading of Manu. (Hindu Law Paga 89). This reading gives prominence and stress upon the Sāpiṇḍya relationship and not on Sagotra relationship. It is possible that this substitution of the word असगोत्रा for असपिण्डा before या पितुः must have been done by some one to suit the general attitude of his own times. The remarks of Prof. P. V. Kane in his " History of Dharmaśāstra " Vol. I are noteworthy. He says " The Manusmṛti contains the earlier and later strata. The original Manusmṛti in verse had certain additions made in order to bring it in line with the change in the general attitude of the people on several points. " (Page 149).

It would not be wrong, therefore, if it is presumed that the reading in the Manusmṛti known to the author of Mitākṣarā was असापिण्डा instead of असगोत्रा and the Manusmṛti then did not prohibit marriages between the husband and wife only on the ground that both belong to the same gotra. Even taking the present reading and the traditional meaning put upon it, it appears clear that Manu says that such marriages are *commendable*, thereby indicating that they are not altogether *condemned*. The statement of Manu should therefore be taken as recommendatory rather than obligatory as is done at present. Let scholars throw more light on this.

NĪLAKAṆṬHA CATURDHARA, THE COMMENTATOR OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA--HIS GENEALOGY AND DESCENDANTS

BY

P. K. GODE

In April 1938 Mr. Sadashiv Vishnu Chaudhari, the present Registrar of the Law College, Poona, approached me with a request that I should investigate the tradition current among his family members about their direct descent from Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the celebrated commentator of the *Mahābhārata*. He further told me that he was unable to link up his known genealogy with that of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara as we find it recorded in his works partially. I gladly agreed to investigate the above tradition as I was then preparing a paper [1] on the identification of Nārāyaṇatīrtha, the author of the work *Bhāṭṭabhāṣāprakāśikā* with Nīlakaṇṭha's guru in Mīmāṁsā of the same name. Some information [2] given by Mr. Chaudhari about his family together with what I could collect from a study of the works of Nīlakaṇṭha has already been recorded by me incidentally in the above paper, though I could not then record the full evidence in support of

[1] This paper was published in June 1938 in the now extinct *Mīmāṁsā Prakāśa*, Poona (Vol. III, No. 6, pp. 65-71) edited by the late Pt. V. R. Kinjawadekar.

[2] I note here for ready reference the dates recorded by me in my paper on Nārāyaṇatīrtha as also those discovered by me subsequently :—

A. D.

1680—Nīlakaṇṭha composed his *Śivatāṇḍava-ṭīkā*.

1687—Date of a Ms. of आद्दिपर्वटीका by नीलकण्ठ (folios 120) dated Śaka 1609 = A. D. 1687 (vide p. 94 of Cata. of Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Calcutta, 1935).

1691—Date of Berlin Ms. of भा. भा. दीप belonging to गोविंद चतुर्धर (Weber, p. 107).

1693—Nīlakaṇṭha composed his गणेशगीताटीका at Benares.

1746—Śivadīkṣita, the grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha composed his धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश at प्रतिष्ठानतीर्थ or Paithan.

1746—Gaṅgārāma Dīkṣita, the great grandson of नीलकण्ठ received a grant from King Shahu.

my statements based on the information supplied by Mr. Chaudhari. I, therefore, propose to record here the full evidence regarding the genealogy of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara as reconstructed by me on the basis of my study of his works and the information supplied by Mr. Chaudhari.

In all the colophons of Nīlakaṇṭha's works he is called the son of Govinda Sūri. [1] We may, therefore, take it that Govinda was the father [2] of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara. This parentage of

[1] शिवताण्डवटीका (Ms. No. 994 of 1884-87—B. O. R. Institute fol. 90b and 10b—" चतुर्धरवंशावतंसगोविंदसूरिसूनोर्नीलकंठस्य कृतौ " etc.).
—गणेशगीताटीका (Ms. No. 110 of 1899-1915—B. O. R. I. fol. 140b—" चतुर्धरवंशावतंस गोविंदसूरिसूनोर्नीलकंठस्य कृतौ " etc.).
—भारतभावदीपिका (Ms. R No. 26—Trien. Cata. Govt. Ori. Mss. Library Madras 1913—Page 44 of Vol. I, Pt. I—Sanskrit A—colophon as above).
—रुद्रसारसंग्रहव्याख्या-रुद्रमीमांसा (Ms. R No. 2070 p. 2803 of Vol. iii. Pt. I—Sanskrit A—Trien. Cata. Madras, 1922—colophon as above).
—वेदान्तकतक (Ms. No. 348 of 1899-1915—B. O. R. I—fol. 6b—colophon as above).
—मन्त्रभागवतव्याख्या (Vide p. 588 of Ind. Office Cata. Pt. III—Ms. No. 1798—colophon as above).
—सौरपौराणिकमतसमर्थन (Vide p. 1024 of I. O. Cata. Pt. V—Ms. No. 2885—colophon as above).

[2] Śiva Dīkṣita, the grandson of of Nīlakaṇṭha in his धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश records the following verses in which he mentions his genealogy :—

" विख्याते कविकचमध्यवर्त्ति
गोदोदक्तीरे नगरमहिम्निकूर्पराख्ये ।
गोविन्दः श्रुतिनयसिन्धुपारदृश्वा
श्रीचातुर्धरकुलमण्डनं पुरासीत् ।
श्रीकण्ठं मनसि विभाव्य नीलकण्ठ-
स्तत्सूनुः श्रितवटकाननं सुरशां- ।
वेदांतैः शमनदिगाननं श्रुतीनां
व्याख्याने किल चतुराननो बभूव ।
गोविन्तस्तद्गुपुर्भूः श्रुतिहृदयमुनिः सर्वतन्त्रस्वतंत्र-
(स्तज्ज)स्तच्छिक्षितार्थः शिवमिदमकरोद्धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाशः ।

(*continued on the next page*)

Nīlakaṇṭha is further supported by the following genealogy,[1] of the family recorded by Śiva Dīkṣita in his *Dharmatattvaprakāśa* composed by him at Pratiṣṭhāna or Paiṭhaṇa in A. D. 1746 (Śaka 1668)[2]

गोविंद (चतुर्धर) of कूर्परनगर or Kopargaum on the banks of the Godāvarī.
|
Son
नीलकंठ
|
Son
गोविंद
|
Son
शिव author of धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश, composed at Paiṭhaṇa in 1746 A. D. He calls himself by the epithet "वाराणस्यात्तजन्मा or born at Benares.

The *gotra* of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara was Gautama[3] and his mother's name was फुल्लाम्बिका. He had three brothers: (1) शिव, (2) त्र्यम्बक and (3) कृष्ण as pointed out by Holtzmann.[4] The above genealogy recorded in A. D. 1746[5] is further supported by con-

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(*continued from the previous page*)

भूयः प्रीत्यै शिवाख्ये शमदमिनि महानैष्ठिकब्रह्मचर्ये
वाराणस्यात्तजन्मा सुरसरिदमले श्रीप्रतिष्ठानतीर्थे
नागांगरसभूशाके शालौ(लि)वाहनजे क्षये ।
नभस्य सित तुर्येह्नि ग्रन्थोऽयं पूर्णतां गतः ॥ ६ ॥"

(Vide p. 73—Ms. No. 81—*Cata. of Sanskrit Mss.* Pt. II. R. A. S. B., Calcutta. See also p. 192 of H. P. Shastri's *Cata. of Nepal Mss.*, Calcutta, 1905).

1 Ibid.

2 Vide p. 73 of *Cata. of Sanskrit Mss.* (Calcutta Sanskrit College, Part II)—Ms. No. 81.

3 Vide p. 154 of Hall's *Bibliography*, Calcutta, 1859. Ms. of वेदान्तकतक—"By Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, Son of *Govinda* and *Phullāmbikā*. Nīlakaṇṭha was of the gotra of *Gotama*. He resided at the village of Kūrpara, now called Koṅpar—, to the west of the river Godāvarī, near the temples of Śukreśvara and Kaceśvara in Mahārāṣṭra.

4 Vide p. 75 of *The Mahābhārata* by Dr. Adolf Holtzmann, 1894, Kiel. (North Indian Recension).

5 Besides the Nepal and Calcutta Mss of the धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश there is a Ms. of it recorded by Hultzsch. See *Report in Sanskrit Mss in South India*, No. III, Madras 1905 (Ms. *No. 1780*, 263 leaves)-P. 5.—" Śiva Dīkṣita of Benares, Son of Govinda of the Caturdhara family wrote the धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश (No. 1780) at प्रतिष्ठान in A. D. 1746."

temporary records[1] of the priests at Tryambakeśvara near Nasik so far as the names of *Śiva Dīkṣita* and his father *Govinda Dīkṣita* are concerned. Both the father and the son are described[2] in these records as bearing the surname चौधरी[3] and having *Shrigonde* as their native place, but residing at *Vārāṇasī* or Benares. It appears that नीलकण्ठ, गोविन्द and शिव normally resided at Benares and were educated at this seat of learning, though the family hailed from Kopargaum in the Ahmadnagar district of the Bombay Presidency.

Like Nīlakaṇṭha an author of the name कमलाकर went to Benares from कूर्परग्राम and composed there a work called आचारप्रदीप (B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 84 of 1884-86). कमलाकर seems to have been a contemporary of नीलकण्ठ and possibly his neighour at Kopargaum. He quotes Bhaṭṭoji Bhaṭṭa in the above Ms. which is dated A.D. 1729 and refers to gods शुक्रेश्वर and कचेश at Kopargaum (" ग्रामे कूर्परसंज्ञिके .....यत्रास्ति शुक्रेश्वरः । गोदा पश्चिमवाहिनी विजयते देवः कचेशः परः ")

The genealogy of Nīlakaṇṭha's family so far reconstructed may now be linked up with the subsequent genealogy of the family as filed on 2nd September 1854 with the Inam Commissioner, Poona, by Vaman Shiv Dikshit Chaudhari of the village Pathardi[4]

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[1] Mr. Vasudeva Vishnu Meghashyam of Tryambak near Nasik has kindly furnished the pertinent extracts of these records to Mr. S. V. Chaudhari, from which I am quoting in this paper.

[2] The record reads " गोविंद दीक्षित पु. शिव दीक्षित. उ. चौधरी गाव श्रीगोंदे मुक्काम वाराणशी. " We already know from धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश that शिव दीक्षित was born at Benares. It appears that at the time of their visit to Tryambakeśvara both the father and son must have been residing at Benares as stated in the above extract.

[3] In verse 10 at the beginning of his शिवताण्डव टीका composed in A. D. 1680 Nīlakaṇṭha refers to his surname चौधरी in the expression—" श्रीमच्चौधरि- " This statement shows that the surname चौधरी was current in time, if not earlier. (Vide folio 2a of Ms No. 994 of 1884-87 of — B. O. R. Institute)—Historian V. K. Rajawade derives the from the Sanskrit word चक्रधारी (= चकरधारी = चअरधारी = चवधारी p. 72 of B. I. S. Mandal, *Itivṛtta*, for 1913—Note No. 14—

[4] Vide p. 644 of *Bombay Gazetteer* XVII (Ahmadnagar) Bombay, 1884- The villages *Pathardi* and *Nivaḍuṅge* belong to Shevgaon Pargana of 161 villages in the Ahmadnagar District. The members of the Chaudhari family migrated from *Kopergaum* in the Ahmadnagar District to *Shrigonde* and *Pathardi* in this district and *Paiṭhaṇa* (प्रतिष्ठान) on the left bank of the Godāvarī river in the Nizam's territory, 2 miles east of the Ahmadnagar frontier and about 50 miles north-east of Ahmadnagar (Ibid, p. 351).

in the Ahmadnagar District. This genealogy is as follows :—

- गोविंद दीक्षित
  - सीव दीक्षित
    - गंगाराम दीक्षित (मौजे निवडुंगे ता॥ शेवगांव येथील मोकासे अमलाचा मूळसंपादक)
      - सखाराम दीक्षित
        - सिव दीक्षित १२३५
          - वामन दीक्षित (कैफियत देणार)
      - नीलकंठ दीक्षित
        - महादेव दीक्षित
          - गोपाल दीक्षित
        - आप्पा दीक्षित
          - रंगशास्त्री
          - नारायणशास्त्री
          - केशव दीक्षित
          - विष्णु दीक्षित

A comparison of the above genealogy with that given by Śiva Dīkṣita in 1746 A. D. shows that the names of गोविन्द and his son शिव are common to both these genealogies. The earlier and the later fragments of the genealogy being thus riveted at two joints, the accuracy and continuity of the genealogy of the Chaudhari family from Govinda (c. A. D. 1600) the father of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara upto A. D. 1854 is now proved beyond challenge.

Three days before the composition of the work *Dharmatattvaprakāśa* by Śivadīkṣita at Paiṭhaṇa the Maratha King Shahu gave a village as *inām* to Gaṅgārāma Dīkṣita, the son of Śiva Dīkṣita on *Wednesday, 6th August 1746.*[1] The *Sanad* in respect of this

[1] Shahu's *Sanad* is dated *Rājyābhiṣeka Śaka 73, Kṣaya Saṁvatsara, Bhādrapada, Śuddha Pratipadā, Saumyavāsara–Wednesday, 6th of August 1746.* धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश was completed on the 4th day (तुर्येह्नि) of the bright fortnight (सिते) of the Bhādrapada month (नभासि) of Śaka 1668 (नाग, अङ्ग, रस, भू) the name of the year being (क्षय, क्षये). These details correspond to *Saturday 9th August 1746.* Thus while the work was completed at Paiṭhaṇa on Saturday the *Sanad* was issued on Wednesday of the same week. (Vide p. 295 of *Indian Ephemeris* Vol. VI).

inām is reproduced in the Appendix to this paper from a certified copy of it furnished by the Alienation Record Office, Poona, to Mr. S. V. Chaudhari on 16th December 1927. In this *Sanad* Gaṅgārāma Dīkṣita is described as the son of Śiva Dīkṣita, of the surname *Chaudhari*, *gotra Gotama*, *Sūtra Āśvalāyana*, hailing from Benares, then resident at *Paiṭhaṇa*. Gaṅgārāma Dīkṣita obtained this *Sanad* through the good offices of Fattesing Bhosale (A. D. 1707–1760) who was regarded by Shahu as his own son.

The names in the genealogy reconstructed and recorded above are supported and supplemented by the Tryambakeśvara Records [1] referred to by me already. Mr. V. V. Meghashyam who possesses these records states in his letter to Mr. S. V. Chaudhari dated 30th April 1941 that he has in his possession some writing of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, son of Gaṅgārāma Dīkṣita dated Śaka 1706 = A. D. *1784*. This date is consistent with King Shahu's *Sanad* to Gaṅgārāma Dīkṣita issued in A. D. 1746.

Hall in his *Bibliography* [2] states that Nīlakaṇṭha "resided at the village of Kūrpara, now called Koṅpar to the west of the river Godāvarī, near the temples of Śukreśvara and Kaceśvara in Mahārāṣṭra." The above statement occurs in Hall's descri-

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[1] I reproduce below the extracts from these records kept at my disposal by Mr. S. V. Chaudhari :—

– " शिव दीक्षित ब. शंकर दिक्षीत उ. चौधरी "

– " उमाबाई भ्र. शंकर दि. दीर शिव दि. पु. मल्हार दि. व गंगाराम दि. सून रमाबाई उ. चौधरी गा. श्रीगोंदे मु. पैठण. "

– काशिनाथ दि. मल्हार दि. आ. शंकर दि. प. गोविंद दि. चु. गंगाराम दि. बं. विश्वनाथ दि. चु. ब. विश्वेश्वर दि. व नीलकंठ दि. गोत्र गौतम उ. चौधरी गा. श्रीगोंदे मु. वाराणसी. "

– " गंगाराम दि. पि. शिव दि. आ. गोविंद दि. बं. मल्हार दि. व चिंतामणि दि. चु. शंकर दि. मा. आकाबाई उ. चौधरी गांव श्रीगोंदे."

– " नीलकंठ दि. पि. गंगाराम दि. आ. शिव दि. प. गोविंद दि. बं. सखाराम दि. उ. चौधरी गाव श्रीगोंदे, मु. प्रतिष्ठान."

– " आपा दि. ऊर्फ कृष्ण दि. चु. बं. शिव दि. उ. चौधरी गांव श्रीगोंदे ह. पैठण"

The value of the above entries for the reconstruction of a complete genealogy of the family will be easily recognized.

[2] Pub. Calcutta, 1859, p. 154.

ption of a Ms. of the *Vedāntakataka.* I have no means of verifying it but presuming that the topography of the residence of Nīlakaṇṭha at Kopergaum recorded above is based on any references in the *Vedāntakataka* itself, I have to point out that in the description of Kopergaum in the *Bombay Gazetteer*[1] we find a reference to the temple of Kaceśvara as follows :—

" In the elbow of the Godāvarī and surrounded on three sides by its bed stands a fortified cut-stone enclosure (65'×58'×60) with massive black walls. It has one gate but the side towards the river is open. In the centre is the cenotaph or *thadge* a very small work of timber and brick upon a coarse stone plinth with no writing or ornament. Near the site of the old palace in the island stands the temple of *Kaceśvara* a set of plain modern buildings held in great honour. " The editor of the *Bombay Gazetteer* in a footnote on the above passage records " the local story of the Kaceśvara temple " which is the same as the story of Kaca and Devayānī found in the Purāṇas. This footnote is concluded with the remark : " To this day a stone *Shukra* and *Kach* sit side by side on the island and receive much worship. "

If the images of *Śukra* and *Kaca* are still worshipped on the island at Kopergaum they must be identical with those in the temples of *Kaceśvara* and *Śukreśvara* referred to by Hall in 1859. If Hall's remarks are based on Nīlakaṇṭha's own statement we shall not be wrong in supposing that the residence of Nīlakaṇṭha at Kopergaum was near these temples situated on the island in the elbow of the Godāvarī. This tentative suggestion regarding the topography of the house of the Chaudharī family at Kopergaum

[1] Vol. XVII (Ahmadnagar) 1884, p. 723—Kopargaum is 60 miles north of Ahmadnagar. It is on the north bank of the Godāvarī. It was the favourite residence of Raghunatha Rao Peshwa. In an island in the Godāvarī there were two palaces which have been pulled down and sold. Raghunatha Rao Peshwa died at Hingani three miles off and his cenotaph is still at this place.........In 1818 Kopargaum was occupied by Madras troops.—In the Marathi Ballads (लावण्या) by Paraśarāma (Ed. by V. N. Kolharkar, Bombay, 1924) there is a reference to कच and शुक्र at Kopergaum Vide Pp. 38-39 (लावणी २६)—" गुरु शुक्र कचेश्वर ऋषी गोदातीरवासी. " This ballad refers also to the garden of Raghoba Dada Peshwa on the island. Paraśarama belongs to the last quarter of the 19th century.

say about A. D. 1650 needs to be verified on the strength of other contemporary evidence .[1]

We have already referred to the three brothers [2] of Nīlakaṇṭha viz. (1) शिव, (2) कृष्ण and (3) त्र्यम्बक. All these brothers were younger than Nīlakaṇṭha. It remains to be investigated if these brothers left any descendants whose lines could be traced among

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1 Siva Dīkṣita in his धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश composed in A. D. 1746 states in the following verse that Govinda Caturdhara the father of Nīlakaṇṭha lived at Kūrpara town on the bank of the Godāvarī, where stood in the centre कवि and कच:—

" विख्याते कविकचमध्यवर्ति-
गोदोद्कूतीरे नगरमहिम्नि कूर्पराख्ये
गोविंदः श्रुतिनयसिन्धुपारदृश्वा
श्रीचातुर्धरकुलमण्डनं पुरासीत् ॥ "

This reference to कवि (= शुक्राचार्य) and कच by the grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha leaves no doubt that the Chaudhari family had its residence near the temples of *Kaceśvara* and *Śukreśvara* on the island at Kopergaum referred to in the the *Bombay Gazetteer.*

2 Vide Ms. No. 1523 of Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the Harivaṁśa described by Weber in his *Catalogue of Berlin Mss.*, Vol. II (1886) pp. 112-113. In the following verses Nīlakaṇṭha refers to his native place कूर्परग्राम, his gotra गौतम, his surname चतुर्धर, his father गोविन्द, his mother फुल्लाम्बिका and his younger brothers शिव, कृष्ण and त्र्यम्बक :—

" ज्ञानाचार्यमिवोत्तमोत्तमकचास्या तद्वया गौतमी
यं प्रत्यक्प्रवणा प्रसूय कृतनी(?) सिद्धेशलाभाभवत् ।
विद्वद्रत्नसुवर्णवर्णघटितं संभूषणं कूर्पर-
ग्रामं यं समुपाश्रयन्ति सुधियो दुरास्तसंवत्सरम् ॥ १ ॥
तत्र ब्रह्मकुलं महद्विजयते गोत्रेण यद्गौतमम्
धर्मज्ञानविरागवैभवचतुर्भद्रेण चातुर्धरम् ।
गोविंदः स्वयमत्र जन्म धृतवान् यो नीलकण्ठं शिवम्
कृष्णं त्र्यम्बकमित्यमून् अजनयत् फुल्लाम्बिकायान्सुतान् ॥२॥
तेषां ज्येष्ठो नीलकण्ठः काश्यां विश्वेशतुष्टये ।
व्यतनोद्भारते भावदीपमान्ध्यविनाशनम् ॥ "

The above verses have been discussed by Wilhelm Printz in his Inaugural Dissertation: "*Bhāṣā-Wörter in Nīlakaṇṭha's Bhāratabhāvadīpa etc.*" Berlin, 1910, p. 9. I am thankful to Dr. V. S. Sukthankar for drawing my attention to these verses.

the present members of the Chaudhari family residing either in the Mahārāṣṭra or outside.[1]

From the data recorded above the following facts regarding Nīlakaṇṭha's family and its subsequent history become clear :—

(1) Nīlakaṇṭha mentions his own gotra "*Gautama*" which is the gotra of Mr. S. V. Chaudhari, the present Registrar of the Law College, Poona. This gotra has been recorded in King Shahu's grant of A. D. 1746 to Gaṅgārāma, the great grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha.

(2) The genealogy of Nīlakaṇṭha's family as given by his grandson Śiva Dīkṣita has been linked up with the genealogy filed with the Inam Commission in A. D. 1854 by Mr. Vāmana Śiva Dīkṣita who is the 6th in descent from Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara.

(3) The surname *Chaudhari* now current in the family was also current in Nīlakaṇṭha's time as Nīlakaṇṭha in his work composed in A. D. 1680 calls himself "श्रीमच्चौधरि नीलकण्ठ."

(4) The place of residence of Nīlakaṇṭha's father Govinda was somewhere near the temples of *Śukreśvara* and *Kaceśvara* on the island of the river Godāvarī at Kopergaum. Śiva Dīkṣita the grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha refers to these images of कवि (=शुक्र) and कच in his work composed in A. D. 1746. The memory of this residence may have then been fresh in the mind of Nīlakaṇṭha's grandson.[2]

(5) From Kopergaum the members of the family of Nīlakaṇṭha Govinda Chaudhari migrated to Shrigonde, Pathardi, Nivaduṅge and Paiṭhaṇa in the Ahmadnagar district or near its border and settled there. The education of the early descendants of Nīlakaṇṭha upto A. D. 1750 or so appears to have been carried

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1 Mr. S. Chitrav states that the descendants of Nīlakaṇṭha are now residing at Benares. (Vide p. 499 of *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa*, Poona, 1937).

2 Even Nīlakaṇṭha seems to refer to शुक्र and कच on the island of the Godāvarī in following line of verse 1 from his commentary on the *Harivaṁśa* which I have quoted above :—

"ज्ञानाचार्यमिवोत्तमोत्तमकचास्या तद्वया गौतमी"

Here ज्ञानाचार्य = शुक्राचार्य = कवि mentioned by Śiva Dīkṣita, गौतमी = river Godāvarī. कच mentioned in the above line is also mentioned by Śiva Dīkṣita. So in Nīlakaṇṭha's line the images of शुक्र and कच stood on the bank of the Godāvarī.

out at Benares. Perhaps the contact with Benares lessened after Shahu's grant of the village Nivaḍuṅge to Gaṅgārāma in A. D. 1746.

(6) It remains to be seen if any member of this Chaudhari family composed any important work after the composition of the *Dharmatattvaprakāśa* by Nīlakaṇṭha's grandson Śiva Dīkṣita [1] in A. D. 1746. Perpaps with a settled life in the Ahmadnagar District the ambition for achieving eminence in the literary sphere, so characteristic of Nīlakaṇṭha's life, did not stir up the Chaudharis to take to learned pursuits in the manner of their illustrious ancestor.

P. S.—After this paper was completed I happened to read a letter [2] of A. D. 1683 addressed to one नारायण दीक्षित by हरि दीक्षित from Benares. In this letter one "गोविंद दीक्षित चौधरी" is mentioned as the son-in-law [3] of the addressee नारायण दीक्षित. This letter is addressed to नारायण दीक्षित then in Koṅkon according to Mr. Pimputkar. In the preamble of this letter the writer informs नारायण दीक्षित the father-in-law of "गोविंद दीक्षित चौधरी" as follows :—

"I took your leave and came to Benares. Thereafter your son-in-law *Govinda Dīkṣita Chaudhari* was approached by certain Vaidika Brahman Pandits who bore some rivalry to him. They said to him that they would no longer bear any feelings of rivalry to him if he gives a dinner to 100-200 Brahmans. Then myself

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1 Vide Aufrecht *CCI*, 647.

" शिव दीक्षित, son of Govinda Dīkṣita of the Caturdhara family :—

Japavidhi

Dharmatattvaprakāśa

Namaskāravidhi

शिव Son of Caturdhara :

Ṣaṇṇavatiśrāddhanirṇaya "

Vide also *List of Ujjain Mss*, 1936, p. 29—Ms. No. 759.

—2330—षण्णवतिश्राद्धनिर्णय (leaves 8) by शिव गोविंद चतुर्धर copied by Cintāmaṇi Bhadkamkar in Śaka 1745 = A. D. *1823*.

2 Vide p. 82 of चितळे भट्ट प्रकरण by R. S. Pimputkar Bombay, 1926.—परिशिष्ट 3 dated Śaka 1605 = *A. D. 1683*.

3 Ibid. "उपरि तुमची आज्ञा घेऊन वाराणसीस आल्यानंतर तुमचे जांवई गोविंद दीक्षित चौधरी" etc.

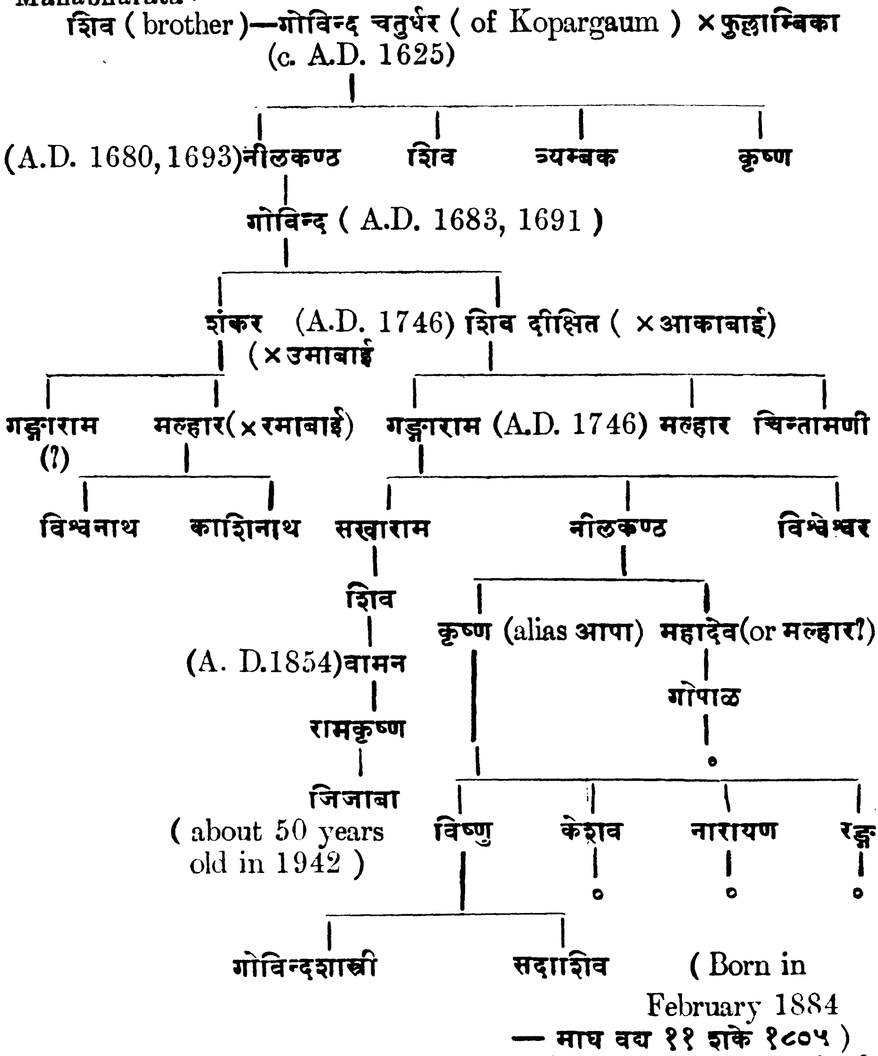
and *Govinda Dikṣita Chaudhari* considered the proposal and brought about the dinner in question. All Mahārāṣṭra Brahmans attended the dinner, *Saṁvat 1740 Śaka 1605*, *Rudhirodgāri Saṁvatsara*, *Āśvina Kṛṣṇa Dvitīyā*, *Guruvāsara*"[1] After this preamble is recorded a list of Brahmans.

I am inclined to identify गोविंद दीक्षित चोधरी of the above letter of A.D. 1683 with गोविंद चौधरी the son of नीलकण्ठ चतुर्धर who composed one of his works in A. D. 1680. If this identification is accepted it shows that in A. D. 1683 Nīlakaṇṭha's son Govinda was already a married man, holding some status in Benares society of Mahārāṣṭra and other Brahmans. The letter also reveals for the first time the name of the father-in-law of Nīlakaṇṭha's son. This man was obviously in Koṅkoṇ as stated by Mr. Pimputkar and his name was "नारायण दीक्षित."

[1] This date corresponds to *Thursday, 27th September 1683* (vide p. 169 of Indian Ephemeris Vol. VI).

APPENDIX I

Genealogy of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the commentator of the Mahābhārata :—



The above genealogy has been reconstructed by me on the strength of manuscripts of the works of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara and other members of his family. It is correct so far as the main line is concerned but needs more evidence for the verification of names in the branch-lines. Some names have been inserted in the above genealogy on the strength of extracts from the records of priests at Tryambakeśvara as they were sent to me by Mr. Sadashiv Vishnu Chaudhari, the present Registrar of the Law College, Poona. It will be seen from the above genealogy that there is unbroken continuity of descent from Govinda Caturdhara (c. A. D. 1625) to Sadashiv Vishnu Chaudhari (1942).

APPENDIX II

The Sanad from King Shahu to Gaṅgārāma Dīkṣita A. D. 1746

नक्कल

श्री

INAM A COMMISSION

श्री वर्धिष्णु रविक्रमा विष्णो सामूतिरिव वामनी शंभुसूनो रसो मुद्रा शिवरा जस्य राजते

स्वस्ति श्रीराज्याभिषेक शके ७२ क्षयनाम संवत्सरे भाद्रपद शुद्ध प्रतिपदा सौम्यवासर क्षत्रियकुलावतंस श्रीराजाशाहु छत्रपती स्वामी याणी

श्री राजा शाहु नरपती हर्षनी धान बाळाजी बाजीराव प्र धान	श्री श्रीआई आदिपु रुष श्रीराजा शाहु छ त्रपति स्वामि कृपानिधि तस्य जगजीवन परशु राम प्रतिनिधि

वेदशास्त्र संपन्न राजश्री गंगाराम दीक्षित बीन सीव दीक्षित उपनाम चौधरी गोत्र गौतम सुत्र अश्वलायन कासीकर हली (वा)स्तव्य पैठण यासी दिल्हे ईनामपत्र ऐसेजे तुम्हाविसी चिरंजीव राजश्री फत्तेसिंग भोसले यानीं शाहुनगर नजिक किले सातारा येथील मुक्कामी स्वामीसनीध विनंती केली की हे भले सत्पात्र यांचे चालवीलीया श्रयस्कर ऐसे जाणुन यासी आपले-कडून मौजे नीवडुंगे येथील मढीयात्रा कान्होबा ता तीसगाव पा सेवगाव सरकार आमदानगर हा गाव ईनाम दिल्हा आहे तो माहाराजांही याचे वंश-परंपरेने ईनाम करून देऊन चालवीला पाहिजे म्हणून वीनंती केली त्यावरून मनास आणुन तुम्ही भले सत्पात्र तुमचे चालवीलीया श्रयस्कर ऐसे जाणून स्वामी तुम्हावरी कृपाळु होऊन मौजे मजकूर पेशजीच्या मुकासीयाकडून करुन हाली देखील यात्रामढी कान्होबाची कुलबाब व कुलकानु हालीपटी व पेस्तरपटी

खेरीज हकदार व ईनामदार करून तुम्हास व तुमचे वंशपरंपरेनें नूतन ईनाम करून दिला असे तरी तुम्ही मौजे मजकूर सदरहूप्रमाणें आपले दुमाला करून घेऊन तुम्ही आपले पुत्रपौत्रादी वंशपरंपरेनें ईनाम अनभऊन सुखरूप राहणे जाणीजे लेखनालंकार

मर्या
दें यं रा
जते

रुजुसुरु

नीवी सामंत सुमंत मंत्री सरकार

तारीख २९ माहे रजब सु॥

सब अबेन मया अलफ

बारसुद्रसुरु सुद्र बार बार बार बार

सदरहुचे असलेस बंद दोन त्याची चीकटवणी एक तीजवर -लेखनसीमा —या अक्षराचे एक मोर्तब असे.

नकल करणार आत्माराम रावजी कारकून

ता॥ ४ माहे शपटंबार सन १८५४ इ॥

रुजु पाहाणार वामन कृष्ण कारकून ता॥ ७

सपटबर सन १८५४ ईसवी

Copied by
Y. L. Thakar

Compared by
H. R. Guruji

सदरहू खरी नकल मीळणेबद्दल सदाशिव विष्णु चौधरी याणी ता. २०।१०।२७ चे अर्जाने मागणी केल्यावरून खर्चवगैरेबद्दल फी ८९८६ व्ही. पी. ने मागवून त्यांस देण्यांत आली आहे. ता. १५।१२।२७

J. R. Barve

H. R. Guruji

असी॥ कमीशनर मध्यभाग

इंनचार्ज अेलिनेशन ऑफीस रेकार्ड

Genealogy of the Chaudhari family

INAM
A
COMMISSION

नक्कल

कैफीयतींचे तेरावे जबाबाप्रमाणें

वंशावळ वामन दीक्षीत बीन सीव दीक्षीत चौधरी रा. मौजे पाथर्डी ता॥ सेवगांव जिल्हानगर याणी मौजे निवडुंगे ता॥ सेवगांव जिल्हानगर येथील मोकासे अमलाबद्दल अलाहिदा कैफीयत लिहून देऊन त्याजबराबर ही वंशावळ मुळ संपादकाचे आज्यापासून लिहून दिल्ही असे तारीख २ सपटेंबर सन १८५४ इ॥ मुक्काम पुणें.

दस्तुर बापूजी विठल हुजूर कारकून ता. सरकार
सही तारीख १६ सपटेंबर १८५४

सहि वामन बिन सिव दिक्षित द्रस्तुर्खुद

Signed before me at Poona on the 16th September 1854

Sd. Thos. a. Cowper
Captain Inam Commissioner

Copied by
Y. L. Shaha

Compared by
H. R. Guruji

सदरहू खरी नक्कल मीळणेबद्दल मि. सदाशिव चौधरी याने तारीख २० आकटोबर सन १९२७ चा अर्ज केलेवरून सदरहु नक्कल ली......वगैरे फीबद्दल ०५०९ व्ही. पी. नें मागवून त्यास देण्यांत आली आहे

तारीख १६ माहे डिसेंबर सन १९२७

H. R. Guruji

J. R. Barve

असीस्टंट कमीशनर मध्यभाग
इंचार्ज एलीनेशन रेकार्ड ऑफीस

- गोविंद दीक्षित
  - सीव दीक्षित
    - गंगाराम दीक्षित (मौजे निवडुंगे ता।। शेवगांव येथील मोकासे अमलाचा मूळ संपादक)
      - सखाराम दीक्षित
        - सीव दीक्षित १२३५
          - वामन दीक्षित का.
      - नीलकंठ दीक्षित
        - महादेव दीक्षित
          - गोपालदीक्षित
        - आप्पा दीक्षित का.
          - रंगशास्त्री
          - नारायणशास्त्री
          - केशव दीक्षित
          - विष्णु दीक्षित का.

MĀLATĪMĀDHAVA-LAGHUVIVARAṆA BY PANDIT DHARĀNANDA : HIS DATE AND OTHER WORKS WRITTEN BY HIM

By

N. A. Gore

A systematic and well-planned study of the vast commentary literature in Sanskrit is bound to be productive of results very valuable to a comprehensive and accurate history of Sanskrit literature. The commentaries, while explaining the text before them disclose a wealth of information of historical and literary value; they refer to and often quote from earlier writers particularly lexicons and rhetorical works. Now, when the date either of the commentator or of an author or work quoted by him is definitely known, the lower chronological limit at least, of the several authors and works quoted in that commentary can be fixed. When such evidence would accumulate and would be systematically recorded many knotty problems in the chronology of Sanskrit Literature would be solved, and many authors and works that are now assigned merely to a particular century only, can be safely placed within yet narrower chronological limits. Similarly when the several commentaries on a given work are properly studied, then only their relative merit, originality or otherwise could be properly assessed. It is in this spirit that the writer of the present paper proposes to make a study of all the available commentaries [1] on the *Mālatīmādhava*, in the first instance and next of those on the other two plays of Bhavabhūti.

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[1] Dr. M. Krishnamachariar mentions the following commentaries on the *Mālatīmādhava*, in his *Classical Sanskrit Literature* p. 622 :—

"There (are) commentaries on it by (1) Dharānanda, (2) Jagaddhara, (3) Tripurāri [for acts I-VII and Nānyadeva for acts VIII-X] (4) Mānāṅka, (5) Rāghavabhaṭṭa, (6) Nārāyaṇa, (7) Prākṛtācārya, (8) J. Vidyāsāgara, (9) Pūrṇasarasvatī and (10) Kuñjavihāri." In foot-note 1 on the same page, he says that Nānyadeva has written a commentary on the whole of the drama too, and refers to Tri. Cat. II. 2220. To

(*continued on the next page*)

According to Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum [1] only two Mss. of Dharānanda's commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava* are available. Though I have referred to all the Descriptive Catalogues in the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, I have not been able to trace any more manuscripts of the commentary. But by a lucky chance the only two extant manuscripts of the commentary are both found in the Govt. collection of Mss. deposited in the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute. They are No. 430 of 1892-1895 and No. 438 of 1887-1891. They will be referred to in the remaining part of the paper as A and B respectively. Both of them are written in the Devanāgarī script and were collected in the Gujarat division of the Bombay Presidency.

Ms. A consists of 26 folios, of which 1a and 26b are blank except for a line in Hindi giving the names of the commentary and the owner of the Ms. and the number of the folios. [2] Though the Ms. is neatly and carefully written, its scribe was not aware of the confusicn in the arrangement of the leaves of the Ms. from which he was preparing the copy. For, on a careful examination of the Ms. A, it is discovered that the correct sequence of the text of the commentary is disturbed in seven places and the proper sequence is established only when we read the Ms. in the following order ; fol. 1^b–4^b ; 18^a–18^b, 17^a–17^b ; 7^a–16^b ; 6^a–6^b ; 5^a–5^b and 19^a–26^a. It must also be noted that it is written on double leaves from fol. 3 onwards i. e. 3^{ab} is attached to 4^{ab} and so on. This feature of the Ms. will be useful when we come to consider the other Ms. The Ms. begins directly with a salutation to god Gaṇeśa [3] and the colophon of a single sentence does not tell us

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(*continued from the previous page*)

this list must be added the com. by (11) Harihara, represented by a single Ms. in the Library of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal. It must also be noted that there is no com. on the Mālatīmādhava by an author named Prākṛtācārya. I have checked both the references to the Catalogus Catalogorum by Dr. M. Krishnamachariar and found that there is no mention at all of a com. by Prākṛtācārya at CC I. 453 and at CC II 104 occurs the mention of a Ms. of the Prākṛtachāyā—Rgb 451 and no com. by Prākṛtācārya is mentioned at CC. II. 104 also !

1 CC. III. 98—Bd. 438, Peters, 5. 430.

2 Viz. पुस्तक बलदेवदतका पत्रसंख्या २६ ॥

3 श्रीगणेशाय नमः । सानन्दमित्यादिना अष्टपदा नान्दी । etc.

anything more about the author except his name and the name of the commentary.[1]

If would have been valuable, if the only two extant Mss. of the commentary were independent of each other. But unfortunately they are not; on the contrary Ms. B is a very carelessly and hurriedly made copy of the Ms. just described above. That B is a poor and worthless copy of A is seen from the fact that this Ms. presents identically the same confusion in the sequence of the text as is found in the other. Another fact, too, corroborates the same conclusion. As observed before, Ms. A is written on double leaves and as is sometimes noticed in the case of other Mss. also, the two halves of a joint-leaf (3^{ab} and 4^{ab}) were sticking together due to their being folded before the ink had dried off. The scribe of B did not even notice this fact with the result that after writing the last word on fol. 3^{a} he quietly turned the sticking joint-leaf and immediately after the last word on fol. 3^{a}, he copied out the first line on fol. 4^{b}, thus omitting 16 lines altogether from A. Apart from this, his carelessness is seen from numerous other mistakes of his own commission and omission, e. g. रवेरुद्रदयाकलनात् for रवेरुदयाकलनात्, °मधुकर° for °मधुर°, प्रता for प्रस्थिता ; शोभाविता for शोभाविभाविता ; सूत्र for सुत्र ; धरामंद for धरानंद. He provides instance of *dittography* also by copying over again two lines on fol. 8^{a} of A. The Post-colophon endorsement by the scribe gives us his name as Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa a Gauḍa Brahman.[2]

The name of the commentary is given as *Laghuvivaraṇa* in the concluding remarks at the end of seven acts; it is not mentioned at all at the end of two acts (III and IX) and only at the end of the name *Saṁkṣipta-ṭippaṇa* (which is nothing but a paraphrase of *Laghuvivaraṇa*) is mentioned. So from the frequency of use, *Laghuvivaraṇa* may be taken as the correct name of the commentary.

When from this examination of the manuscript material of the commentary we turn to the internal examination thereof, we are disappionted to find that as a commentary it is of a very

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[1] इति पंडितधरानंदकृते मालतीमाधवप्रकरणस्य संक्षिप्तटिप्पणे दशमोंकः समाप्तः शुभं भवतु ॥

[2] लिप्यकृतं लक्ष्मीनारायण ब्राह्मणगौड श्रीरस्तु शु ॥

meagre value. The bulk of it is devoted to supplying the Sanskrit *Chāyā* of the Prakrit passages of the play and explanatory material is only occasionally to be met with. It also contains a few quotations from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and other works. Even as such it would have been useful had it given the text of the drama. But the Mss. or rather the Ms. (B being a mere copy of A) omits the text altogether. Moreover, when we compare the *Laghuvivaraṇa* with Jagaddhara's commentary on the same play, we are driven to the conclusion that Pandit Dharānanda's commentary hardly deserves to be called an independent commentary. It is nothing but a drastic abridgment with a few changes in the wording here and there, of Jagaddhara's commentary. If we divide a commentary on a play into (1) The Sanskrit *Chāyā* of the Prakrit passages, (2) quotations from lexicons, rhetorical, dramaturgical and such other works and (3) explanation and appreciation if any, Dharānanda has borrowed all these three portions from Jagaddhara--*Chāyā*, he has taken over, whole sale, [1] without a change ; he has given a few quotations all of which are found in Jagaddhara's commentary, but in many cases he omits the names of authors and works. As for explanations he has borrowed only a few of them, either in full or in an abridged form. To illustrate this statement, I shall give below the *entire* explanatory portion from ;the *Laghuvivaraṇa* on the whole of the first act and compare it with Jagaddhara's commentary. [2]

धरानन्द	जगद्धर
1 सानन्दमित्यादिना अष्टपदा नान्दी । (fol. 1[b])	इह तावदष्टपदां नान्दीं विदधानः...मङ्गलं... निबध्नाति । सानन्दमित्यादि । (p. 1)
2 अये इति सम्भ्रमेऽकस्माद्रवेरुदयाकलनात् । (fol. 1[b])	अये इति निपातो ... अकस्मात्सूर्योदयाकलनात् । (p. 7)

[1] It is to be regretted that Dr. Bhandarkar's and the Nirnayasagara eds. of the play omit the *Chāyā* from Jagaddhara's com., thereby creating the wrong impression that J's com. did not contain the *Chāyā* at all. Dr. Bhandarkar, however, notes, the variants from the *Chāyā* in the apparatus Criticus. But all the Mss of J's com. at the B. O. R. I. examined by me do give the *Chāyā*. It is usually prefaced by the words अवलोकितावाक्ये, लवङ्गिकावाक्ये etc.

[2] For Dharānanda references are to Ms. A and for Jagaddhara to Dr. Bhandarkar's 2nd ed. (1905) of the *Mālatīmādhava*.

3 सूत्रधारोक्तनिर्वाहसहिष्णुर्मारिषो मतः। (fol. 1^b)	मारिष एव मर्षणान्मार्षः। सूत्रधारोक्तनिर्वाहसहिष्णुरित्यर्थः। (p. 9)
4 पूज्ये मिश्रपदं नित्यं बहुवचनान्तम्। (fol. 1^b)	पूज्ये मिश्रपदं नित्यं बहुवचनान्तम्।(p. 10)
5 दक्षिणाग्निमा[गा]र्हपत्याहवनीयसभ्यावसथ्यरूपाग्निपंचकोपासकाः। (fol. 1^b)	दक्षिणाग्निगार्हपत्याहवनीयसभ्यावसथ्यरूपाग्निपञ्चकोपासकाः। (p. 12)
6 सोमयागयाजिनः (expl. of सोमपीथिनः) (fol. 1^b)	अनेन सोमयागयाजित्वमुक्तम्। (p. 12)
7 अयं च धीरोदात्तः। 'सेनापतिरमात्यश्च धीरोदात्तावुदीरितौ।' (fol. 2^a)	अयममात्यत्वाद्धीरोदात्तो नायकः। यदाह 'सेनापति' etc. (p. 20)
8 योगिनीप्रभावेनासंबंधिनोरपि मालतीमाधवयोः संबंधः। वसंते मालत्यनुरागाभावात् (?) वर्षायां तत्सत्त्वादन्यथा दोषः। (fol. 2^a)	ननु मालतीवल्लभत्वं माधवस्य न योग्यं माधवेन वसन्तेन समं वर्षाकालीनाया मालत्या जातेः संबंधाभावात्। मैवम्। अपूर्वमेव हि पदार्थसार्थं योगिनीप्रभावात् संपन्नमासाद्य सहृदयहृदयचमत्कारकारिणीं वैदग्धीमेव कविरयमुत्प्रेक्षितवानित्यदोषः। (p. 19)
9 उदात्तनिभृता मालती। उदात्तनिभृता चैव भवेत्तु कुलजां गतेत्युक्तेः।(fol. 2^a)	नायिका च मालत्युदात्तनिभृता कुलस्त्रीत्वात्। यदाह भरतः, 'उदात्त' etc. (p. 21)
10 वर्णिका मसी। (fol. 2^a)	वर्णिका मषी। (p. 22)
11 प्रस्तावना। निवृत्तेति शेषः। (fol. 2^a)	प्रस्तावनेति। निवृत्तेति शेषः। (fol. 22)
12 नाम संभावनायाम्। (fol. 2^a)	नाम संभावनायां तेन भवेदपीत्यर्थः।(p. 23)
13 सौगतयतिवासः चीवरं। (fol. 2^a)	चीवरं सौगतपरिव्राजकवासः। (p. 24)
14 भिक्षाभ्रमणेन भोजनं पिंडपातः। (fol. 2^a)	पिंडपातो नाम बौद्धानां भिक्षाभ्रमणेन भोजनम्। (p. 25)
15 आन्वीक्षिकी तर्कविद्या। तेन चोरिकाविवाहकुशलत्वम्। (fol. 2^a)	आन्वीक्षिकी न्यायशास्त्रं तत्र तर्कच्छलादिनिष्टङ्कनेन तदभ्यासान्माधवस्य चोरिकाविवाहे कौशलमुक्तम्। (p. 26)
16 कापालिकास्तु घण्टान्तनामानः समुदाहृता इत्युक्तेः। (fol. 2^a)	कापालिकास्तु घण्टान्तनामानः समुदाहृता इति भरतः। (p. 35)
17 नायिकानायकयोर्मनोरथं ज्ञात्वा संमत्या (?) कार्यसाधनं निसृष्टार्थः। (fol. 3^a)	नायिकाया नायकस्य वा मनोरथं ज्ञात्वा स्वमत्या कार्यं साधयति सा निसृष्टार्था दूती। (p. 36)
18 योगिनीप्रभावात्कलहंसागमनम्। (fol. 3^a)	कलहंसो राजहंसः स च शरदि विराजमानोपि योगिनीप्रभावाद्वसन्ते मिलित इति नामाभिप्रायः। (p. 38)

19 यत्तु सर्वगतं न श्राव्यं तत्स्वगतम् । (fol. 3^b)	'यत्तु श्राव्यं न सर्वस्य स्वगतं तदिहोच्यते' इति भरतः । (p. 64)
20 आसक्तिरूपो मनःपराभवोऽभिष्वंगः । (fol. 3^b)	अभिष्वङ्ग आसक्तिरूपो मनःपराभवः । (p. 64)
21 यत्तु सर्वजनश्राव्यं तत्प्रकाशमिहोच्यते । (fol. 3^b)	'यत्तु सर्वजनश्राव्यं प्रकाशं तदिहेष्यते' इति भरतः । (p. 64)
22 अनवधिकत्वं अपर्याप्तिः । (fol. 3^b)	अपर्याप्तिरनवधिकत्वम् । (p. 67)
23 विज्ञानं शिल्पकौशलम् । (fol. 3^b)	अत्र विज्ञानं शिल्पिकौशलम् । (p. 75)
24 संस्त्यायः सन्निवेशः । (fol. 4^a)	'संस्त्यायः सन्निवेशे च संघातेऽपि च दृश्यते इति मेदिनीकरः । (p. 77)
25 निःक्रान्तेत्यनेन बीजार्थता उक्ता । (fol. 4^a)	निष्क्रान्ता इति बीजार्थे युक्तं कृत्वा निष्क्रमो भवति । (p. 81)

From the complete analysis of the explanatory portion of Dharānanda's commentary on the first act of the *Mālatīmādhava*, it becomes abundantly clear that it is entirely derived from that of Jagaddhara. As already pointed out the *Chāyā* and the quotations are also taken over from Jagaddhara. There is not a line, therefore in the whole of the commentary on the first act which Dharādhara can claim as his own. And this remark holds good in the case of the remaining nine acts. I have carefully compared the *Laghuvivaraṇa* on the remaining acts with the commentary of Jagaddhara and without an exception I have noticed that Dharānanda has borrowed the entire *Chāyā*, all the quotations and the whole of the explanatory portion in his *Laghuvivaraṇa* from Jagaddhara's commentary. Consequently we cannot look upon the *Laghuvivaraṇa* as an independent commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava* but only as an abridged recension of Jagaddhara's commentary. As we shall see later on, Dharānanda was a highly learned man and he taught to a circle of pupils who came to him to study various branches of Sanskrit literature, and it is likely that he prepared this 'brief exposition' of the *Mālatīmādhava* by using Jagaddhara's commentary for their sake just as, according to his own statement,[1] the *Mṛcchakaṭikāvivaraṇa* was written for the use of his pupils. One only wishes that he should have mentioned his wholesale indebtedness to Jagaddhara.

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[1] शिष्याणामुपकृतये तेन सुबुद्ध्या विरचिता रम्या ।
प्राकृतबोधसमर्था विवृतिरियं मृच्छकटिकायाः ॥

In another paper of mine,[1] published in the *Annals* in Vol. XXII, pp. 38–44 I have conclusively shown how Jagaddhara himself was indebted to an earlier commentator, Harihara; and in this paper I have proved that Dharānanda's commentary is nothing but an abridged recension of Jagaddhara's commentary. Thus, in short, the relative position of the three commentaries has been fixed on the strength of the internal evidence and this is corroborated by their chronological position also.

The date of Harihara's commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava* is definitely known from the *Post-colophon* of the commentary as A. D. 1216. Jagaddhara must have flourished, as shown by Mr. Gode,[2] between A. D. 1300–1400. Dharānanda's date is not very difficult to establish, for in the colophon of one of his works. the date of its composition is mentioned[3] as Wednesday, the 10th day of the Bright half of Caitra Saṁvat 1872. This corresponds with 7th April 1816 A. D.[4] But this latter falls on Sunday while the original statement mentions Wednesday. This discrepancy of 4 days would greatly be diminished if the reading in the Ms. were युगा° instead of युग्मा°. For, in that case the date of composition of the 10th day of the work would be Bright half of Caitra, Saṁvat 1884, corresponding with Thursday, the 16th April 1818 A. D. For want of any other evidence of a more precise nature, on the strength of this date supplied by Dharānanda himself, he may be said to have flourished between A. D. 1775 and 1850.

Dharānanda gives a few autobiographical details in colophons of two of his works.[5] He belonged to the family of Brahmans

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1 "Jagaddhara's indebtedness to Harihara : an ancient commentator of the *Mālatīmādhava.*"

2 "Date of Jagaddhara : The commentator of the Mālatīmādhava and other works—between A. D. 1300 and 1400." Jou. of the Univ. of Bombay, Vol. IX. part 2.

3 वत्सरे विक्रमार्कस्य युगाश्वेभेन्दुसंमिते ।
चैत्रशुद्धे दशम्यां च बुद्धे पूर्णीकृता ध्रुवम् ॥ *Mṛcchakaṭikāvivaraṇa.*

4 Acc. to B. P. Modak's Ephemeris (1889 A. D.).

5 वसिष्ठगोत्रजातस्य ठाकुरस्य सुतास्त्रयः ।
पूर्णदासो रामबलो देवीदासश्च विश्रुताः ॥

(*continued on the next page*)

of the Vāsiṣṭha gotra, residing in Bharatapura, modern Bharatpore in the U. P. His grandfather's name was Thākura, who had three sons viz. Pūrṇadāsa, Rāmabala and Devīdāsa. Dharānanda was the son of Rāmabala, and had studied under one Paramānanda Mitra. Dharānanda was a devotee of Śrī Hanumān. He seems to be a very learned man as the colophon of a Ms. of one of his works [1] says that Dharānanda was a Mahāmahopādhyāya, a title bestowed on eminently learned men only. He must have kept a *Pāṭhaśālā*, for, in the concluding stanzas to his *Mṛcchakaṭikāvivaraṇa* he informs us that it was composed expressly for the use of his pupils and the same appears to be the case with the *Mālatīmādhava-Laghuvivaraṇa*.

In addition to the commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava* Aufrecht records one more work of Dharānanda, a commentary (called *Sudhā*) on the *Citramīmāṁsā* by Appayya Dīkṣita. Whereas Aufrecht records one Ms. only of the *Sudhā*, from the Govt. Oriental Library, Madras, the Descriptive Catalogues of the same collection disclose two more Mss. of the *Sudhā* and two works not recorded in the Catalogus Catalogorum viz. a commentary on

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(*continued from the previous page*)

लब्धजन्मा रामबलाद्द्वयोरपि कृपायुतः ।
श्रीगुरोः परमानन्दाल्लब्धेष्टो भरते पुरे ॥
आस्ते नाम्ना धरानन्दो मारुतेः पदसंस्थितः ।
तेनेयं चित्रमिमांसा सुधाख्याख्या प्रकाशिता ॥ Colophon to the *Sudhā*

and गोत्रे वसिष्ठसंज्ञे समजनि निपुणः स्वेष्टचित्तो वरीयान्
धीमान् श्रीठाकुराख्यः सकलगुणनिधिस्तस्य पुत्रत्रयं यत् ।
ज्येष्ठः श्रीपूर्णदासो हरिविहितमतिर्मध्यमो रांबलाख्यो
देवीदासस्तृतीयो बहुगुणनिकया काश्यपीसंप्रतिष्ठः ॥
पुत्रो रामबलस्य मित्रपरमानन्दाप्ततत्त्वागमो
भूमौ तत्कृपया बुधेषु विदितः सच्छास्त्रशीलो द्विजः ।
श्रीमद्वायुसुतस्य सेवनरतो नाम्ना प्रसिद्धो धरा-
नन्देनेति चकार शास्त्रविषयेष्वभ्यासमत्यादरात् ॥

and इति भरतपत्तननिवासिनो रामबलस्य सूनोः धरानन्दस्य कृतौ etc.

Colophon to the *Mṛcchakaṭikāaivaraṇa*

[1] इति श्रीमहामहोपाध्याय पण्डितधरानंदविरचिता चित्रमीमांसाव्याख्या सुधाख्या संपूर्णा ।
Ms. No. 12886 of Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

the *Anargharāghava* of Murāri, called the *Gūḍhārthadīpikā* and another on the *Mṛcchakaṭika* named the *Mṛcchakaṭikāvivaraṇa.* All these four works of Dharānanda are unpublished. The *Gūḍhārthadīpikā* breaks off in the second act and no complete Ms. of the work is known to exist. The *Mṛcchakaṭikāvivaraṇa* is preserved in complete in a single Ms. and is similar to the *Laghuvivaraṇa* on the *Mālatīmādhava* ; the main concern of Dharānanda here also is to give the Sanskrit *Chāyā* of the Prakrit portion of the play. The *Sudhā*, however, seems to be a more ambitious work, if we are to judge from the short extracts given in the Descriptive Catalogue. The commentary extends to the end of the *Atiśayoktyalaṁkāra* i. e. it is available for the whole of the extant portion of the *Citramīmāṁsā*.

ON THE SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS IN THE DECCAN

BY

R. G. HARSHE

More than forty years have elapsed since the regular work of the collection of Manuscripts in this part of the country had completely stopped. Government used to spend about Rs. 8000/– every year for this excellent and most useful work and the names of Bühler, Kielhorn, Peterson and Bhandarkar are associated with it so that as the result of frequent tours in the country we have a fine collection of about 20,000 Mss. at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, dealing with a variety of subjects and going as far back as the 13th century of the Christian Era. The work was probably discontinued because the collectors themselves did not think it worthwhile to pursue this task any longer, as there was in their opinion no possibility of unearthing any new material or else, no pressing demand on Government was made by any of their successors in office. Some how the work has still remained incomplete and although several institutions have since followed in the footsteps of Bhandarkar and Rajwade in the work of collecting manuscript material, a thorough and systematic search all over the country still remains a thing to be desired.

It is possible to do this kind of work now with better chances of success. Oriental research was in its infancy then and the caste prejudices of the learned Pandits were very strong against its European sponsors. Pride of the family traditions had not died out and ideas of sanctity regarding Sanskrit and Sanskrit learning had still their sway on the minds of the people. Stories are told of how men like Bühler and Peterson were obliged to sit some twenty feet away from the Brahman Pandit who was induced to part with some of his collection by appealing to his love of money and poverty stricken condition. Selling Mss. at a rate a little higher than that of the waste paper was supposed to be the last means of adding to the family income. Most of these Brahmans with ancestral pride as their only heritage, were in-

capable of understanding the contents of their treasured possession, much less their value. Despite all this, it required a good deal of effort and persuasion on the part of the collector to induce them to sell away their Mss.

Now circumstances have changed. Education which was then a privilege of the few, has now become almost common. Oriental Research has made long strides in its progress and people have begun to understand and appreciate the value of research. Circumstances have forced people to leave their proper native places in search of service and city life does not afford any space for unnecessary storage. The Mss. and family records are perishing in dust at their village homes and sharing the same fate as the houses themselves. People are therefore more willing to part with their Mss. and family records than allow them to be worm-eaten, if they could be properly preserved by a respectable public institution and made available to genuine scholars. They would not even care for any monetary return.

Our recent experiences at Puntambe, district Ahmadngar, strongly bear out this fact in as much as we have been able to secure as donation from Mr. V. M. Gorhe about 127 Mss. for the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona and record 465 others that are lying with only three Śāstri families of the place. Within a week's time it was possible only to have a cursory glance at the collection of three or four families and it could by no means be said that the work was thorough and exhaustive. For instance, Mr. Nidre, who is supposed to have the largest collection of Mss. in Puntambe, had not revealed to us his entire stock but allowed us to take down the names of a few Mss. A thorough search, granting that all facilities for work could be obtained, would require a couple of months' strenuous work.

But such a work would not go without its reward. The view that there is no possibility of unearthing any new material has no foundation in fact. Even this small collection of 127 Mss. contains no less than 17 Mss. that are not recorded in Aufrecht's *Catalogous Catologorum* and as many as 32 which are not to be found in the Government Collection of Mss. at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. The importance of this work cannot

therefore be gainsaid. No cultural History of the Marathi speaking province can ever be written unless and until a thorough and systematic search of the Sanskrit, Prakrit and Marathi cultural traditions is made by competent scholars.

For centuries together Maratha Pandits have distinguished themselves by their great learning, their versatility and their acuteness of intelligence and left behind them hosts of literary works—a complete history of which is yet to be written. Contribution of the Marathi Pandits to Mediaeval Sanskrit is a thesis worth attempting but the required material is enveloped in a chaotic mass for the clearer vision of which work as outlined above is a condition precedent. Besides, a careful gleaner of manuscripts in this part of the province would reap a very rich harvest of Marathi literature of immortal poets and writers belonging to different religious sects, such as the Nāthapanthīyas, the Mahānubhāvas, the Vārakarīs and the Rāmadāsīs, etc. The Marathas were the last to make history in modern times and bits of that history are still to be found in the nooks and corners of this country. It is therefore suggested that the work of the search for manuscript material should again be undertaken under Government patronage by a Joint Board of competent scholars who have specialised in Indology, Marathi Literature and Mediaeval and Maratha History, with a modest annual recurring grant of Rs. 15000/-. Ten years' intensive work would put into our hands all the necessary material that would enable us to know what kind of literature would be available throughout the Marathi speaking districts of the Bombay Presidency.

The Mss. in the V. M. Gorhe collection of the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, were at the time of their presentation merely a heap of loose folios, tied in extremely old and worn out bundles and so mixed up that it took more than a month for the writer to re-arrange them in a proper form of Ms. complete or fragmentary. In 127 Mss., rescued from oblivion, as many as 82 are complete and the rest incomplete. Classified under several subject-heads, we find that they present a good variety :

Veda 3, Itihāsa 21, Purāṇa 17, Dharmaśāstra 25, Vedānta 8, Jyotiṣa-Graha and Phala 10, Tarka and Nyāya 7, Tantra and

Yoga 3, Vyākaraṇa 2, Gaṇita 1, Kośa 1, Kāvya 24, Nāṭaka 2, Gadya-Campū 1, Total-125+2 Marāṭhī=127.

Though the collection does not represent the entire collection owned by the Family, it is fairly rich and contains some valuable Mss. not yet recorded by collectors of Mss. and the curators of Manuscript Libraries. This fact itself shows the importance of carrying on this work of collection from year to year and from village to village. It must be remembered that even these Mss. were collected out of the so-called refuse. If a thorough search be made many more Mss. will come to light.

To review briefly this collection, section by section, we find that the Vedic Section contains, besides a portion of Samāstvādhayāya Bhāṣya of Mahīdhara, a work called Śākhāviveka, which describes the importance of the Kāṇvaśākhā [1]

In the Itihāsa Section we find some very old Mss. of some of the parvans of the Mahābhārata. Recently, 8 Mss. out of 20, have been selected by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar for his collation work at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Under the Purāṇas are classified several Mss., dealing with the Māhātmyas of Gods, Vratas, Months, places of pilgrimage, etc., but the notable ones are those of Śrīmadbhāgavata Purāṇa-Canto X, Harivijaya, Bṛhannāradīyapurāṇa and Purāṇasāroddhāra. Most of these, though of a bulky size, are wanting in some folios and are incomplete.

Dharmaśāstra claims to have the highest number of Mss. in this collection, dealing with the domestic rites and sacraments, the different kinds of vows and religious practices, the duties of the Saṁnyāsins, the decisions regarding clans and pedigrees, etc. The following might be mentioned as important works :--Chāṅgabhāṣyam on Pāraskara-Snānasūtram, Prayogaratnam by Kāśīdīkṣita, Kriyāpaddhatiḥ--by Viśvanāthabhaṭṭa, Smṛtikaustubhaḥ by Anantabhaṭṭa, Ācārārkaḥ-by Divākara, Vratārkaḥ-by Śaṁkarabhaṭṭa, Nirṇayābharaṇam-by Bhaṭṭa Mayūreśvara, Yatidharmaprakāśa by Vāsudevāśramamuni etc. It might be mentioned here that Anantabhaṭṭa, in his work Smṛtikaustubha, gives important details of his patron Bājabahāduracandra and of his ancestors beginning from Ekanātha.

[1] "Māhātmyam Kāṇvaśākhāyāḥ Kathyate Viṣṇutuṣṭaye ॥ 1 ॥ - Date of the Ms.—Śaka 1772.

Among the Vedānta Mss., mention might be made of the Īśāvāsyabhāṣyam by Mahīdhara, Pañcīkaraṇavārttikam by Sureśvarācārya and the Prapañcamithyātvānumānapañcikāvyākhyā by Śrīnivāsa, all of which are complete.

All the Mss. of Jyotiṣa are more or less important, some of them being two hundred years old. There is an undated Ms. in this collection dealing with prognosticating dreams and their consequences. It is illustrated and contains pṛṣṭhamātrās and pen and ink pictures, against a general back ground of red colour. They are unaffected by Muslim or Rajpute style of drawing and painting. The Ms. might belong to the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

Most of the Mss. belonging to the Tarka-Nyāya section, are copies of the well-known treatises like Tarkasaṁgraha, Saptapadārthī and Nyāyamālā. But a criticism of Saptapadārthī by name Saptapadārthyādāna-khaṇḍanam by Nāganātha is important. This Nāganātha was the preceptor of Yādavabhaṭṭa who was a versatile scholar and whose work on Jyotiṣa, namely, Grahaprabodhasya udāharaṇam, dated Śaka 1685, is available in our collection. Unfortunately, the Ms. of Saptapadārthyādāna-khaṇḍanam is incomplete.

The Tantrasārasaṁgraha of Ānandatīrtha, is incomplete and the other two Mss. in the Tantra-yoga section, viz., Śivayogadarpaṇasaṁgraha and Śivayogasāra-saṁgraha together make 25 folios of the size 5/2, x 3¾.

The commentary of Puñjarāja on the Sārasvatavyākaraṇa is complete and the other Ms. is that of Ṣaḍliṅgarūpāvali, evidently meant for beginners.

The Pāṭīgaṇitādhyāya of Bhāskarācārya is the oldest dated Ms. in this collection, complete, bearing the date Śake 1583 and written by Nṛharidaivajña, the son of Viśvanāthabhaṭṭa who was a great exponent of the works of Gaṇeśadaivajña.

The one Kośa Ms. is the Ekākṣaranighanta of Vararuci, complete and containing in all 41 verses.

Leaving aside the copies of the well-known Kāvyas such as the Rāmāyaṇa, the extracts from the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata, as well as those of the celebrated five Mahākāvyas, the following are among the rare ones.

Sṛṅgāravilāsa and Ghaṭakharparakāvyam by Kālidāsa (only one canto, complete, of the latter with a commentary by Śaṁkara) Nītiśatapatram by Acyuta and commented upon by Śrīhari: Rāmaśatam of Keśavabhaṭṭa Laugākṣi and Rāmāryā aṣṭottaraśatam of Mahāmudgalabhaṭṭācārya.

The Ms. of the Hanūmannāṭaka and a commentary called Ṭippaṇī are both incomplete. The Bhojaprabandha mentioned under the last section is the only Ms. of the variety called Gadya-Campū and that too incomplete.

Besides these Sanskrit Mss., there are two Marāṭhī Mss. namely, that of the Śivalīlāmṛta and the Samaślokī of Vāmana Paṇḍita of which the latter is complete and belongs to Śaka 1583.

Thus, it will be seen that a more thorough work of collection would be extremely profitable to Indological, Literary, Cultural and Historical Studies and if Government undertake to provide for a modest sum of Rs. 15000/- per year, regular work of cataloguing these verious Mss. lying with different individuals at different places,[1] might be started on a more scientific basis in which University and Research Institutes would surely interest themselves. It would moreover be the continuation of the noble work of Dr. Bhandarkar so enthusiastically undertaken and so thoroughly carried out, within the prescribed limits, at the end of the last century.

[1] Out of 465 Mss. which I have been able to record, Mr. Shankar Vinayak Nidre has got 31, Shankar Balkrishna Lumpathki 116, and Gangadhar Ramkrishna Dharmadhikari 318. They could be classed under the following heads :—Āyurveda 3, Itihāsa 2, Kāvya 39, Kośa 4, Jyotiṣa 13, Tattvajñāna 20, Tarka-Nyāya 11, Tantra-Yoga 4, Purāṇa 37, Dharmaśāstra 265, Vedic 11, Vyākaraṇa 4, Sāhitya-Alaṁkāra 10, Stotras 30, miscellaneous 10 and Marathi 2 = 465. Of these the majority of Mss. are complete and not more than a dozen are incomplete. There are in all 79 dated Mss., the oldest going as far back as Saṁvat 1118. This is a very valuable cellection containing several Mss. sc far unknown to us.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF FLUX

An analogous Study in Heraclitean and Indian Thought

BY

BETTY HEIMANN

In my "Indian and Western Philosophy: A Study in Contrasts[1]" I clearly took up the position of non-analogy between India and the West which latter trend of thought started with Greek philosophy. In this case, however, a study in analogy between a Greek thinker and Indian philosophers is undertaken. There is no change of attitude, because Heraclitus was a pre-Socratic, or rather, pre-Sophistic, thinker. He still, on the main, apart from some personal and topical remarks, was occupied with some cosmic thought. His work had the title "Peri Physeōs" ("De Natura") and as such, as the later expositions will prove, he had his footing on a basis near to the constant Indian outlook. It may well be that this study may turn out to be a defence, simultaneously of Heraclitus' and of India's philosophy. For the same reproaches which the later Greeks, from their fundamentally changed standpoint, made against H. are generally made by Western thinkers against the whole of Indian philosophy. Heraclitus is called the "Skoteinos", the obscure and the unsystematic thinker. One external reason for this censure may be found in the accidental fact that H.'s work is only handed down to us in patchy fragments. Another external reason is that he used a manner of expression unusual to average language by employing the form of aphorism and also by his attitude of an inspired seer. (Significantly he laid down his work in the temple of Artemis as a kind of religious offering to the Divine). But more important are inner reasons why his work remained unintelligible for the masses of later Greek thinkers and, more or less, for the West up to recent times. His main dogma that everything is in continuous motion irrelevant

1 London 1937. (G. Allen and Unwin, Ltd.).

of direction, that all opposites, the " Hodos anō and katō ", the upward and downward movements, are essentially the same, does not fit into the rigid frame work of Western logical thinking. Since the slogan of the Sophists that " Man is the measure of everything ", human reasoning with its definite canon of values and of careful avoidance of contradictory statements holds sway over the West. Since then a reluctance has arisen towards the loose elasticity of thought and its resulting ambiguity. But that is exactly what Heraclitus intended to impress on his fellow thinkers as Nature's law. " Everything moves in a circle, up and down, from growth to decay and *vice versa* (Fragm. 112). " Nature strives after the opposite " (Fragm. 10). " Union is only possible through primary dissension, through the struggle of opposite tendencies " (Fragm. 8). " Wakening is destructive, sleep is constructive while co-operating on world events " (Fragm. 75). " Birth is misery and consequently turns into death " (Fragm. 20). " Good and bad are the same " (Fragm. 58). Heraclitus is conscious of being liable to be misunderstood (Fragm. 34) by taking away all fixed determinations to which human reason clings.

The same holds good for the basic thoughts on which all Indian philosophical systems are founded. Through trying to insert the human being into the cosmic thought, considering Man as only one expression of the vital life-force which indiscriminately permeates the whole Universe and all its phenomena, through emphasizing the ever changing flux upwards and downwards, from construction to destruction and *vice versa,* Indian thought represents the same difficulty for human reason as Heraclitus' teachings provide.

All Indian systems, too, emphasize the vagueness of direction but the fundamental idea of motion, the oscillating and alternating, the undulating and reverse movements which correlate everything and take away singleness and fixation. The idea of relation between everything results in the assumption of relativity and momentariness of everything. Every phenomenon has an ambiguous significance. As a manifestation of the universal vital force within, and behind, all phenomena each single one is significant, but at the same time insignificant as

only one transitory moment of fixation. The concept of a hidden unity between them all does not admit of a strict separation of opposites; it simultaneously views reverses and accepts paradoxies. The only constant factor which remains for the Indian thinker is the continuity of flux, the unbreakable interrelation between analysis and catalysis, the continuous metabolism and transformation.

As such Indian ontology in the Vedānta and Sāṁkhya system teaches a perpetual emanation and reabsorption out of, and into, Brahman or Prakṛti. As such Jainism in its cosmology speaks about the rising and falling movements of world formation (*utsarpiṇī* and *avasarpiṇī*, an almost literal equivalent of Heraclitus' term " hodos anō and katō ").

A quasi-ethical or theological expression of this biological law is given in the Upaniṣads. Not only in the pre-existential and post-existential periods of the world, but also in the empirical stages an interchange of the " hodos anō and katō " is taught. The doctrine of the *devayāna* and *pitṛyāna* indicates that the human being after this present form of existence is moving upwards (" hodos anō ") to moon and sun according to his merits, but then again comes down to earth ("hodos katō") in the transforme d shape of rain and food and through that again returns to a human or animal body which is built up together with all its physical or psychic functions by the quasi-neutral comic substance which continuously changes form.

The underlying biological idea of the *karma* theory, common to all Indian systems, emphasizes that *karma-bīja* grows into *karma-phala*; but the moment of the highest fulfilment of the seed in the fully developed fruit is the very beginning of decay. The fruit drops after having absorbed in itself as much as possible of the vital force of its bearer and has now no more participation with the ever flowing vital sap. Its only way of survival is in transformation, either in the shape of consumed food or in the disintegrated form of manure which provides substance to a new outgrowth. We may understand in this way Heraclitus' Fragment 36. " Death of the transformed is the birth of a new form."

Nothing comes from nothing, but each action results into an adequate re-action. This is the underlying idea of early Vedic

sacrifice and magic and the often misunderstood doctrine of "do-ut-des." Performance of a rite, the concrete substance of libation and the will-power invested in the ceremony inevitably attracts the wanted result from the Gods or through direct influence on the cosmic parts.

Indian thought as well as the teaching of Heraclitus is based on the acknowledgment of the existent facts of actual phenomena which function freely according to their specific laws. Not an externally imposed order, but an immanent functional order underlies the course of development. Significantly, already the Ṛgveda finds an expression for this dynamic law. ' *Ṛta,* lit. the going, is the ancient name of the universal order which governs the function of human and extra-human beings alike. *Ṛta* (or rather Varuṇa, the servant of *Ṛta*) sees to it that the sun, moon and stars, the rivers and men, function in their appropriate places and at their appropriate time. Compare this concept of Ṛta with Heraclitus' idea of *Dikē.* " If the sun could deviate from its prescribed course, the *Erinues*, the guardians of *Dikē*, the inevitable immanent order, would find it out and would forcibly drive it back to its dutiful function" (Fragm. 23).

Heraclitus starting point of thought, too, is the plurality of objects with their fixed functions, but ever changing manifoldness of conditions. While taking their starting point of investigation in the actual dynamic flux of the empirical world, no space is allotted by these thinkers to a creator out of the *nihil.* It is no accident that Ṛgveda 10, 129 emphatically teaches that the God or the Gods being themselves but single forms are on this empirical side of the world. Again, it is no accident, but a consequence of the fundamental idea, that H. assigns no personal God or Gods other than a somewhat elevated stage among all individual beings.

But it is a natural urge to seek within this embarassing manifoldness of actual phenomena for an underlying unity. Thus India postulates, in a way of assumed accelerated motion, the lying-together of all emanations of the basic life-force at the beginning, or their falling-together at the end, in a kind of unifying receptacle. Pre-or-post-empirical unity is a deduction from empirical plurality observed. Thus the idea of motion and

empirical flux (Heraclitus "Panta rei") results in its last consequence into its opposite, unity as opposed to, and yet connected with, plurality ; continuity, as opposed to, and yet connected with constancy.

Unity is the *coincidentia oppositorum*. This holds good not only in the sphere of visible empirical phenomena ; also the two ends of the immense, the transcendental "hodos anō and katō," are essentially the same. The immeasurably great and the immeasurably small are in Sanskrit termed *śūna* and *śūnya* (both derivatives of the same root: *śūn*). The All and the None are essentially the same and between those correlated opposites lies embedded the world of the Finite. As such *śūnya*, zero, can become a synonym for Nirvāṇa ; the not–yet–a–thing is essentially the same as the no–more–a–thing. Both are no things. The Vaiśeṣika system accepts beside the finite physical forms the two opposites implied in the idea of the *Adṛṣṭa*, the Unseen, which can be conceived either as the infinitely small atom, the *aṇu*, or as the infinitely great, but equally ungraspable, *ākāśa*, the immeasurable ether.

The deduction of the fundamental assumtion of the ever changing condition of things is drawn by Heraclitus and his follower Kratylos. Nobody can enter more than once, nor even once, the same stream, because both the bather and the stream, change from moment to moment. This idea which takes away all safe fixation certainly embarrassed the later so–called systematics of Greek and Western thinkers. Their antidote was to ridicule it. But the very same concept underlies serious Indian doctrines. Its last theoretical consequence is to be found in the *kṣaṇa* theory of Buddhism which teaches that no things except in interrelation (*saṁtāna*) of moments. But yet, even in this seemingly nihilating *kṣaṇa* theory some kind of constant factor remains. Even the nihilistic schools of Buddhism accept the idea of a though continuously changing, but in its very change permanent, bundle of psychic experiences. The *karma* bearer, retains from one form of existence to all following ones its psychic predisposition.

Heraclitus propagates that union or harmony can only be produced by the falling together of opposites. The male and the

female elements are essentially opposed, but complementary to each other. Hinduism in texts and figural representations emphasizes the same idea. God Śiva cannot be thought of apart from his female Śakti. The Sāṁkhya system represents the male element as the principle of Puruṣa, the female as the principle of Prakṛti. While working against, and for each other, the male and female elements are together the creative powers of the world formation. It is no accident that the different Indian systems (Vedānta and Sāṁkhya) use frequently the metaphor of sexual union. Later Hinduism depicts this idea in its last consequence in the concept of the *ardhanārīśvara*, introduces a double being in which the left half of its body is representative of the female, the right half of the male element.

Indian psychology, as represented in the Yoga system, makes use of the basic doctrine of immanent counter-movements. The *karma*, the activity, directed towards external functions, has to be counter-balanced by *pari-karma*, inverted *karma* (Yoga-sūtras 1, 35 Comm.). Each *saṁvedanā*, external consciousness, is counteracted and such complemented by *prati-saṁ-vedanā* (cf. *prati-saṁvedin*, Yoga-sūtras 1, 29 Comm.). Similarly the psychological aim of the study of history, of external action, is recommended for psychic training. Not for the sake of acquiring single facts of knowledge, but for the attainment of a liberated mind, history shall be studied. The study of action shall lead to indifference towards action ; study of history shall lead to the *śāntarasa*, to the pacified mind of the hermit. Nothing stands for good on the crest of a wave, nothing for good in the trough of a wave. Reviewing the undulating events as momentary and transitory happenings, that is the aim of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the chief historical text of ancient India. The literal translation of this programmatic title is " the waves of dynasties. "

All values of human super-imposed ethics are irrelevant. Good and bad, i.e. black, white or karma of a mixed colour is suitable only for the average man ; the Yogin has neither black nor white karma (cf. Yoga-sūtras 4, 7 and Bhagavadgītā 2, 50). Pure accomplishment lies beyond that sphere of distinction. The same concept seems to underly Heraclitus' Fragment 56. " Good and bad are finally the same." God Śiva in his highest aspect

is beyond the ethical range of his destructive and constructive powers. As such he is the indifferent Yogin and is represented as the *Naṭarāja.* He performs his dance of world-destruction with the smiling expression of neutral duty. While destroying and trampling down the world into a formless mass, he provides the predisposition for a new formation.

From the social point of view, distinctions, too, are assumed as natural necessities, but not as final aims. The divisions of caste are not based on the law of independent and static difference, but on that at common cause. The human community is conceived as a huge social organism in which all members have to play their specific part. The scheme of the caste system is essentially a division of labour, or rather, a specification of labour. Only, when each single caste performs its specific *dharma* (duty and right) it serves as a useful member of the whole. And yet another seemingly paradoxical law can be observed in this concept of caste. The caste itself, the *genus*, is fixed, but within this fixation of the *genus* a continuous development takes place within each *species* belonging to the *genus.* While strictly adhering to the fixed order of a caste in the course of generation physical and psychic progression takes place ; capacities once acquired are developed and improved through their repeated exercise strengthened by inheritance.

These ambiguities already observed in all the other disciplines of thought have significantly left their marks also in the field of logic and epistemology. Even so-called formal Indian logic in its distinctive reasoning has to take into consideration natural ambiguity and elasticity of thought. Indian terms are never fixed " termini " in the Latin sense, i. e. static limits, but maintain ambiguous meaning, or even combine opposites. *Prasaṅga,* for instance, is a definite logical term, but ambiguously fixed. As such it means logical consequence or wrong association. Other terms like *mukti* and *yoga* are in one and the same context used in their distinct terminological meaning but also in their wider significance. As such *yoga* indicates " union " of any kind and *mukti* " loosening power " in general. Thus Yoga-sūtras 3, 22 comm. speak of the unguarded fire as *mukta.* Significantly Indian formal logic introduces also a dynamic term for the in-

separable connection between the bearer of characteristics and its essential characteristics. *Vyāpti* designates the process of mutual penetration between the *liṅgin* and the *liṅga.* Fixed relations are not static data, but physical or psychic processes. Things are interrelated through mutual participation of certain qualities. And once more the term " quality " has in Indian logic a wider sense than in the formal logic of the West. Spatial relationship results in in-fluence. Divisibility into the same number of parts results in similarity of the things which have participation with the quality of the same number. Similes and metaphors state a relationship (similarity) between the things compared which may result, in case of a relatively high number of comparable qualities, into identification. From this point of view rhetoric can be inserted into the Indian system of logic. statement implies possible counter-statement ; *pakṣa* conditions *prati-pakṣa.* As such Indian logic cannot be thought of apart of discussion. A puzzle in Indian logic for the Western inrerpreter is its theory of the positive research in the *a-bhāva,* the non-being. The former perceiving of a pot in a certain place leads to the investigation of the "non-pot" on the spot where previously a pot was seen. Each *bhāva* implies the existence of its *a-bhāva* each *bheda* equally explains a potential *a-bheda* ; difference can only be perceived, if from another aspect non-difference is assumed.

The same ambiguous relationship is given for the concepts of subject and object. They are continuously changing places. In the act of perception subject and object are equally active (perhaps) the object, while having a wider range of efficiency in influencing more than one subject simultaneously or subsequently, is the more active of the two. Not only in the Vedānta, but throughout all later systems, the state of super-consciousness, the condition of non-more distinction between the Ego and the outer world, is considered the highest. *Suṣupti,* the dreamless sleep, where no distinctive form and no separate consciousness of the wakening stage and of its reflection in dream-sleep is anymore assumed, is the highest form of consciousness and as such a super-subjective -objective bliss. Here once more one may quote Heraclitus who voices the same idea, though not in the developed form and refinement of India's long tradition. H. speaks of the construc-

tive stage of sleep (Fragm. 75). We have to add of " dreamless " sleep.

While taking into consideration the wider range of Indian logic which thus transgresses the narrow limits of Western formal logic, we may try to understand the pregrammatic saying of Nyāya-sūtra 1, 1. All the logical intricacies of discussion, all the 16 categories of rational proceedings claim to lead to the end of irrational bliss or salvation.

After all the former expositions it is not surprising that even in the sober realm of Indian linguistics a reflection of the basic concept of flux, i. e. of super directional motion, can be observed. The prefixes, the *gatis*, the motors, of the noun or verb to which they are added suggest in their basic meanings either ambiguous or even reverse, functions. The prefix *sam* indicates psychologically concentration, physically compilation, logically comprehension. The prefix *ā* is an indicator of reverse motion ; it represents, as it were, a " hodos anō and katō " in the horizontal, instead of the vertical, direction. *Ā-piṅgala* means reddish, i. e. going towards the red colour , *ā-gam* (root *gam*, to go), on the other hand, is used to indicate the reverse direction ; as such *ā-gam* means to return or to come.

The prefix *prati* is even a stronger representative of this double motion. Whenever it is used, it indicates counter-movement. Each *pakṣa* implies a possible *prati-pakṣa*. *Praty-akṣam* is accordingly a significant term for sense perception. Its literal meaning is going towards to, or backwards from, the eye and thus it depicts the influence from the object into the subject and *vice versa.*

The same ambiguity, or even contradictoriness, of meaning can be observed in simple nouns or verbs. *Varṇa* means colour and sound, i. e. it indicates the visible or audible product of the sense (eye or ear). Similarly, *khyā* is : to see or to say. This vagueness of meaning is extended beyond the mere verbs of sense perception. *Kṣi* means : to rule and to destory. *Hā* is : to attain and to give up. Either these latter verbs indicate different stages of a process or a general ambiguity of meaning. Other words show the last consequence of fundamental neutrality of meaning in indicating even contradictory functions. *Ṛj* means :

to move and to stand still. *Abhva*, lit. which has no *bhava*, no empirical being, means accordingly nothing or immense (cf. the above mentioned *śūna* and *śūnya*). As in the sphere of the Finite also in the realm of the Infinite reverse motion is assumed. *Nabha* is the absence, or the matrix, of all numbers.

Heraclitus is for the later Westerner who has limited himself by his rigid reasoning " Skoteinos, " obscure or unsystematic. In the light of comparison with the productive tradition of Indian thought we appreciate the richness and promise, i. e. the elasticity, of mind of this original and fertile thinker.

THREE HEADED ANIMALS IN MOHENJO DARO

BY

H. HERAS

On a few seals found in Mohenjo Daro, instead of the usual symbolic animal, which may represent one of the tribes into which the proto-Indians were divided, there is the representation of a three-headed animal. Thus in one of them we see the animal with the heads of a bull, an unicorn and an ibex. (fig. 1).[1] The bull's head is placed low as in the attitude of eating grass. The Unicorn's head is the middle one and appears as it were the proper head of the animal. Finally, the ibex's head springs from the union between the neck and back of the animal and turns backwards. We have called this head, the head of an ibex because the horns appear to be the horns of this Himālayan goat. Yet we must say that the horns are turned forward, which is not the ordinary position of the horns of the ibex. Moreover, its head itself might not be recognised as the head of an ibex by a zoologist.

The representation of this animal is also found on another seal[2] with inscription above, about which we shall speak below.

On another seal[3] (fig. 2) the three heads seem to belong to the same animal but for the horns. The lowermost head has two horns which might be the horns of a bull, while the upper two heads once more have the horns of an ibex, the middle one having the horns turned forward and the uppermost head having them turned in the natural backward direction. Otherwise, the position of the heads is the same as in the preceding case, though the lowermost head is perhaps still more bent towards the ground than in the other case.

Amongst the seals described as Hittite, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, there is again a seal (fig. 3) showing a

[1] Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo Daro*, II, Pl. XCVI, No. 494.

[2] Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo Daro*, Pl. LXXXIII, No. 24.

[3] Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, Pl. CXII, No. 382.

double-headed animal, one being the head of a bull which appears as the natural head of the animal, and the other head rising over the neck and turned backwards in the same position as the uppermost head in the preceding two cases. This second head apparently is the head of a ram, its horns being represented in the characteristic wavy shape of the rams in the Mohenjo Daro representations[1] and also in Egyptian carvings and paintings.[2]

What was the meaning of these three-headed animals of Mohenjo Daro, and incidentally of the two-headed animal of the Hittites?

The reading of the inscription which accompanies the first three-headed animal described above made me advance a theory about the nature of these quaint representations, embodied in the two following questions: "Is the monster having three heads a symbol of the divine triad of the Mohenjo Daro Religion?[3] Are these three animals the *Vāhanas* of the 'three great gods'?[4] The doubt expressed when proposing this theory is not yet fully removed after nearly three years since I wrote those lines. Yet I readily acknowledge the possibility of the theory owing to the following arguments.

Though among the objects discovered in the Indus Valley there is no representation of any god standing or seated on any animal as a *Vāhana* or in any way connected with any, yet it seems likely that the idea of ascribing a *Vāhana* to each god must come from the very early proto-Indian period. In point of fact we find a number of gods represented on animal *Vāhanas* in Sumer (and consequently in Babylon and Assyria), among the Hittites and among the Phœnicians. In other Mediterranean nations we come across certain animals associated with some definite gods though not actually represented as *vehicles* of the

[1] Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, Pl. IV, No. 101. (Oxford, 1920).

[2] Cf. for instance, Wallis-Budge, *From Fetish to God*, pp. 14, 76 and *passim*.

[3] Cf. Heras, "The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions" *Journal of the University of Bombay*, V, pp. 15–17.

[4] Heras, "Further Excavations at Mohenjo Daro" *The New Review*, Vol. IX, p. 75.

FIG. 1



FIG. 2



382

FIG. 3



101

FIG. 4

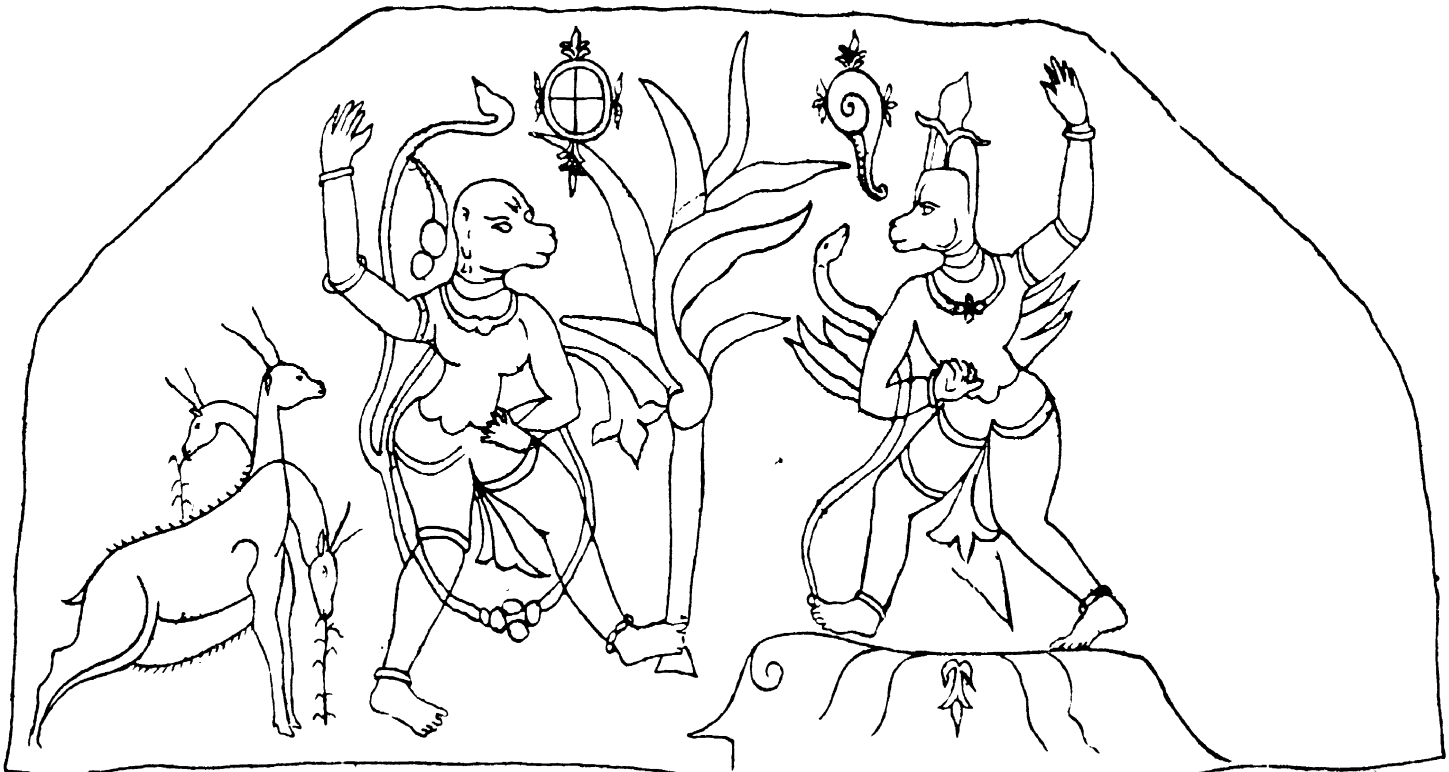


FIG. 5



By kind permission of the Director of **Archæology**, H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions.

FIG. 6



latter. But the most interesting circumstance of this custom is that a number of these vehicles perfectly correspond in some cases to the Indian *vāhanas* and their respective gods.

In Sumer, for instance, the God Enlil, who has taken the place of the Supreme deity, is intimately associated with the ram, in whose zodiacal house he is supposed to dwell. [1]

In Egypt, the god Amon-Rā, who is the first deity of the triad of Thebes, is often represented with the head of a ram [2] or simply as a ram. [3] Similarly the goddess She-Khet, who is the Mother Goddess in another Egyptian triad, is shown with the head of a lioness.

On the large rock of Iasily-Kaya, near the Hittite capital, the first god of the Triad, *Istanu*, corresponding to the proto-Indian Āṇ, is shown next to a ram. In front of him, the Mother Goddess *Amā* is represented standing on a lioness which is walking over mountains, a perfect equation of the future mother goddess of India, *Pārvati* whose *vāhana* is a lioness. [4]

A Phœnician cylinder seal shows likewise the first god Āṇ with a trident-like thunderbolt, standing on a humped bull which reminds us of Śiva's Nandi while the mother goddess is once more shown represented on mountains. [5]

In Syria and Phrygia the main god, later called by the Romans Jupiter-Dolichunus is always represented standing on a bull. On the coins of Hierapolis he is shown seated on a throne flanked by two bulls, while the mother goddess is to his left on a similar throne flanked by two lions. [6]

Among the seals discovered in the palace of Minos in Crete, there are several representations of the Mother Goddess associated with the lion. Yet we shall only refer to one on which she is shown on the top of mountains next to which are two lions with

1 Radau, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to God Nin-ib*, pp. 34-35.

2 Shorter, *The Egyptian Gods*, p. 126.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 11 and 140.

4 Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, Pl. XXIV.

5 Delaporte, *Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux de la Bibliothique Nationale* No. 251.

6 Garstang, *op. cit.*, p. 304, fig. 43.

their paws on the mountains so as to have their heads on the same level as the feet of the goddess.[1]

This persistent tradition of the *vāhanas* of some of these gods agreeing in some cases if not all, with the *vāhanas* of the corresponding divinities of the later Indian Pantheon, seems to imply that they existed already in India before the migrations of the Mediterranean branches of the nation. If that were so, we might perhaps suggest that the bull of the three-headed monster under study was the *vāhana* of Āṇ, the future Śiva; the ibex was the *vāhana* of Āṇil, the proto-type of Subrahmaṇya in India and of Enlil in Sumer. The remaining head of a unicorn would thus correspond to the *vāhana* of Amā, the future Umā-Pārvatī. The fact that these last two vāhanas were exchanged for a peacock and a lioness, respectively seems to go against our theory.[2] Yet we must remember that a lioness or a lion appears already in connection with the Mother Goddess in other Mediterranean nations and that Zeus-Jupiter is associated with a bird, viz. an eagle. This eagle as well as Subrahmaṇya's peacock might be the final development of another bird of early times. This bird was very likely a cock which was Subrahmaṇya's first *vāhana*[3]. In point of fact we also find an eagle as the *vāhana* of another God in the historic period of India, viz., Garuḍa as the *vāhana* of Viṣṇu who though being a Vedic god is not shown associated with this *vāhana* in the Ṛgveda.

As regards the other three-headed animal, we do not find a plausible explanation of its three heads, nor have the two signs carved on that seal any apparent relation to the figure. Was it perhaps the representation of a sort of a demon or evil spirit? Good spirits are represented in the Mohenjo Daro seals with combined human and animal forms.[4] In the same way, we find good spirits represented in Sumer, Elam and among the Hittites and Minoans. The combination of animal forms only seems to be something more uncanny and consequently suggesting evil. In

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[1] Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, p. 809; IV, p. 608, cf. *Ibid*, I, p. 505.

[2] As regards the unicorn it is doubtful whether it really existed in the Zoological kingdom at any time. Yet since the animal is generally supposed to be a sort of a monster in the full historical period this might have been the reason why the lioness, a real and well-known animal finally substituted the mythical unicorn.

[3] Sivaraja Pillai, *Chronology of the Early Tamils*, p. 203.

[4] Marshall, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXL., Nos. 356-357.

point of fact in later Hindu iconography *rākṣasas* or devils are very often represented as an ugly combination of animal forms.

In this connection we may refer to two very interesting representations which we have lately discovered in Raichur, in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions.

One is a square block of granite which belonged to an early building, now kept in the premises of the State Guest House, round the central fountain in the garden. This block has a three headed monster sculptured on one of its faces.[1] This relief as all the other reliefs found in this garden, has unfortunately been tarred, perhaps for its preservation, but certainly with very bad effect as regards its aesthetic appearance. One of the effects of tarring was the difficulty of obtaining a good photograph of it; because a black surface placed under the shadow of some bushes did not reflect any rays to impress a photographic film. Finally, one of my companions thought of a successful device. He obtained a mirror from the servant of the Guest House by means of which the reflected light was thrown upon the block sculpture thus obtaining a pretty decent photographic reproduction which is published herewith.[2]

The representation found on this block of granite is one thoroughly parallel to that of the third Mohenjo Daro seal studied above. It is a quadruped with three heads, apparently belonging to a ram; the horns are very long and straight. The three heads are placed in absolutely the same position as the heads of the Mohenjo Daro monster, one bent towards the ground, the middle one in its natural normal position and the third one springing up from the latter's neck and turned backwards. The parallelism of the three heads in their respective poses is indeed very striking. The only difference between this and the seals being that the latter had heads of at least two different animals while in this case all the heads belong to the same zoological species. The fact that the block of stone is now separated from the building for which it was destined, does not unfortunately allow us to advance any theory about the meaning of this monster.

[1] Fig. 4.

[2] Unfortunately, the lowermost head of the monster did not fully come within the range of the camera. Fig. 4.

The other representation of a similar monster discovered at Raichur may give us some clue as regards its significance. It is found on a beautiful graffito on a flat stone probably of basalt which had undoubtedly belonged to an old Hindu temple of the 12th or 13th century, as the garland hanging round the neck of Hanumān shown in the graffito discloses. This very interesting Archaeological specimen is now embedded in the wall of the central square of the Navrang Darwāzā, under the arches, of the lower Raichur Fort. When I saw this graffito for the first time in December 1937, it was very clear and distinct but unfortunately I had not then a camera with me. When I wrote about it to the Archaeological Department of the state, they officially replied that they had no photograph of this monument among the department records. Last December, before proceeding to the Hyderabad Oriental Conference, I proceeded to Raichur with a party of my research students in order to obtain a good photograph of it. The wall where the graffito is embedded had in the meantime been whitewashed and a portion of the graffito was covered with white-washing. With a wet handkerchief and with great care we removed all the white-washing from over the graffito and three of my research students competed in the difficult enterprise of taking a photograph of that blackish stone in that shady spot. The competition was won by Mr. L. B. Keny, The photograph obtained by him is published herewith (fig. 5), but since it is still dark as it reproduces the blackness of the stone itself, he has supplied me with a beautiful enlarged drawing made by his friend Mr. Narayan Śiva, which will enable our readers to appreciate the beauty of this unique graffito. (fig. 6).

In the central portion of it, a plant which pseudo-botanists might perhaps classify as a banana or plantain tree, rises between the *Cakra* and *Śaṅkha*, two symbols which might suggest that the stone had belonged to a Vaiṣṇava temple. To the left of the tree, one sees the image of Hanumān, the great wonder-working *vānara* of the Rāmāyaṇa, with lifted tail and in an exultant mood. His left foot is lifted from the ground and his right hand is raised above the level of his head in a dancing pose. On the side of the central plant there is another figure in a somewhat similar pose. His left hand is raised as the right one of Hanumān is, and his left foot is being lifted from the ground, its heel act-

ually being raised. The whole figure stands on a hill or a mountain, the top of which is flat. The identification of this figure is somewhat puzzling. A pair of wings appears from behind his back one on each side and a snake is entwined in his right arm, its head being on a level with his face. These two circumstances seem to suggest that the image may represent *Garuḍa*, the eagle of Viṣṇu supposed to be the lord and annihilator of snakes. Yet, the repsesentation of the face of this personage is against such an identification. His face is the face of a monkey not very different from that of Hanumān. He wears a peculiar head-dress bearing a sort of a crutch from the middle of which a pointed leaf majestically rises. Nevertheless it is interesting to note that his monkey tail does not appear. The final identification of this personage may be obtained after having identified the whole scene.

After Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma's brother, was mortally wounded in front of the walls of Laṅkā, the courageous Hanumān flew to the Kiṣkindhā forest to bring the herb named *Viśalyakaraṇī* (destroyer of diseases) from the Gandhamādana, following the advice of the physician *Suṣeṇa*, after the medical examination of the patient.[1] It is well-known how Hanumān, instead of wasting time in search for the herb, himself not being an expert in its knowledge, detatched the whole top of the mountain and flew back with it to Laṅkā.[2] On reaching Laṅkā, Suṣeṇa spotted the herb without difficulty and crushed it with a stone so that its smell would revive the dying hero.[3]

The graffito under study seems to represent this last touching scene. Hanumān appears exultant over his having found the required remedy. Suṣeṇa, the great physician, climbs to the top of the monutain as the text itself states.[4] This is graphically represented in the scene under study. The herb itself not yet smashed rises between both *vānaras*.

A serious objection, nevertheless, may be proposed against this identification of Suṣeṇa. He certainly looks like a monkey.

[1] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ch. 82, Vv. 28-58. (References given here, are to the Bengali recension of the poem).

[2] *Ibid*, Ch. 83, Vv. 21-42.

[3] *Ibid*, Vv. 53-55.

[4] *Ibid*, V. 52.

His head-gear suggests princely rank as befits the Father-in-law of Sugrīva, the vānara chief.[1] But he has wings and is associated with snakes. I cannot explain satisfactorily this extraordinary iconographical development unless the designer was to adapt these two elements to the famous physician, which were poetically described as characteristics of Hanumān in his flight to the Kiṣkindhā forest. He is said to have flown like the wind whose son he was supposed to be, for which he would naturally require wings. And the movement of his hands resembled coiling snakes.

After having identified this scene so beautifully depicted in this graffito, we may now study the figure that appears behind Hanumān. It is a three-headed monster totally similar to that carved on the other Raichur stone described above, but of much more delicate design. The three heads of the animal have horns of the same kind as the other and the position of the three heads is the same but for the fact that the lowermost head is much more bent towards the ground and is actually eating the herb. This seems also to be what the third head rising from the base of the neck of the middle one, is doing. The animal in this case looks like a deer, rather than any other animal. Its anatomical perfection and gracefulness of design reveals a first class artist. What is the meaning of this three headed monster in the scene described above?

In the course of the battle relentlessly fought round the walls of Laṅkā, after the rising of Lakṣmaṇa owing to the smell of the salutiferous herb brought by Hanumān, a colossal fight ensues between the latter and a son of Rāvaṇa, called Triśira, because of his three heads.[2] He is now generally represented as a three-headed man. But we suspect that in ancient times when it was supposed, following the Purāṇic tradition that Laṅkā was a kingdom of Rākṣasas or demons, the ancient sculptor, following the old artistic tradition of representing demons in the shape of monstrous animals, depicted Triśira as a three headed animal. Therefore this three-headed and graceful deer, in spite of its attractiveness and aesthetic appeal, may probably represent the

Ibid, Ch. 82, V. 113.
Rāmāyaṇa, Ch. 50, Vv. 29-42.

monstrously described son of Rāvaṇa, waiting for the engagement with the *vānara* hero soon after Lakṣmaṇa's recovery.

The popularity achieved by this monstrous son of Rāvaṇa, which the local tradition of Trichanapally, associated with the ancient name of the city, Triśira–pally, may perhaps strengthen our view concerning the identification of this figure.

If our identification of this three-headed monster is correct, we have in this figure a confirmation of this suspicion that the three-headed monsters of Mohenjo Daro, or at least some of them may be the representations of demons or evil spirits. In any case the two three-headed monsters found at Raichur are a magnificent proof of the continuation of the artistic traditions of the proto-Indians of the Indus valley, in the historic period of Hindusthan. We must admit that behind this continuous artistic tradition there must be a continuons ideal which though perhaps not in agreement with the above explanation given by us, is a portion of the inheritance of that race which permeates historical India.

THE HOME OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

BY

S. A. JOGLEKAR

The question of the home of the Sātavāhanas has engaged the attention of scholars for a considerable time and they are not nearer the solution of the problem than they were when the Sātavāhanas were assigned to the Āndhra-deśa, ostensibly in accordance with the statement to that effect in the Purāṇas. It was at one time believed that this theory was tottering as a result of recent investigations of several scholars [1]; but that position no longer holds good. Several attempts have been made, of late, to connect them with the Āndhra-deśa [2]. In the latest work on the subject, [3] Mr. Gopalachari still clings to the shreds of a tattered theory and fondly believes that Āndhra-deśa was the land of the birth of the Sātavāhanas, who, as fortune hunters, passed into the service of the Mauryas and so moved up to western Deccan, where Simuka started his career of conquest. This makes a fresh study and a renewed attack on the old theory necessary.

While identifying the Sātavāhana kings of Mahārāṣṭra with the Telugu speaking Āndhras and placing them about the mouths of the Godāvarī, Dr. Bhandarkar has not put forth any reasoning. Bhandarkar, Rapson and Smith built up the theory of the eastern origin of the Āndhras and in course of time it fossilized into an orthodox dogma. Dr. Barnett, in the body of his chapter on the Early History of the Sātavāhanas, states that their home, then as now, was included in modern Telingana [4]; in the foot-note, however, he states that one is tempted to

[1] V. S. Bakhle, "Sātavāhanas & Contemporary Ksatrapas". *J. B. B. R. A. S.* Vol. III, p. 49.

[2] Aravamuthan, in "Kaveri the Maukharies and the Sangama Age", tries to identify the Sātavāhana king with Nurruvar Kannar or the Hundred Aryan kings of the Silappadikaram.

[3] Mr. Gopalachari, *Early History of the Āndhra Country,* pp. 9 and 27.

[4] *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I, p. 599.

connect the Satiyaputas with the Sātavāhanas and suggests that if this identification is right, it would seem that the Sātakarṇis were originally a tribe living outside the borders of the Āndhra country, perhaps to the west of it, who about a generation after Aśoka made themselves masters of the Āndhra-deśa and played in it the part of the Normans in England. Mr. P. T. Shrinivas Aiyanger, was the first to attack the theory [1]. He has shown the utter worthlessness of the data upon which reliance was placed by Smith. The conclusions arrived at by him are that the Āndhra power extended from the west to the east, down the Godāvarī valley, that Āndhra was first a tribal name, then the name of a dynasty and thereafter the name of a language. Dr. Sukthankar's spirited attack had almost levelled the orthodox theory to the ground. [2] Mr. Bakhle also does not accept the old theory ; but unlike Dr. Sukthankar, he does not put forth any fresh theory about the original home of the Sātavāhanas. I believe that the Sātavāhanas can more conveniently be placed in the region about the source of the Godāvarī than about the mouths of the river ; and that a convincing reason can also be assigned for the Āndhra label that they were given.

The earlier kings of the dynasty do not appear to have had any connection whatever with the Āndhra-deśa. Their earliest inscriptions and coins as well are found only in Mahārāṣṭra The alphabet in which their inscriptions are inscribed is north-Indian and the language is proto-Mahārāṣṭrī. Their coins are of the Malwa fabric [3], the legends are in Brāhmī and on their reverse appears the well-known Ujjain symbol. Their bow and arrow coins are found only in the Kolhapur region. Āndhra coinage is northern and western in its affinities and has nothing in common with the peculiar coinage of south India [4]. In their own inscriptions they do not refer to themselves as belonging either to the Āndhra-deśa or to the Āndhra-jāti. Tradition and inscriptions connect them with Pratiṣṭhāna and Nasik the cultural centres of ancient Mahārāṣṭra. Prakrit (Mahārāṣṭrī) authorship

1 *Ind Ant.*, 1913, p. 276.

2 B. O. R. I. *Annals*, Vol. I, pp. 21-42.

3 Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty* etc., p. xcii.

4 Smith, Z. D. M. G., 1903, p. 607.

is ascribed to one of them and for intimate conversation in their harems, where one would be expected to use his mother-tongue only, they are said to have used Prakrit. Their relatives were the Mahārathis, chieftains of ancient Mahārāṣṭra. Neither in Mahārāṣṭra nor in the Āndhra-deśa prevail any traditions of Āndhra invasion or conquest. Outside the bare statement in the Purāṇas, therefore, that after the Kāṇvas the land will be ruled by the Āndhras or by the Āndhra-jātīyas, and the correlation of the names of the kings named as Āndhras with the names of the kings in the Sātavāhana dynasty, there is nothing to connect the earlier Sātavāhanas with the Āndrha-deśa. Later Sātavāhanas, no doubt, were pressed to the south and in the country which later on came to be known as the Āndhra-deśa: but that is no reason why the dynasty itself should be labelled as Āndhra.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 18) speaks of the Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas, as people living in the south, beyond the borders (udāntyaḥ) of the Āryan settlements. Of these five non-Āryan (dasyu) tribes, the Puṇḍras are placed in the Dakṣiṇāpatha by the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. Dr. Bimala Churn Law is inclined [1] to place them in the east, because the town Puṇḍravardhana, to which extended the southern boundary of the Madhya-deśa and Magadha [2] is situated in Bengal, in the Bogrā District. We do not know if the founders of the town were the Puṇḍras of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. If they had been so civilised a people, the expelling of the progeny of his fifty sons by Viśvāmitra into the Puṇḍra country would not have amounted to a curse. It may be that in later times the Puṇḍras of the Vindhyan region were pressed to the east, became civilised and were included in Buddhist legend. Bāṇa, in his Kādambarī, places the Śabaras in the Vindhyas. Ptolemy places the Pulindas along the Narmadā. Their capital Pulinda-nagara has been placed to the south-east of Daśārṇa. [3] The five tribes have thus to be placed along or to the south of the Vindhyas and in Western Deccan. There is thus no reason to go as far east as the mouths of the Godāvarī for the placement of the Āndhras during

[1] *Geographical Essays*, Vol. I, p. 154.

[2] Divyāvadāna, pp. 21-2.

[3] Prof. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 79.

the age of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The next reference to the peoples of the Deccan is by Pāṇini. According to him, the southernmost Āryan settlements were Kacchas, Avanti, Kosala, Karūśa and Kaliṅga. His reference to Kosala is to the Kosala of the south, better known as Dakṣiṇa-or Mahā-Kosala. It was bounded on the north by Magadha and on the south by Kaliṅga. Along the Vindhyādri it extended up to Burhanpur on the west and to Chattisgad on the east. Karūśa was situated on the back of the Vindhyas. Kalinga corresponded to the Northern Circars.[1] The Northern Circars included the Districts of Ganjam, Vizagapattan, Godāvarī, Krishnā and Guntur[2]. The territory now known as Āndhra-deśa was thus included in Kaliṅga, and it appears, that the country now known as the Āndhra-deśa was not a separate entity in the age of Pāṇini. If the Sātavāhana kings had belonged to Kaliṅga, they should have written their inscriptions in their own alphabet; that the Kaliṅgas had an independent alphabet is borne out by the statement in the Lalita-Vistara[3] that the Bodhistava had mastered the alphabet of Kaliṅga.

The earliest epigraphic reference to the people of the Mahārāṣṭra is in the rock edicts of Aśoka. He sent his religious ministers for propaganda and philanthropic activities in the land of the Rastikas, Āndhras, Pulindas, Petenikas and in the Aparānta. According to the statements in these edicts, the Bhojas, Āndhras, Petenikas and Palindas were, it may be inferred, included within the sphere of influence of the Mauryas; but nothing is said therein about the location of these tribes. In the edicts, the Petenikas have been associated with the Bhojas and the Satiyaputas. The Satiyaputas have been identified by Dr. Bhandarkar with families in Mahārāṣtra bearing the surname Satpute. This theory has not been very favourably received. Dr. Barnett suggests their identification with the Sātavāhanas themselves. The Rastikas (Rāṣṭrikas) are the majority tribe of Mahārāṣṭra that have given their name to their mother-country. The Petenikas were the residents of the Godāvarī valley in the territory around Pai-

Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 6.
Thurston, *The Madras Presidency*, p. 11.
Lalita-vistara, p. 125-6.

than. Aparānta has been conclusively identified with northern Koṅkoṇ. The Petenikas are associated with the Rastikas and also with the Bhojas. I am inclined to believe that the Rathis were the residents of the Bhīmā valley, which, in ancient times, was called the Bhīma-Rathī.[1] The Bhojas are associated with Berars and also with western Mahārāṣṭra. Pargiter associates the Kunti-Bhoja territory with Mahārāṣṭra. Inscriptions referring to the Mahā-Bhojas have so far been found only at Bedsa and Kuda; and those referring to the Mahā-Rathis at Bedsa and Nana-Ghat. It appears that the Rathis began to call themselves Mahā-Rathis after they became more powerful than they were in the age of Aśoka; and that thereafter the new style was adopted by the Bhojas. The major tribes of Mahārāṣṭra have thus been mentioned by the Aśokan edicts and this lends support to the view that on account of this association the Āndhras may definitely be placed in Mahārāṣṭra. The next historical reference to a king of this dynasty is in the Hāthi-gumpha inscription, wherein Khāravela, the king of Kaliṅga, claims to have sent his army westward, as far as the Kanha-beṇṇa, disregarding the power of the Sātakarṇi, "the protector of the west," and ravaged the city of Mūṣika and forced the Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojas to fall at his feet. Khāravela, does not refer to Sātakarṇi as an Āndhra, and even according to Gopalchari, this conclusively proves that the earlier Sātavāhanas had no connection with the Āndhra-deśa in the third and second century B. C., though he vitiates his statement by mentioning the Āndhra-deśa as the land of their birth. Even Rudra-dāman, the Mahā-Kṣatrapa, does not refer to the Sātakarṇi king as an Āndhra, though he was closely related to this dynasty and claims to have twice defeated the Lord of the Dakṣiṇāpatha. In his Sudarśana Lake inscription he has given a list of his conquests and we can see therefrom that he does not appear to have advanced further south than the Koṅkaṇ. It appears therefore that till the time of Rudra-dāman the Sātakarṇis do not appear to have received the Āndhra label.

Pliny, in his Natural History describes the Dachinabades (Dakṣiṇāpatha) as extending from Barygaza (Broach) along the coast. Periplus mentions Paithana and Calliena (Kalyāna)

[1] Vāyu-Purāṇa, 45-103.

as the two principal market towns of the Dakṣiṇāpatha. Pliny refers to the Sātavāhanas as Rex Andrarum and the Pentingerian Tables speak of Andra Indi. Classical authors thus appear to have been the first to call them Andrœs. Megasthenes mentions Āndhras and the Kaliṅgas as separate powers and gives details of their military power. According to Lassen, when Megasthenes gives such particulars, he means to say that they were independent powers. Dr. Thomas accepts this inference with caution, though he says that the inference is undeniably valid as regards the kingdoms south of the Vindhyas.[1] It does not appear reasonable to expect that two so powerful kingdoms could have flourished in the narrow region between the mouths of the Krishṇā and the Godāvarī.[2]

A point worthy of note is that the Purāṇas have referred to the Sātavāhanas as belonging to the Āndhra-jāti and not as specifically belonging to the Āndhra-deśa. According to the scheme of the Manu-Saṁhitā regarding the genesis of castes, the Āndhras are the descendants of a Vaideha father and a Karavarī mother. A Vaideha is a descendant of a Vaiśya father and Brāhmaṇī mother. A Karavara is a dsscendant of a Niśāda father and a Vaidehī mother. A Niśāda is a descendant of a Brāhmaṇa father and a Śūdra mother. The Niśādas lived by killing fish. The Karavaras lived by working in leather. The Vaidehas were "touchables" and their profession was the service of women. The Āndhras dwelt outside the villages and their profession was the killing of wild animals[3]. The Manu-Saṁhitā classification may not be accepted as reasonable or probable; and all that it leads to is only this, that at the time of this classification the Āndhras ranked very low in the Brāhmanical hierarchy. The traditional account of the origin of the Sātavāhanas also states that the founder of the family was

[1] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 473.

[2] According to Megasthenes the king of Kaliṅga had a guard of 60,000 foot soldiers, 1000 horsemen and 700 elephants; while according to Pliny the Āndhra army consisted of 100,000 foot soldiers, 2000 horsemen and 1000 elephants.

[3] Dinesh Chandra Sircar, "The Āndhras and their Position in Brāhmanical Society." *I. H. Q.* Vol. XVI, No. 3.

of an impure origin. He was born of the incest of a Brāhmaṇa virgin with a Nāga prince, while she lived in exile at the house of a potter of Pratiṣṭhāna. Later on, the word Sātavāhana appears to have acquired the meaning Jāraja-Santati. [1]

Dr. Sukthankar's theory of the Sātavāhani-Āhara (in the modern Bellary District) being the original habitat of the Sātavāhanas is untenable, in view of the fact that the records of the earlier kings of the dynasty are not found in that tract. The solitary inscription found here is the record of the last king of the dynasty. It is likely that the territory was named or renamed by the dying dynasty in its last spasms. Many tracts in India were so renamed by the Muslims, expecting that they were laying the foundations of eternity. If only the empire of the Marathas had been nipped in the bud when Rajaram retreated before the Muslim hordes as far south as Jinjee and had rotted in the far south, he would have degenerated into a feudatory chieftain in the land of his exile and would very probably have renamed the territory around Jinjee as Marāṭhāvādā, and that would not have proved the far southern origin of the far famed but short lived Maratha dynasty.

These facts have been given and this resume has been taken in order to appreciate the conclusion that we must look for the early habitat of the Sātavāhanas in the regions around the Karle Bedsa area ; or in the Nanaghat-Junnar area; or in the neighbourhood of Nasik ; in the regions of their earliest inscriptions. Karle seems to be the southernmost limit of Nahapāna's dominions. In this region, his power is commemorated in one inscription only.[2] It is likely that the Kṣaharāta power received its first set back in this regin. In those days Junnar was an important place. Though there are about 150 caves and about 32 inscriptions in the caves around Junnar, there is only one inscription connected with Kṣaharāta power. [3] In the Nanaghat caves there are no Kṣaharāta inscriptions. These caves however contain one of the most important of the earlier Sātavāhana inscriptions and more

1 Pandit Baldeo Prasad Misra, *Nepālakā Itihāsa* (Hindi), p. 78.
2 Inscription No. 13, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII, Part 3, Page 461.
3 Inscription No. 3. Ibid., Page 167.

important still, their statues[1], in the Hall of Ancestors (*pratimā-gṛha*). The most important Kṣaharāta and Sātavāhana inscriptions appear in the caves at Nasik. It seems that it was in the Nasik region that the final battle was fought between the Kṣaharātas and the Sātavāhanas, in which the former were extirpated. The Kṣaharātas thus appear to have been pressed up from Karle to Nasik, via Junnar. That they were exterminated by the Āndhra-Sātavāhanas is common ground. We must therefore look for the original habitat of the Sātavāhanas around Karle.

I believe that the Āndhras were so called, not because they belonged to the territoy now known as the Āndhra-deśa, but because they belonged to the Āndhra Valley in the Poona District and that they were Mahārāṣṭriyans.

The Āndhra river has been described in the Gazetteer[2] as follows :- " The Āndhra rises in the Sahyādris near the Sālve pass, about 2250 feet above the sea. Its source is at the head of a broad valley which runs west to the crest of a scarp whose base is in the Konkan. It flows south-east along a bed 100 to 150 feet below the cultivated land, through one of the openest valleys in the District, for 18 miles and joins the Indrāyaṇi on its north bank near the village of Rajapuri. " Rajapuri is at a distance of about 8 miles from Karle and is about 2 miles to the north of Wadgaon and Talegaon Dabhade. The valley is included in the Maval Taluka of the Poona District. The Āndhra Valley was one of the Mavals of Mahārāṣṭra and was called the Andar Maval ; together with the Nane Maval and Pavan Maval, the Andar Maval used to be controlled from Lohagad fort,[3] in the Kārle-Bhājā region. It is well known that the best and hardiest soldiers of Mahārāṣṭra used to be recruited from the Mavals. Andar is obviously a corruption of Āndhra.

People deriving their tribal names from the valleys of the rivers in which they resided are many. The Daśārṇas lived in the valley of the Daśārṇa river ; the Śatadrus in the valley of the

1 Ibid., p. 220 f.

2 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII, Part I, Page 8.

3 Rajvade, *Marāthyānchyā Itihāsāchī Sādhane* (Marathi), Vol. IV, p. 78 f.

Śatadru, modern Sutlej. The Rathis belonged to the valley of the Bhīma-Rathī. The Sārasvatas lived in the valley of the Sarasvatī. The Hindus were so called by the Persians because they resided in the valley of the Indus; the Behistan inscription refers to the river Indus as the river Hindu (= Sendhu). Instances can be multiplied by a reference to the map of ancient India.

The connection between the Āndhras and the Āndhra Valley does not stop here. There is a village named Vadale, near Chakan in the Khed Taluka of the Poona District. It is at a distance of about 10 miles from Rajapuri and very near the Āndhra Valley. Here dwells a family of Marathas who bear the surname of Āndhre, (Andrœ of the classical authors?). Very near this village, at Bhamchandra Mahadeo are very old Buddhist caves.[1] Members of this family are found in the Poona District also. I am inclined to connect them with the imperial family of the Āndhras. I believe that the Sātavāhanas were called Āndhras, because they belonged to the Āndhra Valley. If the reading-Mahārathi Ganaka Yiro-in the Nana-Ghat Devakula is correct and if its meaning-Champion and Saviour of the Marathas[2] is correct, the placing of this statue in the Hall of the Ancestors of the Sātavāhanas, would be further proof of the Maratha origin of the dynasty.

It appears that the Āndhras organised a new nation by the unification of the Āndhras, the Mahā-rathis, the Mahā-Bhojas, the Petenikas, the Pulindas, the Puṇḍras, the Śabaras, the Mūtibas the Aparāntas and other tribes. It appears to me that it was on account of this new organisation that Mahārāṣṭra came to be called Nava-Rāṣṭra[3] and that therefore, the Sātavāhanas began to call themselves Nava-Nara-Svāmis.[4] Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji has translated Nava-Nara-Svāmi in Inscription No. 3 in the

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[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII, Part 3, p. 440.

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII, Part 3, Page. 221.

[3] The Matsya Purāṇa uses the word Nava-Rāṣṭra to indicate Mahārāṣṭra (114-47). Also see A. P. Karmarkar, "Boundaries of Ancient Mahārāṣṭra and Karnātaka". *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XIV, p. 779.

[4] Inscription No. 3 in the Pāndu Lenā Caves, p. 15.

Pāndu Lenā Caves as "the new lord." A more appropriate translation would be "the Lord of the New Nation, Mahārāṣṭra."

It would thus be clear that the foundation of Sātavāhana power by the Āndhras was not the case of fortune hunters carving out a kingdom for themselves by conquests in a foreign land but that of the leaders of a revolutionary movement overthrowing and extirpating foreign domination. The foreign Kṣaharātas tried to obtain acquiescence to their rule in Mahārāṣṭra by large donations and by construction and maintenance of charitable and public works. Under Sātavāhana leadership the people saw the futility of it all and organised themselves into a new and powerful nation. That is why the Sātavāhanas enjoyed such high repute amongst the kings of ancient India. The esteem in which they are held in Mahārāṣṭra is unique, and this is so, not because Siri Sātakarṇi was an Āndhra who conquered Mahārāṣṭra but because he was a true leader of the independence loving peoples of Mahārāṣṭra, who under his rule enjoyed for the first time, the fruits of freedom and prosperity. Rāya Simuka and Siri Sātakaṇi may well be compared with Raja Shahāji and Chatrapati Shivāji.

The Āndhras appear to have moved along the Āndhra valley into the plains and towards the Karle–Bedsa area; and then crossed the Sahyādris into the Konkan and Aparānta and moved to Kanheri, which appears to have developed as a religious centre under Kṛṣṇa, the second king of the dynasty; under Siri Sātakaṇi they seem to have reached Junnar through the Nana–Ghat and there–after swooped upon Nasik, and became the masters of the Dakṣiṇāpatha.

THE MEANING OF 'ĀCĀRYĀḤ'

BY

P. V. KANE

In several works inspired by a study of the Artha-śāstra of Kauṭilya the views put forward as those of the *ācāryas* are supposed to have been held by the teacher of Kauṭilya himself. For instance, Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar in his recent work 'Rājadharma' states on p. 91 'Kauṭilya cites the views of his teacher to whom he shows reverence in Hindu style by referring to him not by name, but by the word ācārya in the honorific plural as many as thirty-nine times [1] and each citation is for the purpose of dissenting from the teacher's views.' It is proposed in this article to examine the correctness of his opinion by reference to the usage of writers and works earlier and later than Kauṭilya.

The word 'ācārya' is derived by the Apastambadharmasūtra [2] (I. 1. 1. 13 and 15) as 'ācārya is he from whom he (the pupil) gathers the (knowledge) of religious duties; he (as if) gives birth to him (the pupil) through (the transmission of) Vedic learning'. Gautama (Dharmasūtra I. 10-11) states 'He is the ācārya who performs the upanayana of a pupil and teaches him the Veda'. Manu II. 140, Vasiṣṭha II. 4 and III. 21, define ācārya in similar terms. Therefore the first meaning of the word ācārya is 'teacher of the Veda' (in the case of a pupil).

Another sense arose from this meaning of the word. The founder of a Śāstra or any great teacher of any Śāstra is called ācārya by subsequent writers. For example, Patañjali [3] when dealing with the two vārtikas 'bhave' and 'proktādayaśca taddhitāḥ' states that the ācārya (meaning Pāṇini) first com-

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[1] Kauṭilya cites the 'ācāryas' at least 54 times and not *39 times* only.

[2] यस्माद्धर्मानाचिनोति स आचार्यः । स हि विद्यास्तं जनयति । आप. ध. I. 1. 1. 13 and 15; तद्यस्मात्स आचार्यः । वेदानुवचनाच्च । गौ. I. 10-11.

[3] पुरस्तादिदमाचार्येण दृष्टं भवे ताद्धित इति तत्पठितम् । तत उत्तरकालमिदं दृष्टं प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिता इति तदपि पठितम् । न चेदानीमाचार्याः सूत्राणि कृत्वा निवर्तयन्ति । महाभाष्य (ed. by Kielhorn vol. I, p. 12.) Similar words occur in several places e. g. vol. III, p. 393.

posed the sūtra 'tatra bhavaḥ' (IV. 3. 53) and then composed the sūtra 'tena proktam' (IV. 3. 101) and that ācāryas after first composing individual sūtras do not give them up. On the vārtika 'siddhe śabdārtha-sambandhe', Patañjali [1] speaks of the vārtikakāra as 'ācārya'. There are numerous places in the Mahābhāṣya where the epithet 'ācārya' is applied to Pāṇini or to the Vārtikakāra according to the exigencies of the discussion (e. g. vol. I. p. 481, vol. II. p. 163, II. 349, 359 for its application to the Vārtikakāra). Neither Pāṇini nor Kātyāyana is deemed by any one to be the teacher of Patañjali.

Śabara in his bhāṣya on Jaimini III. 4. 13 states the view of the ācārya that [2] "the base and the termination together convey the sense of the termination and further that the ācāryas lay down in such sūtras as 'kartari śap' (Pāṇini III. 1. 68) that the termination denotes the agent or the object." Here the word ācārya is applied to Patañjali and the same word (in the plural) is applied to Pāṇini. In the same context a little later on Pāṇini is styled Sūtrakāra and Patañjali simply 'ācārya.'

Some passages from very ancient works where the word 'ācāryāḥ' occurs may now be profitably set out. The Aitareya-Āraṇyaka (III. 2. 6) states [3] that the ācāryas held that 'these *Saṁhitās* should not be imparted to one who is not a pupil, nor to one who does not stay (with the teacher) for a year, nor to one who may not or will not himself be an expounder,' Here by the word 'ācāryāḥ' Sāyaṇa does not understand the direct teacher of him, whoever he may be, that had the revelation of the Āraṇyaka, but 'great men who are endowed with the qualities of an ācārya.' Similar rules about imparting some esoteric lore occur elsewhere also (without 'ācāryāḥ' being added).

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[1] माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौधस्य मङ्गलार्थं सिद्धशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 7

[2] प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ प्रत्ययार्थं सह ब्रूत इत्याचार्योपदेशात् कर्ता शब्दार्थः कर्म चेत्यवगम्यते । कर्तरि शप् कर्मणि यगिति प्रत्ययार्थं कर्तारं कर्म च समामनन्त्याचार्याः । तस्माच्छब्दार्थः कर्ता कर्म चेति । उच्यते । नाचार्यवचनात्सूत्रकारवचनाद्वा शब्दार्थो भवति । प्रत्ययादसौ गम्यते । शबरभाष्य on जैमिनि III. 4. 13. The words प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ ... ब्रूतः occur in the Mahābhāṣya on vārtika 2 on Pāṇini III. 1. 67 (महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 58). That Śabara refers to passages of the Mahābhāṣya in several places will be shown in another paper.

[3] ता एताः संहिता नानन्तेवासिने प्रब्रूयान्नासंवत्सरवासिने नाप्रवक्त्र इत्याचार्याः । ऐतरेयारण्यक III. 2. 6 ; compare बृह. उप. VI. 3. 12 एतं नापुत्राय वानन्तेवासिने वा ब्रूयात्.

In the Nirukta there is a discussion[1] about **Vaiśvānara** 'Then who is Vaiśvānara? The ācāryas say that he is the (fire) in the intermediate regions, since (the vedic sage) praises him on account of his action of sending down rain. The ancient Yājñikas hold that Vaiśvānara is the Sun and Śākapūṇi holds that he is this (terrestrial) fire only.' Yāska does not state his own view, but as Śākapūṇi's opinion is placed last he most probably approved of that view. It is well-known that Yāska names numerous predecessors and also quotes the views of several schools of Vedic exegesis such as the Nairuktas, Naidānas, Vaiyākaraṇas, Aitihāsikas. It is very natural to hold that Yāska refers to his predecessors on the subject by the word 'ācāryāḥ.' The two commentators Durga and Maheśvara support this view.

The Hārīta Dharmasūtra[2] as quoted by Aparārka (p. 221) states " a man should therefore be pure and should take a proper (requisite) and limited quantity of food. The ācāryas say 'purity of mind results when there is purity in the food taken.' " The words quoted as voicing the view of the ācāryas are found in the Chāndogya-upaniṣad VII. 26.2. Therefore it follows that Hārīta is quoting the view of the inspired teachers of the Upaniṣads and it is impossible to hold that he is stating the view of his own teacher only.

In the discussion about *āśramas* the Gautama-dharmasūtra (III. 36)[3] states 'But the ācāryas prescribe one āśrama only, because the order of householders is explicitly enjoined (in the Vedas).' Haradatta explains the word 'ācāryāḥ' as 'all teachers.' Maskarin also holds that the word 'ācāryāḥ' means 'Some teachers.' The same sūtra occurs in the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra (II. 6.29). If by 'ācāryāḥ' the writer's own teacher is meant, then we shall have to suppose that the teachers of both Gautama and Baudhāyana held the view mentioned or that

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[1] तत्को वैश्वानरो मध्यम इत्याचार्या वर्ष कर्मणा ह्येनं स्तौति ... अथासावादित्य इति पूर्वे याज्ञिकाः । ... अयमेवाग्निर्वैश्वानर इति शाकपूणिः । निरुक्त VII. 22-23.

[2] हारीतः । ... तस्माच्छुचिर्यथार्थपरिमिताहारः स्यात् । आहारशुद्धौ सत्त्वशुद्धिरित्याचार्याः । अपरार्क p. 221.

[3] ऐकाश्रम्यं त्वाचार्याः प्रत्यक्षविधानाद्गार्हस्थ्यस्य । गौतम III. 35 ; ऐकाश्रम्यं त्वाचार्या अप्रजनत्वादितरेषाम् । बौ. ध. सू. II. 6. 29 ; वैखानसस्योक्त्वा इदानीमेकीयमतेनाश्रमबाधपक्षं वक्तुकाम आह । ऐका० । गार्हस्थ्यमेवाचार्या इच्छन्ति । मस्करिभाष्य on गौतम. The words अप्रजनत्वादितरेषाम् occur in गौतम III. 3.

both had the same teacher. It is possible that Baudhāyana borrows Gautama's words. Even in that case it is not probable that Baudhāyana would have borrowed that sūtra if in his opinion it embodied merely the view of one single and so far obscure teacher of Gautama. But if in Baudhāyana's opinion 'ācāryāḥ' meant 'some or many predecessors' he may naturally quote the very words of Gautama. In another place Gautama[1] (IV. 18) states the view of ācāryas that the descendants of anuloma marriages 'reach another varṇa owing to the superiority or inferiority (of the male or female in each generation) in the 7th or 5th generation.' Here also Maskarin understands that it is the view of some ācāryas (and not of the teacher of Gautama) that is referred to.

It is well-known that Pāṇini mentions by name at least ten predecessors viz. Āpiśali, Kāśyapa, Gārgya, Gālava, Cākravarmaṇa, Bhāradvāja, Śākaṭāyana, Śākalya, Senaka, Sphoṭāyana. He also refers to eastern and northern grammarians and in two places to 'ācāryas' (VII. 3. 49, VIII. 4. 52). It is often said by the commentators[2] of Pāṇini that the individual authors are named only to show respect (pūjārtham) and not for the purpose of showing dissent from their views. No commentator says that by 'ācāryāṇām' Pāṇini refers to his own teacher. The sūtra 'dīrghādācāryāṇām' (VIII. 4. 52) comes after two sūtras expressly mentioning Śākaṭāyana and Śākalya. Therefore it is reasonable to suppose that by the word 'ācāryāṇām' Pāṇini refers to some teachers other than the two expressly named. The Kāśikā comments 'dīrghād-uttarasya ācāryāṇām matena na dvitvam bhavati.' It does not say that the word is employed in the plural to show respect and its way of commenting shows that the sūtra refers to the view of some ācāryas. On 'dīrghādācāryāṇām' the Nyāsa states that the word 'ācāryāṇām' is mentioned 'pūjārtham.' Granting that it is so, it does not follow that it is the teacher of Pāṇini that is referred to. If by the word 'ācāryāṇam' Pāṇini

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[1] वर्णान्तरगमनमुत्कर्षापकर्षाभ्यां सप्तमे पञ्चमे वाचार्याः । गौतम IV. 18 ; पञ्चमेनैव युगपारिवर्तनेन वर्णान्तरगमनं भवतीति केचिदाचार्या वर्णयन्ति । मस्करिभाष्य. For detailed explanation, vide History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. II, part I, pp. 62–64.

[2] Even Pātañjali on Pāṇini I. 2. 25 (तृषिमृषिकृशेः काश्यपस्य) states that Kāśyapa is mentioned for showing respect 'काश्यपग्रहणं किमर्थम् । काश्यपग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । वेत्येव हि वर्तते ।' महाभाष्य vol. I, p. 201.

refers to his teacher and that too 'pūjārtham,' there is no adequate reason why the teacher should be referred to only twice among thousands of sūtras, particularly when some predecessors life Śākalya (I, 1. 1. 16, VI. 1. 127, VIII. 3. 19, VIII. 4. 51) and Śākaṭāyana (III. 4. 111, VIII. 3, 18. VIII. 4. 50) are named three or four times. Therefore it must be held that Pāṇini refers to his predecessors generally by the word 'ācāryāṇām.'

The Śāntiparva (59) describes how Brahmā composed a vast work on the four *puruṣārthas* and states that the ācāryas speak of four vices arising from *kāma* viz., hunting, gambling, drinking wine and women, which were proclaimed by Brahmā in his work.[1] Here it is impossible to hold that ācāryāḥ refers to the teacher of the author of the Mahābhārata. Manu (VII. 50) speaks of the same four vices.

The Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana is a work that, though some centuries later than the Kauṭilīya, is quite similar in style, method and outlook to the Kauṭilīya. Vātsyāyana informs us that several ācāryas like Cārāyaṇa, Suvarṇanābha, Gonardīya wrote on individual topics of the Kāmaśāstra, that the latter as a complete śāstra had become well-nigh lost, that he put into a small compass all the topics dealt with in works on distinct topics like those of Dattaka and in the comprehensive work of Bābhravya and composed the Kāmasūtra.[2] It is important to note that he refers to eight predecessors (mentioned in I. 1. 10-17) as ācāryas (I. 1. 18) and names no teacher from whom he learnt the Kāmaśāstra. The Kāmasūtra several times states the views of ācāryas and dissents from them. For example, the view of ācāryas was that as sexual desire was observed even in lower animals and as it is a constant tendency, no useful purpose is served by propounding a śāstra dealing with sexual desire. Vātsyāyana dissents from this view.[3] Here, as the com. Jaya-

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[1] मृगयाक्षास्तथा पानं स्त्रियश्च भरतर्षभ ।
कामजान्याहुराचार्याः प्रोक्तानीह स्वयम्भुवा ॥ शान्तिपर्व 59. 60
vide also प्रागेवोक्तस्तु दोषोयमाचार्यैर्नृपसेविनाम् । शान्ति० 82. 23

[2] एवं बहुभिराचार्यैस्तच्छास्त्रं खण्डशः प्रणीतमुत्सन्नकल्पमभूत् । तत्र दत्तकादिभिः प्रणीतानां शास्त्रावयवानामेकदेशत्वात्, महदिति च बाभ्रवीयस्य दुरध्येयत्वात् संक्षिप्य सर्वमर्थमल्पेन ग्रन्थेन कामसूत्रमिदं प्रणीतम् । कामसूत्र I. 1. 18-19 (ed. in Kashi S. Series).

[3] तिर्यग्योनिष्वपि तु स्वयं प्रवृत्तत्वात्कामस्य नित्यत्वाच्च न शास्त्रेण कृत्यमस्तीत्याचार्याः । ... सा चोपायप्रतिपत्तिः कामसूत्रादिति वात्स्यायनः । कामसूत्र I. 2. 21 and 23.

maṅgalā rightly explains, the word 'ācāryāḥ' refers to great teachers on dharma, artha and mokṣa. It is impossible to hold that 'ācāryāḥ' here at least contains a reference to Vātsyāyana's own teacher on Kāmaśāstra, who, if one really existed, could not have told his disciple that the śāstra the latter was going to study was purposeless. Another view of the ācāryas [1] viz., that as women have no adhikāra nor ability (or opportunity) for the study of śāstra, no purpose is served by giving directions in this śāstra that are meant exclusively for women, is controverted by Vātsyāyana. Here also ācāryāḥ can hardly stand for his own teacher. In Kāmasūtra II. 1. 70 he employs the word 'ācāryāḥ' to convey the view of all writers on Erotics. [2]

Another example may be cited from a much later but famous writer. Varāha-mihira (6th century A. D.) tells us, in the last chapter of his Bṛhat-jātaka, that he learnt astrology from his father (verse 9), that he received knowledge from the Sun, the sages (like Vasiṣṭha) and his father and then does obeisance to former expounders (verse 10). In his Bṛhatsaṁhitā (105. 6) he has the same verse as Bṛhat-jātaka 28. 10 and asserts that in composing his śāstra he has not discarded the works of former ācāryas. In the Bṛhatsaṁhitā (chap. V) Varāhamihira refutes the view of those who hold that Rāhu is the cause of eclipses, states in a concise manner the real cause of solar and lunar eclipses (V. 8) and remarks that the ācāryas that had a divine perception thus declared the real cause of eclipses and that śāstra states the real truth to be that Rāhu is not the cause of eclipses. [3] We find from the Āryabhaṭīya (Golapāda 37), the Sūrya-siddhānta IV. 6 and other works more ancient than Varāhamihira that they give the same explanation of eclipses as Varāha does. The words 'śāstra-sadbhāva' and 'divyadṛgbhir-ācāryaiḥ' cannot refer to his teacher of Jyotiṣa who was his father Ādityadāsa and in whose name no śāstra has come down to us and who has never been mentioned by any known commentator as an author.

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[1] योषितां शास्त्रग्रहणस्याभावादनर्थकमिह शास्त्रे स्त्रीशासनमित्याचार्याः । प्रयोगग्रहणं त्वासां प्रयोगस्य च शास्त्रपूर्वकत्वादिति वात्स्यायनः । कामसूत्र I. 3. 4–5.

[2] प्राप्नुवन्त्याशु ताः प्रीतिमित्याचार्या व्यवस्थिताः ॥ कामसूत्र II. 1. 70; 'सर्वेषामेतदेव मतमव्यभिचारित्वात् ।' जयमङ्गला

[3] एवमुपरागकारणमुक्तमिदं दिव्यदृग्भिराचार्यैः । राहुरकारणमस्मिन्नित्युक्तः शास्त्रसद्भावः । बृहत्संहिता V. 13

It is not necessary to multiply examples of the use of the word 'ācāryāḥ' from medieval and later writers.

A few striking passages where the views of ācāryas are combated by Kauṭilya may now be examined. Kauṭilya remarks[1] (I. 4). "The ācāryas say 'The king desirous of maintaining the orderly government of the world should always have the rod of punishment ready : there is no such means of bringing beings under control as *daṇḍa.*' Kauṭilya's view is that this is not so. Since one whose rod of punishment is severe causes beings to turn away from him &c. The words of Manu VII. 102 (first pāda) are the same as the first part of the passage quoting the views of the ācāryas. Therefore here Kauṭilya is animadverting against the views now represented by Manu, and not merely the views of his own teacher.

In another place Kauṭilya (III. 7)[2] starts a very important topic. "The ācāryas hold that (the child of) seed sown in the wife of another belongs to the owner of the field. Others say 'the mother is like bellows; the child belongs to him from whose seed the child is born; Kauṭilya holds that it belongs to both." This subject exercised the minds of writers centuries before Kauṭilya. Gautama (18. 9–13) mentions all the three views. Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 6 expressly says that according to a Brāhmaṇa text the son belongs to him from whose seed he is born. The same three views are found in Manu IX. 50–53 and Vasiṣṭha XVII. 6–8, while Yāj. II. 127 holds the same view as Kauṭilya does. The Ādiparva 104 (6) states that one view was that the child of niyoga belonged to the husband. Vide History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. II. part I p. 605. Śaṅkha-Likhita state that according to the Vedic view the child belongs to him who is the owner of the wife, that according to Āṅgirasa the child belongs to him

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[1] तस्माल्लोकयात्रार्थी नित्य**मुद्यतदण्डः स्यात्** । न ह्येवंविधं वशोपनयनमस्ति भूतानां यथा दण्ड इत्याचार्याः । नेति कौटिल्यः । तीक्ष्णदण्डो हि भूतानामुद्वेजनीयः । मृदुदण्डः परिभूयते । यथार्हदण्डः पूज्यः । कौटिल्य I. 4 ; compare मनु. VII. 102–103 ; **नित्यमुद्यतदण्डः** स्यान्नित्यं विवृतपौरुषः। ...... **नित्यमुद्यतदण्डस्य कृत्स्नमुद्विजते** जगत् । Almost the same verses occur in शान्तिपर्व 140. 7–8.

[2] परपरिग्रहे बीजमुत्सृष्टं क्षेत्रिण इत्याचार्याः । माता भस्त्रा यस्य रेतस्तस्यापत्यमित्यपरे । विद्यमानमुभयमिति कौटिल्यः । अर्थशास्त्र III. 7; compare आदिपर्व 74. 110 **भस्त्रा माता** पितुः पुत्रो येन जातः स एव सः । ... रेतोधाः पुत्र उन्नयति नरदेव यमक्षयात् । ...; vide also आदिपर्व 95. 30-31.

who had married the woman with Vedic mantras and that according to Uśanas it belongs to both if it is produced on the wife of another with the mutual agreement of the husband and the person appointed. [1] We know from the Kauṭilīya that among the schools on Politics there were two viz. the Bārhaspatya and the Auśanasa. Śaṅkha-Likhita probably refer to the works of Bṛhaspati and Uśanas in the above passage. The very fact that Kauṭilya employs the word 'apare' with regard to the 2nd view leads irresistibly to the conclusion that in 'ācaryāḥ' he refers to the view of 'eke' and not to that of his teacher. If it is once accepted that in the above two passages 'ācāryāḥ' does not refer to the teacher of Kauṭilya, then it will have to be presumed, until the contrary is proved, that Kauṭilya must have followed a uniform practice and in all other places he employs the word in the sense of 'some teachers.' The other numerous places where the views of ācāryas are cited and controverted cannot be discussed here for limitations of space. There is a further argument. It is somewhat difficult to understand why, if Kauṭilya employs the plural 'ācāryāḥ' to show veneration for his teacher, he should have so many times, so vehemently and emphatically dissented from that honoured teacher, while he expresses dissent from seven predecessors only once and from others, only a few times. Later writers whenever they have to differ from the views of their father or teacher use very mild and halting expressions e. g. vide Nīlakaṇṭha in his Śrāddha-mayūkha (quoted in my Introduction to the text of the Vyavahāra-mayūkha p. XXXVII. n. 1.). [2]

The foregoing discussion, it is hoped, establishes that 'ācāryāḥ' in Kauṭilya should not be taken as referring to the author's teacher, but to previous great writers, since the usage of ancient writers and the traditional interpretation of such eminent commentators, as Durga, Haradatta, Maskarin, Sāyaṇa and others, is quite clear on the point.

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[1] नियतं क्षेत्रिणामपत्यामीति वेदवादः ... । शङ्खलिखितौ quoted in विवादरत्नाकर p. 581; 'मन्त्रसंस्कारकर्तुरपत्यमित्याङ्गिरसो बीजिक्षेत्रिकयोरनुमते तद्बीजं प्रकीर्यते तद् द्विधा शस्यमित्युशनाः। शङ्खलिखितौ quoted in विवादरत्नाकर p. 537.

[2] अत्र कुलद्वयेपि चोच्छिन्ने स्त्रीभिः कार्या नृपक्रिया इति वाक्ये स्त्रीग्रहणं भार्यापरमित्यभिप्रेत्य मातुलाद्यभावे आसुरादिविवाहोढा क्रियाकारिणीति तातचरणाः। प्रमाणं त्वत्र न जाने ।

SOME NUDE GODS IN HINDU PANTHEON

(Their Proto-Indian origin and Development)

BY

A. P. KARMARKAR

The problem of the nude Gods in Hindu pantheon is at once of immense and absorbing interest. The recent discoveries made at the various sites of Mohenjo Daro, Chanhu Daro, and Harappa, have really opened a new avenue of thought in the history of ancient Indian art and architecture. Among other equally important finds, especially, the nude representation, of the various gods and goddesses, either carved on the soap-stone or inscribed on the seals, are of great interest. It should be noted in this connection, that, immediately after this period onwards, down to this day, we do not find the existence of the representations of nude gods on such a large scale. Perhaps, the Āryans, in their act of assimilating these gods into their own pantheon, seem to have added their own refinements, and thus dressed them after their own fashion.

For the present we find that the various figures of Lakulīśa, or those of Śiva in Bengal and Orissa, those of Bāla Kṛṣṇa in the various parts of India, or those of Madanakais (Rati) in the Chennakeśava Temple at Belur, or those of Yakṣis, all these are represented in a nude posture. It is proposed to deal here with the question of the origin of these nude representations, and if possible to find out whether we are in a position to link them with their nude brethren of the proto-Indian times.

I. *Śiva*

In his recent work " Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture," Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has partly dealt with this problem. In the Province of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the tradition of representing Śiva in a nude form is to be found ' whatever the variety may be, whether it is Naṭarāja, Kalyāṇa-sundara, Pārvati-Pariṇaya or Ardha-nārīśvara. ' In fact in the

images of Śiva at Paharpur in Bengal, or of Maheśvara in the representation of Umā-Maheśvara at Chauduar in Orissa, the ūrdhva-liṅga characteristic is prominent.[1] Further as Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar rightly observes, the Gudimallam icon of Lakulīśa in the South, or any image of Lakulīśa in other parts of India, is always represented in the above fashion.

In our opinion, the idea of the representation of the various forms of Śiva in an ūrdhva-liṅga posture was not at all new to the Indian pantheon in the post-Mohenjo Daro period, and it was of common vogue even long before the advent of the Aryans in India. The various images of Āṇ, the proto-type of Śiva, obtaining in the so-called Indus Valley sites are sufficient illustrations to elucidate the point.

Śiva in the Proto-Indian Period

The most interesting representation of the proto-type of Śiva or Āṇ, inscribed on some of the seals of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa is that of the three-faced nude figure, which is described by Marshall as the Paśupati of Mohenjo Daro.[3] As it has been described by Father Heras: 'the god here is seated in a low throne and is surrounded by animals, a buffalo, a rhinoceros, an elephant, tiger, and an ibex. This image is represented in a male form, completely nude in a prominently *ūrdhva-liṅga* posture. His legs are so situated as to have the soles of the feet touching each other. Round his waist there is a zone or ribbon. Hanging from his neck he wears a huge necklace that takes a triangular shape with the point below. Eleven armlets are round his arms; three of them in the wrist, in the elbow and near the shoulder are larger than the rest. His hands rest upon the knees. His face looks emaciated as it befits a Yogi. The front nose is prominent.'[4]

Recently Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[5] and Prof. Nilakanta[6] Sastri contended that the image could be that of Lakulīśa. However, we

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1 A. Ghosh, *I. C.*, Vol. II, p. 766, n. 3.

2 D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, p. 45ff.

3 Marshall, *M. D., and the Indus Civilization* I, 50.

4 Heras, *Plastic Representation of God amongst the Proto-Indians*, Sardesai Com. Volume, pp. 223-4.

5 D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

6 Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. II, p. 22, n. 2.

shall not go into the *pros* and *cons* of the problem as it does not at all affect our main treatment, namely, regarding the nude representation of Gods.

There is another representation of the same God inscribed on one of the seals, wherein he is represented in the same way, though no stool or throne is shown under him. He is nude, but wears the waist-ribbon. He is given a prominent pot-belly. His chest is bare, but arms are also covered with bangles. A trident of a fanciful shape appears above his head.' [1]

Another interesting representation is that of Āṇ [2] (Śiva), which as Father Heras rightly observes, " is wrongly designated by Marshall as ' a female spirit of the tree '. But the figure does not possess any breasts. And as regards the sign of the male sex it may be said, that it is not traceable mostly on account of the fact that the figure is very small and roughly portrayed. " [3]

Further, one of the statues is described by Sir John Marshall as a proto-type of the youthful dancing Śiva. [4] As he rightly observes it, " the figure was ithiophallic since the *Membrum virile* was made in a separate piece. " The twisted representation of the torso and the lifted position of the left leg, as also the head and hands were movable as the holes in the arm and the neck show. [5]

There are also other representations of this nude God. One of the figures is surrounded by the branches and leaves of the Pippal tree ; [6] and another is represented with the Pippal tree forming an arch over the head of the God. [7] Another figure has two devotees seated in a kneeling posture by either side of Āṇ and they are shown to be protected by the Nāgas. [8]

Traces in Vedic and post-Vedic Literature

The fact that all the portraits of Āṇ-Śiva were represented in an ithiophallic fashion in the proto-Indian times becomes vivid

1 Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 227 ; cf. also Photo. M. D., 1930-31, No. 7997.
2 Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, M. D.
3 Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 233.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 233.
5 *Ibid.*, pp. 232-33.
6 Photo, M. D., 1931-32, Sd. 3089.
7 Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 12, No. 13.
8 Photo, M. D., 1929-30, No. 7991, cf. also, Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

and clear from what is contained in the Vedic literature and the traditions depicted in the Purāṇas and the Epics. The earliest reference made to Śiva in the Ṛg-veda is through the word Śiśna-deva.[1] The word Śiśna-deva has been variously interpreted by Sāyaṇa and other scholars. But, as we have argued it elsewhere, the word could also possibly mean 'a nude God' (the compound being solved as Śiśnayutaḥ devaḥ.[2] Moreover the learned scholarship at the command of the Vedic bards could not have possibly allowed them to use the word in a round-about fashion as meaning 'those (worshippers) who had the phallus as their God.' If at all they wanted to convey the sense of 'worshippers' they would have done so merely by using another word instead. Further, the word Śiśna itself seems to have been derived from the Dravidan word Śunni, which also strongly corroborates our statement from another point of view.

That all the images of Rudra were represented in a nude fashion becomes evident from the fact that he is always referred to as nude e.g. *nagna, ūrdhva-liṅga,*[3] in both the epics and the Purāṇas. The Brahmāṇḍa and some other Purāṇas make the matter still more clear, whilst describing the progeny of Rudra. The version of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa is as follows:[4]

Brahmā is said to have asked Rudra to procreate. Thereupon Rudra did it conjointly with Satī. The description of his progeny is given as follows:

(निर्ममे) नाधिकान्न च हीनांस्तान्मानसानात्मना समान् ॥
सहस्रं च सहस्राणाममृजत्कृत्तिवाससः ॥ ६९ ॥
तुल्यानेवात्मना सर्वान् रूपतेजोबलश्रुतैः ॥
पिङ्गलान्सानिषङ्गांश्च कपर्दी नीललोहितान् ॥
विशिखान्हीनकेशांश्च दृष्टिघ्नांस्तान्कपालिनः ॥
महारूपान्विरूपांश्च विश्वरूपांश्च रूपिणः ॥ ७१ ॥
रथिनो वर्मिणश्चैव धन्विनोऽथ वरूथिनः ॥
सहस्रशतबाहूंश्च दिव्यभौमान्तरिक्षगान् ॥ ७२ ॥

1 *Ṛgveda*, VII, 21.5; X, 99, 3.

2 Karmarkar, *Fresh and Further Light on the Mohenjo Daro Riddle*, Annals of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Vol. XXI, pp. 115ff.

3 *Mahābhārata*, XIII, 17, 46.

4 *Brahmāṇḍa P. Prathama Pāda*, Adh. 9.

आतमेद्रोग्रकायांश्च शितिकण्ठोग्रमन्युकान् ॥
सानिषङ्गतनुत्रांश्च धन्विनो ह्यासिचर्मिण: ॥ ७४ ॥
नीलग्रीवान्सहस्राक्षान् सर्वांश्चैव क्षमाचरान् ॥
अदृश्यान्सर्वभूतानां महायोगान्महौजस: ॥ ७७ ॥

But Brahmā wanted Rudra to create beings which were subject to death. Therefore he asked Rudra to do the same accordingly. But Rudra refused to do so. It is said, that, thence-forward Rudra did not create beings and stood in an ūrdhva-liṅga posture. The passage goes on :

ऊर्ध्वरेता: स्थित: स्थाणुर्यावदाभूतसंप्लवम् ॥ ८८ ॥
यस्मात्प्रोक्तं स्थितोऽस्मीति तस्मात्स्थाणुर्बुधै: स्मृत: ॥ ८९ ॥

It should, however, be noted in this connection, that the derivation of the word Sthāṇu (as a name of Śiva) in the above passage exactly denotes that the nude images of Śiva were a matter of common occurrence in those days.

Thus all the earlier records and traditions of the country convincingly prove that the earlier representations of Śiva were in a nude posture. The reference made by Patañjali to the images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha,[1] though not a conclusive evidence of their nudity are of immense importance mainly from the point of view, that they must have been the only images in the field then.

Further, the recently discovered copper images at Khajaje (Sumer) indicate how the idea of the nude representation of Aṇ-Śiva also travelled there.[2]

Bālakṛṣṇa

The next contribution of the proto-Indians to the school of sculpture was that of the Ābhīras who were the propagators of the cult of the cowherd boy Kṛṣṇa. Up-till-now the origin of the Ābhīras was being traced by a batch of scholars to some foreign land. But the various traditions mentioned in the Purāṇas and other allied literature prove that they formed one of the proto-Dravidian tribes.

The word Ābhīra is now current in the form of Āhir or Ahēr (-Gavalis). The word at once suggests itself of a Dravidian

[1] *Patañjali* on Pāṇini, V. 3. 39.

[2] Heras, 'The Plastic Representation of God etc.,' *Sardesai Com. Volume*, Figs. 3 and 4 opp. p. 224.

origin. In fact it seems to have been derived from the Dravidian 'Āyir', which means a 'cow-herd.' That the tribe of 'cows' or 'cowherds' existed in ancient India becomes clear from the fact that the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers to Vaśāḥ [1], which word, however, has been wrongly interpreted as being equivalent to Vatsa or Vaṁsa. The word 'Vaśā' [2] in early Vedic literature meant generally a 'cow' though it acquired the sense of 'a barren cow' in later times. We herewith adduce some of the other grounds on which we have based our main conclusion :

1 That the Ābhīras were the same as the Gopas or Ballavas of Mathurā becomes evident from the fact that the Padma Purāṇa relates that Viṣṇu informed the Ābhīras : 'I shall be born amongst you, O Ābhīras, at Mathurā in my eighth birth.' [3] The same Purāna mentions that the Ābhīras were great philosophers also. [4]

2 That the origin of Kṛṣṇa, the cowherd king of Mathurā, was non-Āryan becomes evident if we accept the most shrewdly logical argument put forth by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in regard to the interpretation of a Ṛgvedic passage. According to him, the word Kṛṣṇa referred to in the expression *Kṛṣṇa-drapsaḥ* in the Ṛgveda, denotes the very same Kṛṣṇa in the later literature. Accordingly, he mentions that, the Ṛgveda refers to the fight between Indra and Kṛṣṇa thus : 'Kṛṣṇa is said to have arrived with his army to the Aṁśumatī or Jumnā and encamped himself there. Thereupon Indra addressed himself to the Maruts' "I have seen Kṛṣṇa swiftly moving on the uneven banks of Aṁśumatī like a cloud touching the water. Heroes, I send ye forth, go and fight the godless legion (adevyāḥ viśaḥ)." [5]

3 That Kṛṣṇa was a hater of the Brahmanic faith becomes evident from a passage in the Harivaṁśa. Therein Kṛṣṇa is described to have said, 'Brāhmans perform Yajñas of Hymns, peasants Yajñas of plough-share. We are for the Yajña of the mountain. I shall surely cause the worship of cows through force (if need be)." [6]

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1 *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 14.3.

2 Cf. Vedic Index, Vol. II ; under Vaśā.

3 *Padma Purāṇa* 5, *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*, 17, 19.

4 *Ibid.*, 17, 1.

5 Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, p. 82 ; cf. *Ṛgveda*, VIII, 85. 13-15.

6 *Ibid.*

4 Added to this, the Harivaṁśa throws a wonderful light on the ancestry of Kṛṣṇa. It describes that Yadu was born of Haryaśva and Madhumatī, who happened to be the daughter of Madhu Rākṣasa, king of Mathurā. Madhu says that all the surrounding territory (round-about Mathurā) consists mainly of the Ābhīras (Ābhīra-prāya). Later it is said that all the races of the Andhakas, Vṛṣṇis, etc. belonged to this race of Yadu.[1] If this be so, it is evident that Kṛṣṇa belonged to a race which was mostly the race of the Ābhīras.

5 Further, the Mahābhārata describes that the Ābhīras formed one of the seven republics (Saṁśaptaka gaṇas), and were the friends of the Matsyas, who were a pre-Vedic tribe.[2]

Once the supposition is held as correct, that the Ābhīras were of an indigenous origin and that they were not Āryans, then the whole problem becomes of an easy understanding why the story of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa is adopted in so late a work as the Harivaṁśa. It should never be misunderstood when we say, that it must have taken such a long time for the Āryans or the Aryanised population to adopt or assimilate these traditions into their own fold-it being never so, that these tales, legends, or the religious traditions themselves did not exist since the pre-Vedic times. Like their contemporaries in northern India, the Yādavas incorporated this monotheistic cult of the Ābhīras into their pantheon. Evidently enough, what is presented before us in the form of the Gītā is but a shrewd tale of the Āryan amalgamation of the non-Āryan lore of the Ābhīras into their own philosophic teachings.

Some nude images

A few of the reminiscences of the nude image of Bāla-Kṛṣṇa may be noted in this connection. The Madras Museum possesses two images of the young boy e.g. Navanīta-nṛtta-mūrtis.[3] There are again others e.g. the Vaṭapatra-śāyi Kṛṣṇa, an ivory image from Trivendrum; or the images of Bāla-Kṛṣṇa, holding a lump of butter in one of his hands, and with the help of the other seated in a kneeling posture.[4]

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1 *Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa*, 17.

2 *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, Adh. 32, 10.

3 Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, Pt. I, Pl. facing p. 205.

4 *Ibid*, Pl. facing p. 215.

There is one bronze image of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay. It is the only nude image of its kind so far as I have surveyed. It is an exquisitely modelled representation of the cowherd boy, who is here depicted in a standing posture, with an open jacket on his body. He has an axe of the later Pallava style in his left hand and wears a bunch of leaves as his head-dress.

Kāma and Rati

There are a few images of Rati, designated as Madanakais or Madanagombis used as decorations in the Chennakeśava temple at Belur.[1] These nude representations of Rati, along with the other characteristics of Rati and Kāma, makes us to connect them with the proto-Indian school of art of the Mīnas.

It is a well-known fact that the origin and civilisation of the Mīnas or Matsyas can be traced to the proto-Indian times. The very fact that Sudāsa, one of the heroes of the Ṛg-veda[2] had to fight with the Matsyas is a direct indication of the existence of this tribe at the advent of the Āryans in India. Elsewhere, we have shown that, part of their dominions could be located in the Harappa site also,[3] wherein part of the discoveries in regard to the so-called Indus Valley civilisation are made. Further the whole of the Puranic evidence brings us to one conclusion, namely, that the Mīnas possessed a cult of their own.

The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, while describing the holy places in India, clearly refers to the holy Tīrtha of the Fish-God, as being located in the country of the Matsyas. The Fish-God seems to have been identified with Siva. The Kālikā Purāṇa refers to the Fish-form of God Śiva as having been installed on the Maṇikūṭa Mountain in Assam, by Kāma in his second birth.[4] Again the Skānda Purāṇa speaks of Śiva as 'To Mina, the Lord of Mina (or Minas).'[5] In the same Purāṇa a reference is occasionally made to the three eyed fish.

1 Narasimhachar, *Keśava Temple at Belur*, *Mysore Arch. Series*, Pl. XVI,
2 *Ṛgveda*, VII. 18.
3 Karmarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 115ff.
4 *Kālikā P.* Adh. 82, Vs. 50-52.
5 *Skānda P. Māheśvara Khaṇḍa*, Adh. 17.

Besides the Pāṇḍyas of Madurā and the Matsyas of Oddadi in the historical times are said to have had the Two Fishes as their Lāñcchana.

Wonderfully enough all these facts corroborate with what has been said by Father Heras in connection with the proto-Dravidian tribe of the Mīnas—as read from the inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro and other sites. [1]

Kāma: the Fish-bannered God

Thus if the Fish or the Fish-banner possessed a sanctity of their own since the proto-Indian times, then it is just possible that the idea of a fish-bannered God must have arisen in the land of those people who held it as sacred. Kāma is described as fish-bannered (*Matsya-dhvaja* or *Mīna-ketana*).[2] Moreover, Kāma has a certain connection with Śiva, so far as he was destroyed by Śiva for directing the darts of love against him—only to be revived to life again. The part played by him in the Atharvaveda is too well-known to the student of Vedic literature. Further the story of Pradyumna as having come out from the womb of the fish is also interesting in this connection.

Thus, is it impossible for the proto-Indians, who have shown such a keen sense in the field of aesthetics, to have promoted the cult of the Love-God also?

Fusion into Aryanism

On the advent of the Aryans in India a sudden turn, however, seems to have been given to the cultural traditions of the proto-Indians. But the process of assimilation on the other hand was rather gradual. First of all they kept Āṇ at a distance, then accepted him in their pantheon and offerred him a share in the sacrifice. They seem to have followed the same procedure in the case of other religious and social traditions of the country. But while doing so they went on adding their own innovations to all these. Thus in the case of the nude gods they instituted the

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[1] Heras, *Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People acc. to Inscriptions, Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. V, Pt. V, pp. 1–29.

[2] Kāma is also designated as *Makaradhvaja*—would it do here if we take it that the word *Makara* is used to denote a big fish?

system of dress as they did it in the case of the institution of Saṁnyāsa. All the Dravidian Yatis mostly used to remain nude. But when the system was adopted by the Aryans, they introduced dress at least on many occasions which procedure was followed later on by the Great Buddha in the case of his Bhikkus.

Besides the few illustrations cited above, we find that the whole field is vast indeed! There are the nude images of females on the ring stones, or of Apsarasas, Yakṣīs and others. Moreover the whole of the Jaina iconography may form another fruitful source of information in this connection. However, we hereby leave the problem open both to the archaeologist and the historian for further investigation.

POST-SCRIPT

The recent excavations made at Rair, Jaipur State, have supplied us with very interesting data in this connection. Some of the coins obtaining therein represent the images of three persons, who are all nude and standing (Pls. xxviii, and xxx). Further there are many representations of Śiva and Pārvatī, who are almost always depicted nude (cf. Puri, *Excavations at Rair*, Department of Archaeology, Jaipur State).

BHŪPĀLAVALLABHA : THE WORK, ITS AUTHOR AND DATE

BY

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The *Bhūpālavallabha* (lit. the King's Favourite) is an interesting metrical work of considerable volume on Jyautiṣa especially on its Phala (Astrology) branch as supplemented by Svaraśāstra or the science of omens based on a consideration of the passage, of the air through the nostrils. The work has probably not yet [1] been put to print and is still known to scholars mainly through a few Mss thereof deposited in some public and private libraries of the country or through citations therefrom in the works of subsequent authors.

The Manuscripts Library (Prācya-Grantha-Saṁgraha) of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, has stocked two copies of this work bearing Accession Nos. 4386[2] and 239[3] respectively. Of these, Accession No. 4386 is an original Ms consisting of 171 folios of straw paper of the size 11 × 4¾ inches with a margin of about an inch left on the four sides of each page of the folios. Each page with the exceptions of the opening and the concluding pages which are mostly blank bears about eight lines on the average, with about 38 letters on each line. The margins note the title of the work and folio Nos. on the second page of each folio and a few corrections and emendations here and there. The script is Devanāgarī, the letters अ, झ, ण, etc. being of the Hindi type. The ink used is dark-black for the main matter and red for sectional headings and colophons, border lines etc. The handwriting is tolerably good but grossly incorrect at several places. There are also a few lacunas in the Ms which is decayed, moth-eaten and torn at some places. Two folios, viz. those bearing the

1 My information in this respect is derived mainly from the published four volumes of the *British Museum Catalogue* of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit Books which do not go beyond the year 1928.

2 *Catalogue of Oriental Mss.*, Part II (Ujjain, 1941), p. 47, Serial No. 1060.

3 *Ibid*, Part I (Ujjain, 1936), p. 52, Serial No. 1371.

figures 129 and 130, are missing. The scribe's concluding metrical colophon reads as follows:—[1]

" विक्रमार्काद्गते काले भूवसुमुनिभूमिते ।
मार्गशीर्षे सिते पक्षे नवम्यां गीर्पतौ दिने ॥ १ ॥
स्थाने पिप्पलिकाभिधे नृपवरः श्रीव्याघ्रजिद्राजते
विद्यादानविवेकधीर्गुणनिधिः सन्मानदाने विधिः ।
तस्यायं नृपवल्लभेति प्रथितो ग्रन्थः शुभो लिख्यते
लच्छीरामद्विजेन सन्मतियुजा भूदेवधीपुष्टये ॥ २ ॥

श्रीश्रीशिवाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमः सच्चिदानन्दरूपिणे परमशिवाय ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥'

The title-page (Folio 1ª) as well as the concluding page (Folio 171ᵇ) reads

" भूपालवल्लभस्य पुस्तकं ॥ महाराजश्रीसगतावतबाघजीकस्य ॥पत्र १७१ "

Thus the Ms was completed on Thursday the ninth day of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa in the year 1781 of the Vikrama era, i. e. about December 1724 A. C., by a Brāhmaṇa scribe named Lacchīrāma for his royal patron Vyāghrajit alias Bāghjī Mahārāja who belonged to the Saktāvat[2] line of Sisodia Rajputs and ruled at Pippalikā.[3] The Ms is thus about 218 years old.

Accession No. 239 is only a ditto transcript of the above-men-

[1] These and the other passages have been quoted here after correcting the obvious errors of the scribe so far as possible. The first half of Verse 2 of the scribe's colophon has been completely struck off and coated with dark-black ink and could be detected and restored with much difficulty.

[2] For the rise and spread of the Saktāvats who originated from a son of Rāṇā Udai Singh of Mewar, vide Tod: *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I (Madras, 1880), pp. 300ff. Some prominent Saktāvats appear to have migrated during the Mughal and Maratha periods to Malwa where their descendants are residing and enjoying big estates even to this day. Vide Raghubir Sinh: *Malwa in Transition* (Bombay, 1936), p. 50, Brown: *Gwalior Today* (Bombay, 1940), pp. 224 etc.

[3] I have not yet been able to identify this prince Bāghji who is possibly not identical with Bagh Mal who, as agent of the Maharana of Udaipur, was called upon by the Moghul governor of Malwa in 1702 for an explanation regarding the Maharana's alleged connection with Gopal Singh's rebellion. Vide *Malwa in Transition*, p. 50. Pippalikā may be identical with Piplia, a small jagir now held by Khichi Chauhan Rajputs, in the Ujjain district of Gwalior State. Vide *Gwalior Today*, p. 222.

tioned original Ms made at Ujjain recently in 1933 when the previous owner was not inclined to part with the latter. The only feature worth mentioning of this transcript is that it also contains the matter [1] of the two missing folios of the original Ms which seems to have been intact at the time of the transcription.

The *Bhūpālavallabha*, as already stated above, deals mainly with Phala-jyautiṣa and Svaraśāstra. Naturally we find here treated all the relevant topics, e. g. Tithi, Vāra, Nakṣatra, Yoga, Karaṇa, Māsa, Saṁkrānti, Saṁvatsara, Varṣamantrin, Sasyādhi, Rasādhi, etc.; Rāśis, Grahas, Upagrahas, etc.; Muhūrta, Svara, Omens, etc.; almanac-making, horoscope-reading etc., etc. Yet the predominating feature of the work is that it deals with these and other hosts of topics with special reference to kings, whence the justification of its title. It is not surprising therefore that we find here treated several matters of purely or mainly royal interest. Thus the work, besides dealing from the astrological point of view with the daily routine of a king's career as well as with the daily, periodical or incidental rites that he has to perform, also gives some space to a few items of state politics of by-gone days, e. g., coronation of a king, arms and weapons, equipment of armies, fighting an enemy on battlefield, arrangement of a battlefield, means of victory with or without fighting, mysterious wearing up, killing or eradication of undesirable persons, duels, wrestling, hunting, gambling, water-sports, unearthing of hidden treasures, building of temples, forts and palaces, construction of royal thrones, etc.

In most of these cases the author's treatment is non-secular inasmuch as we are simply told as to how the persons, places, articles etc. concerned are to be equipped and secured mystically or astrologically. It is only in a few places that the author displays slightly his intimacy with the technical side of the topic and in those cases his treatment is of a mixed character. [2] He

[1] Curiously enough, the missing portion of the original Ms dealt with such topics as Māraṇa, Mohana, Stambhana, Uccāṭana, Vaśīkaraṇa, etc.

[2] Some of these passages, though rendered somewhat obscure on account of the scribe's errors, may be cited here by way of illustration. Thus the treatment of the *sword* :—

(*continued on the next page*)

has incidentally also dealt with a number of allied topics of Dharma, Tantra, medicine etc. in relation to kings and palaces. On the whole, the *Bhūpālavallabha* demonstrates chiefly the abnormal influence exercised by mystic sciences on every day move-

(*continued from the previous page*)

" पञ्चाशदङ्गुलं श्रेष्ठं पञ्चविंशतितोऽधमम् । अनयोरन्तरे मध्यं खड्गं प्राहुर्महर्षयः ॥१ ॥ समेऽङ्गुले व्रणश्रेष्ठश्छत्रलिङ्गध्वजाकृतिः । श्रीवृक्षवर्धमानाब्जस्वस्तिकायुधकुण्डलैः ॥ २ ॥ दिव्याः क्रव्यादसरटकबन्धैः कङ्कवृश्चिकैः । समानाकृतयो वंशानुगाश्चार्तिविविस्तृताः ॥ ३ ॥ ह्रस्वं कुण्ठं छिन्नवंशं स्फुटितं विस्वनं जगुः । न दृग्मनोऽनुकूलं च तन्निन्द्यं शुभमन्यथा ॥४॥ क्वणिते मरणं कोशापवर्तनात्पराजयः । ज्वलिते विजयः कोशान्निर्गते स्वयमाजयः ॥ ५ ॥ तत्कारणं विवृणुयान्मूल्यं देशं च नो वदेत् । नेक्षेतास्यं घटयेन्न स्पृशेन्नैवाशुचिर्नरः ॥ ६ ॥ गोजिह्वावंशपत्राब्जकरवीरदलाकृतिः । सूच्यग्रसदृशः श्रेष्ठः स्यादतोऽन्यस्त्वशोभनः ॥ ७ ॥ न छेद्योऽसौ विनिष्पन्नो निकषैः कारयेत्समम् । मूले छिन्ने प्रभोर्मृत्युश्छिन्नेऽग्रे जननीमृतिः ॥ ८ ॥ यदङ्गं स्पृशति स्प्रष्टा खड्गिनोऽस्ति व्रणस्ततः । कोशस्थाप्यस्य खड्गस्य निर्देश्यः शास्त्रतो बुधैः ॥ ९ ॥ शनौ यत्र प्रदेशेऽस्ति व्रणः खड्गेऽपि तत्र तु । वनितानां यथा चक्रे तथा गुह्ये तिथं(?) विदुः ॥ १० ॥ करवीराब्जेभमदकुन्दकुङ्कुमचम्पकैः । घृतैर्गन्धः शुभो नेष्टो मेदोगोमूत्रपङ्कवत् ॥ ११ ॥ वत्सासृक्कच्छपाकारोपमः(?) स्याद्भयदुःखदः । विद्युद्वैदूर्यवर्णाभो वृद्ध्यारोग्यजयप्रदः ॥ १२ ॥ रक्तपानाच्छ्रियः प्राप्तिः शुभाप्तिर्घृतपानतः । जलस्य पानतो वित्तं सिद्धिः स्याद्दुष्टदुग्धतः ॥ १३ ॥ झषपित्तमृगाजाविदुग्धैस्तलयुतैर्दृढः । आर्कं पयो मेषशृङ्गमषीयुतमतः परम् ॥ १४ ॥ पारावताशशकृता खड्गे लेपं प्रकारयेत् । ततस्तैलेन मथितस्तैलपीतो भवेद्दृढः ॥ १५ ॥ रम्भाक्षारे तक्रयुक्ते पायितोऽये दिनोषिते । शितः सम्यक्-कुण्ठतां स न गच्छति शिलास्वपि ॥ १६ ॥ शस्त्राङ्गुलं षट्समेतं सप्तहृच्छेषकोऽधिपः । शस्त्रस्वामिशयोर्वैरं मृत्युकार्यन्यथा शुभम् ॥ १७ ॥ etc." (Folios 70-71) ; of the *bow*:- " ...... यस्यांसौ पतितावुरश्च विततं शिख्यश्रितं मस्तकं पादौ स्थानरतौ त्रिकं विनमितं मुष्टी शुभौ द्वावपि । घ्राणैर्लक्ष्यगता न रिक्तमुदरं पार्ष्णी ऋजू संस्थितौ नासा सायकचुम्बिनी यदि भवेत्प्रायं तदा सौष्ठवम् ॥ २ ॥ सुवृत्तः सुदृढो दीर्घः सुश्लिष्टो गुप्तहीरकः । स्निग्धः श्लक्ष्णश्च मुखरो गुणस्याष्टौ गुणाः स्मृताः ॥ ३ ॥ ... ... शार्वं वाशं दारवीयं तृणराजोद्भवं धनुः । मुष्टिः शुको दश नागा वज्रा भद्रा प्रपूर्विका ॥ ५ ॥ भग्नपृष्ठं तथा वक्रं वलिगोन्नतपर्वकम् । अतिदीर्घाल्पपर्वाणं वर्जयेदिषुमीदृशम् ॥ ६ ॥ etc." (Folio 71) ; of the *elephant*:— " चारुदन्ता विभक्ताङ्गा न स्थूला नैव वा कृशाः । गात्रे वंशैः समा भद्रा वराहजघना गजाः ॥ १ ॥ चतुःश्रवः कंवहस्तं(?) द्विजपादा बृहद्दृशः । हस्तमेण्ढ्राधरकक्षा मृगा मिश्रैस्तु मिश्रकाः ॥ २ ॥ हस्ताः पञ्चोन्नतौ सप्तदैर्घ्येऽष्टौ परिधौ मृगे । द्व्यङ्ग-

(*continued on the next page*)

ments and activities in the Indian palaces of the age. In consonance with the main tone of the work, we find here through and through numerous mystic formulas (mantras) and diagrams (yantras) meant for the use of persons, articles etc. of royal circles in various affairs. The original Ms contains not less than 276 miniature figures, tinged or plain, portraying various Grahas, Rāśis, etc. or embodying mystic numerals etc. to form the said yantras or depicting the topics of description, e. g. the figure of an equipped warrior in the course of the treatment of martial astrology.

The introductory portion of the work reads as follows:—

(Folio 1^bff)

ॐ श्रीपरमशिवाय नमः ॥

प्रणमामि महादेवं भवानीवल्लभं शिवम्।
सुरासुरशिरोरत्ननीराजितपदाम्बुजम् ॥ १ ॥
यद्ध्यानान्मदनायते हृदि पुमांल्लोकत्रयीसुभ्रुवां
यन्नुत्या विबुधावनीपगुरुणा सार्धं जडः स्पर्धते ।
स्वाराज्यप्रतिभूर्यदीयचरणाम्भोजप्रणामो नृणां
तां निःपापविलासिनीं भगवतीं स्वां नौमि योगेश्वरीम् ॥
आशापूर्ण ! नमस्तुभ्यमाशागजमदापह ।
शिरःसिन्दूरविसरसन्ध्यायितनभस्तले ॥ ३ ॥

(*continued from the previous page*)

वृद्ध्या भद्रमन्दौ सङ्कीर्णो नियतभ्रमः ॥ १ ॥ भद्रमन्दमृगादीनां हरित्पीतसिता मदाः । संकीर्णस्य मदश्चित्रो वर्णचिह्नादिकं तथा ॥ ४ ॥ स्निग्धोन्नताग्रदशनाः स्थूलास्या लोहिताधराः । एकरोमभ्यासकूर्मनिभकुम्भोन्नताङ्घ्रयः ॥ ५ ॥ विस्तीर्णनाभिश्रवणहनुगुह्यास्यभालकाः । वृत्तायताक्षिरेखाढ्यकराः सद्गन्धिपुष्कराः ॥ ६ ॥ निम्नचापोत्तुङ्गवंशाः सजलाम्भोदनिःस्वनाः । महदायतवृत्तांसा विंशत्या नखैः शुभाः ॥ ७ ॥ हीनाधिकनखाङ्गत्वे कुब्जाल्पाजविषाणकाः । चित्रनीलासितकचा दृश्याण्डा हीनपुष्कराः ॥ ८ ॥ मत्कुणाः खण्डदशना निर्मदा न शुभा गजाः । गजलक्षणनिर्मुक्तां गर्भिणीं करिणीं त्यजेत् ॥ ९ ॥ दक्षिणे दशने भग्ने भूपदेशबलक्षयः । वामे सुतपुरोधोऽश्वनायकाद्ववरुत्क्षयः ॥ १० ॥ सौम्ये लग्ने तिथौ क्षेमं विपरीते विनाशकृत् । ... ... शिक्षितः कल्पितः शूरः शूरारूढः प्रतापवान् ॥१३॥ एक एव गजो हन्ति षट् सहस्राणि वाजिनाम् । etc." (Folios 73–74).

यत्कटाक्षप्रसादेन दरिद्रोऽपि नृपायते ।
जडोऽपि वाचस्पतितां तं कटाक्षमुनिं नुमः ॥ ४ ॥
ज्योतिःशास्त्राणि संवीक्ष्य शिवोक्तानागमानपि ।
स्वानुभूत्या प्रकुर्वेऽहं शास्त्रं भूपालवल्लभम् ॥ ५ ॥
गणितं संहिता होरा त्रिष्कन्धं ज्योतिषं विदुः ।
स्वरशास्त्रं विना ह्येतान्त्रितयं न विराजते ॥ ६ ॥
सामाद्युपाया दण्डेन पत्तीभरथिनो हयैः ।
कामार्थमोक्षा धर्मेण न शोभन्ते विना यथा ॥ ७ ॥
त्रिस्तनी गौर्यथा निन्द्या त्रिपदं यद्वदासनम् ।
विग्रहीना यथा वर्णास्त्रयः स्कन्धाः स्वरैर्विना ॥ ८ ॥
सर्वत एवात्मानं गोपायेति श्रुतिः प्राह ।
तद्रक्षणं विनैतत्स्वरशास्त्रं स्यात्कथं सुकरम् ॥ ९ ॥
प्रजानां पालनं राज्ञां परमो धर्म इष्यते ।
परानानिर्जित्य कथं स संभावितुमर्हति ॥ १० ॥
सप्ताङ्गानां नृपो मूलं सर्वधर्माभिपालकम् ।
अतः संरक्षिते राज्ञि तत्सर्वं रक्षितं भवेत् ॥ ११ ॥
भोगान्भोक्तुं पराञ्जेतुं समर्थो योऽवितुं महीम् ।
नैतच्छास्त्रं येन दृष्टं स शक्नोति कथं नृपः ॥ १२ ॥
न केवलं स्वरं ज्योतिःशास्त्रं शाकुनकौतुकं ।
मोक्षधर्मार्थकामानां प्रसङ्गेनात्र निर्णयः ॥ १३ ॥
आज्ञासिद्धमिदं शास्त्रं भवान्यै शम्भुनोदितम् ।
कलौ बालावबोधस्य प्रकाशोऽयं मया कृतः ॥ १४ ॥
नैतच्चौराय हिंस्राय स्त्रीगोविप्रहताय च ।
कृतघ्नाय नृपघ्नाय वा देयं पारदारिणे ॥ १५ ॥
यो ददाति द्विजो लोभादुपरोधाद्भयादपि ।
स याति नरके घोरे शिवाज्ञेति सनातनी ॥ १६ ॥
गुरुभक्ताय सत्याय सदाचाररताय च ।
देयं सते वेदविदे सर्वभूतहिताय च ॥ १७ ॥
यत्किंचिदुच्यते पुण्ये शास्त्रेऽस्मिन्नाविचारिकम् ।
तत्पापमपि नो पापं येन कर्माभिरक्ष्यते ॥ १८ ॥

आसीत्त्रिःपापवासी द्विजकुलतिलकः सर्वशास्त्रेष्वधीती
क्काण (?) श्रीकृष्णदेवः परहितनिरतो वेदवेदाङ्गवेदी ।

तत्सूनुः पर्शुरामः[1] सकलगणितविच्छ्रीकटाक्षस्य शिष्यः
शिष्यैः संप्रार्थ्यमानो नरपतिदयितं शास्त्रमेतच्चकार ॥१९॥

Sectional colophons are found at the close of some sections only and they generally read "इति श्रीभूपालवल्लभे सारोद्धारे पर्शुरामोपदेशे स्वरशास्त्रे.........प्रकरणम् ".

The author concludes as follows ;—

(Folio 170^b ff)

ज्योतिषं पृथगभाणि मुनीन्द्रैर्ज्योतितं पृथगपि स्वरशास्त्रम् ।
सर्वसाम्यापि करोतु हि कश्चित्तन्मयात्र विहितोऽपृथुयत्नः ॥ १ ॥

श्रीशालिवाहनशकेऽष्टमुनिद्विचन्द्र-
संख्ये प्रयातयति दुर्मुखनाम्नि वर्षे ।
आषाढमासासितयुग्मतिथौ सुरेज्य-
धिष्ण्ये दिने व्यरचयद्द्विजपर्शुरामः ॥ २ ॥

यावच्चन्द्रो दिनमणिरुभौ रात्र्यहोलंकृती स्तो
यावद्धात्रीं दधाति कमठाहीन्द्रकोणद्विपेन्द्राः ।
यावल्लङ्कापतिरिपुकथा वर्तते तात्त्रिलोक्यां
तावच्चित्ते वसतु विदुषां पर्शुरामोपदेशः ॥ ३ ॥

निर्मलमतिभिर्यद्यपि रचितानि सन्ति जगति शास्त्राणि ।
कुरुते तथापि कौतुकमेष ग्रन्थः सदोपयोगित्वात् ॥ ४ ॥

इति श्रीभूपालवल्लभे पर्शुरामोपदेशे स्वरशास्त्रे नानाग्रन्थमते सारोद्धारः समाप्तः ॥

In Verses 1 to 4 of the introduction, salutations are made respectively to Śiva, Durgā, Gaṇeśa and one sage Kaṭākṣa who is again referred to further in Verse 19 as the author's own guru and as highly proficient in all branches of mathematics. The author came of a Brāhmaṇa family and was named Parśurāma.

[1] It will be seen that the author uniformly spells his name as Parśurāma which is a correct alternative form for Paraśurāma. Vide *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* on *Uṇādisūtra* I. 34 (आङ्परयोः खनिशृभ्यां डिच्च)—" ....परं शृणातीति परशुः । पृषोदरादित्वादकारलोपात्पर्शुरपि । ". The *Tattvabodhinī* on this passage cites " पर्शुः परशुना सह " from Maheśvara's *Viśvakoṣa*. Both Apte and Monier-Williams have recorded this form in their Dictionaries but they have not cited its use in standard old works. The passages quoted above from the *Bhūpālavallabha* furnish three metrical instances of the use of the form Parśurāma.

His father was one Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Deva who is described as eminently learned and benevolent. It is not possible to discern exactly what the unintelligible letters 'Kvāṇa' (=Kāṇvaḥ?) preceding 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Devaḥ' in the Ms were meant to signify. The author seems to be a Śaivite not only from the opening benediction but also from several stray salutations to Śiva inside the work.

The author's family resided in a town or village which **is named** in Verses 2 and 19 of the introduction as Niḥpāpa and where there was probably a shrine of Goddess Yogeśvarī or Durgā. However, the name of the place appears to read as Niḥpāva or Niḥpāḍa in Verse 15 of the Lagnaprakaraṇa where the author seems to note its local periods of the twelve lagnas :—

" ... ...

आद्या होरा भनाथस्य द्वितीयैकादशोऽशिनः ।
स्वद्वादशैकादशानां द्रेष्काणा यवनैर्मताः ॥ १४ ॥

अब्ध्यग्निदस्राः कृ[1] × षड्भुजाश्वा-
ष्टाभ्राग्नयोऽष्टाग्नितनूनपाद्याः ।
वेदामरा दस्ररदास्तुलादौ
निःपावसंज्ञे (= निःपाडसंज्ञे ?)हि विलोमतोऽन्ये ॥१५॥

२३४	२६४	३०८	३३८	३३४	३ः२[2]

इष्टांशाः प्राग्भवांशाद्द्विशतघ्ना लग्नलिप्तिकाः ।
लग्नार्कौ सायनौ कार्यौ रात्रौ खेटयुतो रविः ॥ १६ ॥

etc. (—Folio 24).

As per these periods, the place should be somewhere in India about the latitude 20.13. Although we have no means to decide its longitude, it should be somewhere in north Mahārāṣṭra as appears from the author's numerous allusions to the Bhil[3] com-

[1] A letter is missing here in the Ms.

[2] Obviously this is the scribe's mistake for 322.

[3] Folios 61ab, 65a, 81b, 85b, etc. Bhil Kings, too, are often alluded to. The Bhils are found much more numerously in Nimar, Malwa and Rajputana, but those provinces are not situated near the latitude concerned.

munity and frequent mentions of 'Jhoṭiṅga'[1] as an evil spirit. As such, it seems reasonable to identify the place with Niphāḍ, an old town, about twenty miles north-east of Nasik which is on this latitude and possessing a famous temple of Durgādevī. The author thus seems to come of a Mahārāṣṭra Brāhmaṇa family possibly belonging to the Kaṇva recension of White Yajurveda. It is not clear[2] if he himself had changed his residence to some other place.

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[1] E. g. Folios 81b (भतप्रेतपिशाचादिशाकिनीडाकिनीग्रहाः । यक्षचेटकवेतालाः कूष्माण्डा भैरवादयः ॥ झोटिङ्गाद्याः प्रणश्यन्ति श्वेतालोकनमात्रतः । etc.), 86a (ग्रह-झोटिङ्गवेताला भूतप्रेतपिशाचकाः । कूष्माण्डाः संमुखा नैव यत्र स्याड्डमरुस्वनः ॥), etc. The word may have originally come from the Sanskrit form 'Joṭiṅga' which is given in some dictionaries as a name of Śiva! In Marathi, however, 'Jhoṭiṅga' primarily means an evil ghost, especially that of a dead Musalman, and secondarily a person of tyrannous temperament. Vide, for instance, Śrīdhara's *Harivijaya* XIII, 63 "........आग्या झोटिंग जखिणी । त्यांस भजोन जन बुडाले ॥" and such forms as 'Jhoṭiṅga-pādaśāhī' current in Marathi. The word is used in these senses also in Gujarat, Nimar and Malwa, but those provinces are distant from the latitude concerned.

[2] The author in the chapters entitled Kūrmacakra, Grahayuddha, Grahasamāgamā, etc. (Folios 54ff) mentions a number of places, regions and peoples while noting the effects of the movements of various planets on them. साकेत, मिथिला, चम्पा, विन्ध्य, हिमवमेकला (?), कौशाम्बी, कौशिकी, काशी, मध्यदेश, प्रयाग, अन्तर्वेदी, कान्यकुब्ज, गया, मगध, पाण्ड्यदेश, पञ्चगौड, हस्तिबन्ध, कामरुक् (= कामरूप ?), वरन्ध्री, माद्यपर्ण, वनवास, नर्मदा, कलिङ्ग, रैवत, लञ्जी, वङ्ग, अङ्ग, कोशल, कुरुकोशल, धराड, डाहल, उड्डीशक, महेन्द्र, दर्दुर, तापी, सिंहल, मलय, श्रीगिरि, लङ्का, कर्कि, भीमरथी, सौराष्ट्र, नासिक, महाक्षेत्र, शङ्कुपर्ण, द्युत, मालव, मेचक, समोठेर(?), कोङ्कण, कच्छपारात, अर्बुद, स्त्रीराज्य, बर्बरद्वीप, पूर्वमालव, अपरान्त, अवन्ती, गूर्जरातद्वय, मरुदेश, सरस्वती, जालन्धर, वालुकाब्धि, मेरुश्रृङ्ग, वरांशक, नेपाल, कीर, काश्मीर, गज्जण, खुरसाणक, मथुरा, म्लेच्छदेश, खसा, केदारमण्डल, गङ्गाद्वार, कुरुक्षेत्र, श्रीकण्ठ, हस्तिनापुर, एकपाद, वाजिवक्त्र, गजकर्ण, शूरसेन, शाल्व, बाह्लीक, अग्निस्थयायिन्, त्रैगर्त, पार्वत, निषाद, गान्धार, मद्र, कैकय, कुलूत, पौर, शक, पौरव, कैवर्त, etc. are among those mentioned. As these regions, peoples etc. cover almost the whole of India and even go beyond it, their mention does not shed any light on the author's current place of residence. Further, the author has in all probability borrowed these geographical allusions from earlier astrological works. There are some passages in the *Bhūpālavallabha* which seem to suggest the

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In Verse 2 of the conclusion the author clearly states that he finished his composition of the *Bhūpālavallabha* on Thursday the second day of the bright half of the month of Āṣāḍha in the year 1278 of the Śālivāhana era, i. e. about July 1356 A. C. The date is rather interesting as it marks the period when the Hindu empire of Vijayanagara was approaching its zenith under the illustrious King Bukka (1353–1379 A. C.)[1] and his celebrated ministers Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya and Sāyaṇa. Although there is possibly nothing in the *Bhūpālavallabha* itself to warrant its direct connection with the Vijayanagara renaissance of ancient learning and culture, yet from this strange coincidence of dates it seems not unlikely that the author wanted it to be appreciated mainly by the court and palace of Vijayanagara. Most of the remaining verses of the introduction and the conclusion embody a eulogy of the work and its subject, possibly to press their importance on a prospective royal patron.[2] Of course,

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author's partiality for northern regions in preference to scuthern regions. Vide, for instance, the concluding Verses 73–76 of the chapter on Siṁhāsana in connection with the setting of lions on royal thrones—" ... ... कार्याः सिंहाश्चतुःषष्टिर्देवब्राह्मणभूभुजाम् । द्वात्रिंशाद्धिमपार्श्वस्थघर्घरोत्तरभूभृताम् ॥ गङ्गोत्तरे षोडश स्युस्तपत्युत्तरतोऽष्ट च । गोदावर्युत्तरे वेदा द्वौ सेतूत्तरभूभुजाम् ॥ समुद्रतीरमध्यस्थाः कैवर्ता हीनजातयः । तेषां सिंहासनं नास्ति कारयेन्माश्चिकां शुभाम् ॥ समुद्रतीरविंशत्या योजनानां स्थिता नृपाः । चण्डालम्लेच्छभिल्लाश्च तेषां सिंहान्न कारयेत् ॥ " (—Folio 65a). However, this partiality for northern India, commonly termed as Devabhūmi, Āryāvarta, Brahmāvarta, Yajñadeśa, etc., can be traced since time immemorial generally in old Sanskrit works, even in those composed in South India. Hence it alone cannot help in assigning our author's current residence to northern India.

1 Ishwari Prasad: *History af Mediaeval India* (Allahabad, 1940), pp. 413ff.

2 By the way, it may also be pointed out here that the first section of the *Bhūpālavallabha*, coming after the author's introduction, deals with the importance of an astrologer in the palace. Vide " अथ **सांवत्सरसूत्रम्** । कुलीनः सत्यवाग्धीमान्वेदवेदाङ्गविद्द्विजः । प्रगल्भो देशकालज्ञो राज्ञां सांवत्सरो मतः ॥ १ ॥ गजाश्वरथपत्तीनां लक्षणेषु विशारदः । युद्धव्यूहादिकुशलः शास्त्राभ्यज्ञोऽभिचारवित् ॥ २ ॥ वनं समाश्रिता येऽपि निर्ममा निःपरिग्रहाः । अपि ते परिपृच्छन्ति ज्योतिषां गतिकोविदम् ॥ ३ ॥

(*continued on the next page*)

there were also other Hindu chiefs, big and small, who were faced mainly with the conquests[1] of Firoz Tughluq (1351–1388) and Hasan Bahman Shah (1347–1359) in the different parts of the country about this period, and the possibility of some of them being in our author's view cannot be ignored altogether.

The *Bhūpālavallabha* has been profusely quoted as a standard work of authority in numerous subsequent works on Dharma, Jyautiṣa, etc. and the author's date can be seconded in the light of this external evidence, too. We find it cited in Mahādevavid's *Kālanirṇayasiddhāntavyākhyā* (1653 A.C.)[2] in Kamalākarabhaṭṭa's *Nirṇayasindhu* (1612 A.C.),[3] in Rāma's *Muhūrtacintāmaṇi* (1600 A. C.),[4] in Nārāyaṇa's commentary *Mārtaṇḍavallabhā* (1573) on his own *Muhūrtamārtaṇḍa* (1571 A. C.),[5] in Gaṇeśadaivajña's commentary *Dīpikā* (c. 1528 A. C.)[6] on his father Keśava's *Muhūrtatattva* (c. 1498 A. C,),[7] in Pītāmbara's commentary *Nirṇayāmṛta* (1524 A. C.)[8] on his own *Vivāhapaṭala* (1522 A. C.),[9] in Acaladviveda's *Nirṇayadīpaka* (1518 A. C.)[10] and in several other works, earlier or later, whose dates have not been specifically mentioned by their authors. Thus in about a century or so

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म्लेच्छा हि यवनास्तेषु सम्यक् शास्त्रमिदं स्थितम् । ऋषिवत्तेऽपि पूज्यन्ते किं पुनर्दैवविद्द्विजः ॥ ४ ॥ चातुरङ्गेण सैन्येन यत्कार्यं नैव सिध्यति । तत्साधयति दैवज्ञो हेलयैव नृपेप्सितम् ॥ ५ ॥ कृत्स्नाङ्गोपाङ्गकुशलं होरागणितनैष्ठिकम् । यो न पूजयते राजा स नाशमुपगच्छति ॥ ६ ॥ यः पूजयति दैवज्ञं सर्वशास्त्रार्थकोविदम् । तस्य श्रीर्विजयः कीर्तिश्चिरं राज्यं च नन्दति ।, ७ ॥ तथा न माता हितकृन्न पिता न सुहृद् गुरुः । यथा सांवत्सरो राज्ञां स्वयशोधर्मवृद्धये ॥ ८ ॥ ". It is to be noted that many of these verses are very old, occurring also in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*.

[1] Ishwari Prasad: *History of Mediaeval India*, pp. 288 and 367ff.

[2] P. V. Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (Poona, 1930), p. 530a.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 437.

[4] S. B. Dikshit: भारतीयज्योतिषशास्त्राचा इतिहास (Poona, 1931), pp. 278, 473 etc.

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 258, 400, 402, 473 etc.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 472.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 471.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 472.

[9] *Ibid*, p. 472.

[10] P. V. Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 573b.

after its composition the *Bhūpālavallabha* appears to have come to enjoy the position of a high authority on the subjects. In fact, with its date fixed and corroborated, it furnishes [1] an adequate upper limit for the dates of a number of works citing it.

Although in many cases these citations are given under the full name 'Bhūpālavallabha,' in other cases they occur under the abbreviated title 'Bhūpāla.[2] This fact deserves special notice here as the general tendency [3] among scholars is to assign the citations occurring under the title 'Bhūpāla' to King Bhoja.

In Verse 1 of the conclusion the author takes to himself the credit of being the first to combine Jyautiṣa and Svaraśāstra in a single work. Although he thus claims a sort of originality for his own work (vide also Verse 5 of the introduction and Verse 5 of the conclusion in this connection), still he must have freely drawn upon the works of his predecessors as is evident from the words 'nānāgranthamate Sāroddhāre' of the concluding colophon and Verse 5 of the introduction where he expresses his indebtedness to standard older works on Jyautiṣa and to the Āgamas, possibly the Tantras dealing with Svara, attributed to Śiva. However, he mostly cites older authors and works anonymously or under general terms (e. g. kecit......apare......viduḥ). In fact, so far as I could trace, besides a few Vedic hymns,[4] Yavana [5] and the *Brahmayāmala* [6] alone have been explicitly mentioned in the work. The *Narapatijayacaryā*, the popular work on Svaraśāstra composed by Narapati at Anhilawada about two cen-

[1] Vide my paper *Śivadāsa's Jyotirnibandha: the Work and its Date.* (*NIA*, Vol. V).

[2] Vide, for instance, Sivadāsa's *Jyotirnibandha* (Ānandāśrama Series No. 85, 1919), p. 4 " भूपाल :—तथा न माता हितकृन्न पिता न सुहृद् गुरुः । यद्वत्सांवत्सरो राज्ञां स्वयशोधर्मवृद्धय ॥ " etc. Cf. Verse 8 of the Sāṁvatsarasūtra of the *Bhūpālavallabha* quoted above in Footnote 2 on p. 233 continued on p. 234 above.

[3] E. g., Aufrecht: *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, (Leipzig, 1891), p. 415a; P. V. Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, pp. 278, 719a, etc.

[4] E. g., the *Puruṣasūkta*, the *Rudrasūkta*, (Folios 61 etc.), etc.

[5] " ......ग्रहवेधविधानं तद्यवनोक्तं प्रचक्षते " (Folio 18b), " ......स्वद्वादशैकादृशानां द्रेष्काणा यवनैर्मताः " (Folio 24a), etc.

[6] " नरमाग्नि भवेयत्र स योगोऽक्षरसंभवः । माह्यस्तत्रादिमो वर्ण इत्युक्तं ब्रह्मयामले ॥ " (Folio 90a).

turies earlier in 1175 A. C.,[1] has not been explicitly mentioned by our author anywhere although his work has much in common with it. Still it is not unlikely that he makes a veiled allusion to it in the last line of Verse 19 of the introduction.

Aufrecht mentions[2] the *Bhūpālavallabha* as "an encyclopaedia of Dharma, Alaṁkāra, Jyotiṣa etc." Kane, too, mentions[3] it as "an encyclopaedia of Dharma, astrology, poetics, etc." However, even on a minute perusal of the two Mss of the *Bhūpālavallabha*, I was not able to find the slightest trace of a treatment of Alaṁkāra or poetics in the work. Two of the sections are entitled 'Kavicakra' and 'Kaviyuddhaprakaraṇa,' but the word 'Kavi' in these[4] and other sections does not mean a poet and the passages concerned have nothing to do with poetics. S. B. Dikshit in his Marathi *History of Indian Jyotiṣa* furnishes original details about several rare works on Jyautiṣa etc., but he mentions[5] the *Bhūpālavallabha* only as cited by others. Twice he also mistakes[6] the names Bhūpāla and Bhūpālavallabha of

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1 S. B. Dikshit: भारतीयज्योतिषशास्त्राचा इतिहास, p. 476.

2 *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, page 415a.

3 *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, page 599a.

4 Vide Folios 162ff. "... ... उत्प्रयागे प्रयाणे वा निशीथे मृगयाविधौ । शोकार्ते व्यसनप्राप्ते सैन्यघाते निनायके ॥ विवाहे मित्रसंयोगे शत्रूणां च समागमे । तीर्थे देवालये व्यग्रे स्त्रीमद्यासक्तचेतसि ॥ बहुधा कविकालोऽस्ति कथितो दुर्बले नृपे । ते ज्ञात्वा यः कविं कुर्यात्सहन्ति नृपतिं परम्(?) ॥ कविचक्रं प्रकर्तव्यं चतुरस्रं त्रिनाडिकम् । ... ... कविः सखी पिङ्गलिका कपोच्चयर्कात्प्रवेशने । युद्धार्णवान्तनिर्याणे रुल्लेखी धकटी बकी ॥ ... ... कवियुद्धे यत्र धिष्ण्ये तदग्रर्क्षेऽस्ति पापकः । तदा भवेन्मार्गरोधः पार्ष्णिग्राहस्तु पृष्ठगः ॥ ... ... तीक्ष्णैः साधारणैः क्रूरैर्द्वन्द्वयोगे त्रिपुष्करे । कविप्रवेशभैः केचित्स्थानभाचक्रमूचिरे ॥ ... ... ध्वजे रौद्रे कविः कार्यो दिक्षु गर्भस्थिते विधौ ॥ ". Subsequent sections ('Durgacakra', etc.—Folios 164ff), too, mention this *Kavi*. Vide "........... पार्वते स्थानभेदं च भूबलं वनदुर्गके । कवियोगे वक्रभूमौ विषये यायिनो बलम् ॥ ... ... निर्गमस्थस्थिते चन्द्रे तदाभ्यन्तरगैर्नरैः । कवियुद्धं प्रकर्तव्यं रात्रौ सुप्ते बहिर्जने ॥ प्रवेशनिर्गमे योगैः सैन्ययोरुभयोरपि । कवौ कोटे जयस्तत्र विपरीते पराजयः ॥ etc." Possibly scholars of Tantra can shed light on the significance of the word 'Kavi' in these cases. Vide also Śivadāsa's *Jyotirnibandha*, p. 333.

5 भारतीयज्योतिषशास्त्राचा इतिहास, p. 472.

6 *Ibid*, p. 472.

the work for those of authors. Evidently he had not been able to procure a Ms of the *Bhūpālavallabha.*

Little is known about other works by our author. A commentary on Bhāskara's *Līlāvatī* had been fathered [1] on him but subsequently his authorship was rejected [2] to it, as its author, another Paraśurāma, being son of one Śrīharṣa and not of Śrīkṛṣṇa-Deva, was found to bear a different parentage.

POST-SCRIPT

After my paper on the *Bhūpālavallabha* had been sent for press, it came to my notice, through the courtesy of Mr. P. K. Gode, that late Mr. Vishvanatha Kashinatha Rajwade, the veteran pioneer of historical research in Mahārāṣṭra, has made some allusions to this work and also cited therefrom a few passages, including the verse mentioning the date of its composition, in the Introduction to Vol. VIII of his *Sources of Marāthā History* (**मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासाचीं साधनें**, खंड आठवा, प्रस्तावना). The allusions are meant firstly to prove that the use of scraps of birch-bark and cloth-pieces as sheets for writing out mystic mantras and yantras was in vogue as late as 1326 A. C. and secondly to demonstrate that Marathi was absolutely devoid of Persian words as late as 1356 A. C. The relevant portions of the allusions may be extracted here from the current volume of V. K. Rajwade's *Historical Introductions* (ऐतिहासिक प्रस्तावना, Poona, 1928) :—

"(Pp. 373 ff.) ... ... मजजवळ पर्शरामपंडितानें केलेला भूपालवल्लभनामक ग्रंथाचा सारभूत पर्शरामोपदेश नांवाचा एक यंत्रग्रंथ आहे. त्याच्या परिसमाप्तीचा श्लोक येणेंप्रमाणें:—

श्रीशालिवाहनशकेष्टमुनिद्विचंद्र १२७८ ।
संख्ये गते सति च दुर्मुखनाम्नि वर्षे ॥
आषाढमाससितयुग्मतिथौ सुरेज्य ।
धिष्ण्ये दिने व्यरचयाद्द्विजपर्शरामः ॥ ३४ ॥

ह्या श्लोकावरून पर्शरामोपदेश हा ग्रंथ शक १२७८त म्हणजे इ० स० १३५६त लिहिला गेला असें होतें. ह्या ग्रंथांत प्रथम शक १२४८ पासून म्हणजे इ० स०

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[1] Aufrecht: *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, p. 327a.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. II (Leipzig, 1896), page 209, etc.

१३२६ पासून प्रभवादि संवत्सरांचीं फलें दिलीं आहेत व नंतर शेकडो यंत्रांच्या आकृति कशा व कशावर काढाव्या तें सांगितलें आहे.

हरिद्रा तालकशिलामेषमूत्रसमन्विता ।
कोकिकाख्यस्य लेखन्या नीलरक्तपटे लिखेत् ॥ ९६ ॥
कालेयरोचनाचंद्रैर्लज्जालुगजवारिभिः ।
मदनद्रुमलेखन्या यंत्रं भूर्जे लिखेदिदम् ॥ १०५ ॥
रोचनाकुंकुमाभ्यां तु भूर्जपत्रे सुशोभने ।
सुवर्णमयलेखन्या पद्मगष्टदलं लिखेत् ॥ १३२ ॥
व्रणहीने भूर्जपत्रे खरवामाश्ववासृजः ।
वीतांगारेण संयुक्तः कृष्णोन्मत्तरसेन च ॥ १४३ ॥
विलिखेत् ॥ १४४ ॥
आनयेन्निर्व्रणं भूर्जं ग्रंथिहीनं सुशोभनं ॥ १७० ॥
पर्शरामोपदेशे भूपालवल्लभे मंत्रयंत्रप्रकरणम् ॥

हे श्लोक इ० स० १३२६ पासून १३५६ पर्यंतच्या तीस वर्षांत केव्हां तरी लिहिले आहेत. इ० स० १३१८ त मुसलमानांचें राज्य सुरू झालें. .... १३१८ त रामचंद्राचा जांवई हरपाळ याला सुलतान मुबारिकानें ठार मारिलें व देवगिरी कायमची घेतली. त्यानंतर आठ वर्षांनीं पर्शरामपंडितानें आपला पर्शरामोपदेश नांवाचा ग्रंथ लिहिला. ह्या ग्रंथांत भूर्जपत्रें व कापडाचे तुकडे यांवर यंत्रें लिहावीं असें अनेक ठिकाणीं म्हटलें आहे. ह्यावरून एवढें सिद्ध होतें कीं मंत्र व यंत्रें लिहिण्यास भूर्जपत्रें व वस्त्रपट ह्यांचा उपयोग इ० स० १३२६ च्या सुमारास व पूर्वीं लोक करीत असत. ... ... "

"(Pp. 390 ff.) ... ... आतां ह्या इ. स. १३९७ च्याहि मागें जाऊन इ. स. १३५६तील एक मराठी लेख देतों. पूर्वीं पर्शरामपंडितकृत पर्शरामोपदेश नांवाच्या ग्रंथाचा उल्लेख केला होता. ह्या ग्रंथाच्या शेवटीं खालील मराठी वाक्यें आहेत.:--

गत तिथि दुणा ॥ वारु चतुर्गुणा ॥ नक्षत्र मेळविजे ॥ ध्रुवक ४ मेळाविजे ॥ तिंहिं भागु ॥ उरलेये शेषे लोह पाहिजे ॥ एकें जल ॥ दाहो स्थल ॥ शून्य आकाश ॥ स्थलीं सावली ॥ जलीं आडाऊ ॥ आकाशीं सावलीये ॥ आडाउ तीर दार ॥ हे जयेति ॥ आड वार ॥ आदित्या पासौनु ॥ नक्षत्रें ९ उत्तमें ॥ दाहावें मध्यम ॥ तयापुढील २ उत्तमें ॥ वरिला तिंहिं खेळु पाडुं १७ उत्तमें ॥ वीसा ठायीं च लोह निर्वचैल ॥२२॥ लोह होईल ॥ पूर्ण यश पाविजैल ॥ हातीयेरे सांडिती ॥ पल होईल ॥ आदित्यवारी ॥ शनिवारीं ॥ वृषभ, कन्या, मकर, मिथुन, तूल, कुंभ, हे खोचिति ॥ सोमवारिं, बृहस्पतवारिं मिथुन, तूळ

कुंभा पडती ॥ कर्क, वृश्चिक, मीन हे खोंचती ॥ मंगळवारीं ॥ शुक्रवारीं ॥ कर्क, वृश्चिक, मीनु, धनु, सिंहु, मेषु हे सा ६ राशी मरती ॥ वृषभकन्यामकरु हे खोंचती ॥ बुधवारिं वृषभ, कन्या, मकर पडती ॥ मिथुन, तूळ, कुंभ हे खोंचती ॥ तिथिवारु जे दिशे यात्रा किजे ॥ ते दिशा येकत्र किजे ॥ तिंहिं भागु दिजे ॥ उरे शेष तो ध्रुवक राशीचें जीव-नक्षत्र ॥ २ने गुणिजे ॥ ध्रुवक मेळविजे ॥ तिंहिं भागु दिजे ॥ शेष उरे तो ग्रहो जाणिजे ॥ जयाचे राशीवरि बुध, गुरु बैसती तिये राशिचेयांकरवी ॥ यात्रा कर्विजे ॥ दुर्गयात्रा बुध जया विये ॥ राशीवरि बैसे ॥ तया कर्वि कर्विजे ॥ आउ । नि । पू । वा । द । ई । प । सूर्योदयाचीये ठाउनु येणें क्रमें चौ घडिये भ्रमण जाणावें ॥ जयाचिये पाठि पडे तो जयो पावे ॥ ६ ॥

इति श्रीभूपाळवल्लभः ॥ समाप्तिमुपागमत् ॥

ह्या उताऱ्यांतील सर्व वाक्यें शुद्ध बावनकशी जुनीं मराठी आहेत व त्यांना फारशीचा बिलकुल गंध नाहीं. ह्या वाक्यांची भाषा बहुतेक हुबेहुब ज्ञानेश्वरींतील भाषेसारखी आहे· बहुतेक म्हणण्याचें कारण असें कीं, इ. स. १२९०त लिहिलेल्या ज्ञानेश्वरीच्या भाषेंत व इ. स. १३५६त लिहिलेल्या ह्या वाक्यांच्या भाषेंत साठ वर्षांचा अवधि गेल्यामुळें किंचित् फरक पडणें साहजिक आहे. ... ... इ. स. १२९०त लिहिलेल्या ज्ञानेश्वरीची भाषा १३२६ पासून १३५६ पर्यंत लिहिलेल्या ग्रंथाच्या भाषेप्रमाणे असलीच पाहिजे, इतकेंच नव्हे तर ह्या ग्रंथाच्या भाषेहूनाहि ती किंचित् जुनाट असली पाहिजे. ... ... "

"(P. 396) ... ... सांवतांच्या राज्यांतील इ. स. १३९७तील लेखांत, पर्शरामोपदेशांतील १३५६तील लेखांत व १२९०तील ज्ञानेश्वरींत एकहि फारशी शब्द सांपडत नाहीं. ... ... '"

Evidently Mr. Rajwade possessed a Ms of the *Parśurāmopadeśa* which he regards to be an abbreviation, made in the year 1278 of the Śālivāhana era, of the *Bhūpālavallabha.* Unluckily the Ms is not before us and hence it is not possible to discern exactly its extent etc. and its relation to our two Mss of the *Bhūpālavallabha.* From our Mss, however, it is amply clear that the author Parśurāma, the title *Parśurāmopadeśa,* mentioned as an alias of the *Bhūpālavallabha* in some colophons, and the year of composition mentioned in the verse cited, all pertain to the *Bhūpālavallabha* itself and not to any abbreviation thereof. I was able to trace in our Mss, though in different enumerations and with slight variations, all the passages cited by Mr. Rajwade, excepting the concluding Marathi inscription of his Ms.

From what Mr. Rajwade writes, my impressions about his Ms

are (i) that it contained only selections from the *Bhūpālavallabha* and did not possibly include the author's introduction and passages like the Sāṁvatsarasūtra cited by me ; (ii) that it does not mention the scribe's date ; and (iii) that the scribe who evidently came from Mahārāṣṭra also incorporated some other interesting but foreign passages like the cited Marathi inscription which is not found in our Mss, is not at all suited at the conclusion of the work after the verse mentioning the date of composition and consequently does not seem to belong to the original work or to come from the original author.

I have tried to establish with reasons that the author Parśurāma hereditarily belonged to a place in Mahārāṣṭra. Mr. Rajwade, however, appears to take this as a self-evident fact possibly mainly due to the existence in his Ms of the said Marathi inscription which he seems to ascribe, without any reason, to the original author himself. As a matter of fact, Parśurāma's date (viz. 1356 A. C.) can have no connection with the Yādava empire of Deogiri which had been totally crushed as back as 1318 A. C.

Again, there is absolutely no mention of the year 1248 of the Śālivāhana era (i. e. 1326 A. C.) in our Mss and it does not appear reasonable to assume that the author took thirty years to finish this work, based for the most part on older works and covering barely 171 folios. Our Mss, too, after the author's introduction and the Sāṁvatsarasūtra, furnish the section on the Phalas of sixty Saṁvatsaras. But there the treatment is wholly general and is not restricted to any particular cycle of Saṁvatsaras commencing with any particular year in the author's view. As such it is not possible to gather exactly the passages in Mr. Rajwade's Ms from which he asserts that the work deals with the Saṁvatsaras commencing from Śaka 1248 and concludes that the same was commenced in that year and finished in Śaka 1278. In case, however, his Ms agreed in reading with our Mss in this portion, one may try to explain how he got at Śaka 1248. The Saṁvatsaraphala section in our Mss reads :—

शाको गजाब्धिसूर्यो नः षष्टिहृत्प्रभवादयः ।
फलानि तेषां वक्ष्यामि यथाशास्त्रं पृथक् पृथक् ॥ १ ॥
क्षेमं सुभिक्षं प्रभवे विभवेऽर्घः सुवृष्टयः ।
रोगः शुक्ले प्रमोदेऽम्बु सौराज्यानि प्रजापतौ ॥ २ ॥

... ...

दुर्मुखे डमरोऽल्पाम्बु हेमलम्बे प्रजाक्षयः ।
विलम्बे रोगदुर्भिक्षे भयं पीडा विकारिणि ॥ ९ ॥

... ... रोगभीः परिधाविनि ॥ १२ ॥

... ...

शुभं स्याद्दुन्दुभौ नाशो रुधिरोद्गारिवत्सरे ।
रक्ताक्षी सर्वनाशाय पीडा स्यात्क्रोधने क्षये ॥ १५ ॥

इति श्रीभूपालवल्लभसारोद्धारे पर्शुरामोपदेशे स्वरशास्त्रे संवत्सरप्रकरणं प्रथमं ॥१॥

Here the author first mentions the Śaka year 1278 of his composition of the work and then proposes to deal with the Phalas of 60 Saṁvatsaras, in a general manner as will be evident from the passages cited above. He does not seem to say that any cycle of Saṁvatsaras in his view begins with the year mentioned by him and with a view to being construed grammatically, too, Verse 1 of the above citation has to be split up into two sentences 'Śāko Gajābdhisūryo naḥ' and 'Saṣṭihṛtprabhavādayaḥ etc.' Mr. Rajwade, in case his Ms read identically, appears to have interpreted 'Gajābdhisūryaḥ' as 1248. It is true that conventionally 'abdhi' stands both for four and for seven. But it is most reasonable to take it here to stand for seven and not for four in the light of the fact that the Śaka year 1278 ('aṣṭamunidvicandrasaṁkhye') is further mentioned by the author in his final metrical colophon as the year of his composition of the work. Last but not the least, Prabhava Saṁvatsara, so far as I can see, coincides with Śaka 1249 and not with Śaka 1248 as Mr. Rajwade seems to suppose. This is borne out by the fact that Durmukha, the 30th Saṁvatsara of the cycle, coincides with Śaka 1278 as mentioned by our author and further that Paridhāvin, the 46th Saṁvatsara of the preceding cycle, coincides with Śaka 1234 as mentioned by Cāṅgadeva in the following concluding verses of his Marathi *Tattvasāra* (Ujjain, 1936, Page 49):—

वटेश्वराचा सुतु । चांगा म्हणे अवधुतु । सिद्धसंकेतें मातु । प्रगट केली ॥ १०२५ ॥ हा ग्रंथु पावला समाप्ति । तैं शाळिवाहनु शकु किती । कवण संवत्सरु मासु तिथी । वारु कवणु ॥ १०२६ ॥ ... ... शके चौतिसें बारा । परिधावी संवत्सरा । मार्गशिर शुद्ध तीज रविवार । नामसंख्य ॥ १०२८ ॥ etc.

ON SOME WORDS FOR 'CHILD' IN INDO-ARYAN

BY

S. M. KATRE

The present paper is offered here with the hope that it will open up a new field of enquiry in Indo-Aryan linguistics which I incidentally mentioned in my last Wilson Philological Lecture[1] as the science of Synonymics. It intends briefly to discuss some words for 'child – boy or girl' to be found in the entire history of Indo-Aryan. I reserve a full discussion of the problems involved and the principles to be developed in the cause of this new science for a monograph to be published at some future date. The limitations on this enquiry are dictated by the exigencies of space and time, which make it imperative that I should be as brief as possible here.

The notion of 'child' is connected with a group of vocables which indicate the different characteristics of the underlying subject such as boy, girl, son, daughter, youth, young, small, dear, etc. and the different words for these which we find in the entire Indo-European group conform to one or the other of these several patterns. Some of these vocables develop a special meaning applied to a particular class of animals, such as we find in English *kid* (: *sheep*), *pup* (: *dog*), *heifer* (: *cow*), while others have a more general sense.

Let us first consider a few examples of this type in Indo-European. For a small child or infant we notice the three forms **orbho-*, **ken-* and *g^uer(e)bh-* which give us in OI-A. *árbha-*, *arbhá-*, (and with the same sense in Slavonic), *kanī̂na-*, *kanā́*, *kanyā́* and *gárbha-* (perhaps <I-E. **gu̯elbh-*). Other cognate forms may be seen in Walde-Pokorny's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermaniśchen Sprachen*. For a boy or a girl the following expressions are recorded: **pali̯aq-*, **maghu-*, **meri̯a-* all of which are attested in a number of I-E. languages.

[1] Some Problems of Historical Linguistics in Indo-Aryan, *Bhāratīya Vidyā* 2. 228.

We notice that OI-A. has a number of words to express these ideas having a differing range in actual usage. We have, for instance, the following words to indicate some phase of the semantic grouping involved in the concept of 'child- boy or girl,' *ápatyam*, *árbha-* or *arbhá-*, *arbhaká-*: *kanā́*, *kanī́*, *kanīnaka-*, *kanyakā*. *kanyā́*, *kanyā́nā*, *kanyā́lā*, *kanyikā*; *kiśorā́h*, *kiśorakah*, *kiśorikā*; *kumārā́h*, *kumārakā́h*, *kumārī*, *kumārikā́*; *gaurī*: *ḍimbhaḥ*, *ḍimbhakaḥ*, *ḍimbhikā*; *tánam*, *tánaya-*; *tanuja-*; *tárunaḥ*, *taruṇī*; *tokám*; *dārakaḥ*, *dārikā*; *nagnā*, *nagnikā*; *putrā́h*, *putrakā́h*, *putrikā*, *putrī*; *potaḥ*. *potakaḥ*: *bāla-*, *bālaka-*, *bālikā*; *māṇavaḥ*, *māṇavakaḥ*; *māṇavikā*; *lagnikā* (variant for *nagnikā*); *vatsáḥ*, *vatsā*, *vatsaka-*; *vāsū* f. *śāvaḥ*, *śāvakaḥ*; *śiśuḥ*, *śiśukā́h*, *śiśūlaḥ*; *sáṁtatiḥ* f., *saṁtānā́h*; *suta-*, *sūnaḥ*, *sūnā*, *sūnúḥ*; *stuka-*.

Besides simple vocables of the type indicated above a good number of compound expressions have come into existence in OI-A. Thus from the word *stána-* 'breast,' we have the following compounds for 'infant, suckling' *stanaṁ-dha-*, *stanaṁ-dhama-*, *stanaṁ-dhaya-*, *stana-pa-*, *stana-pāyin-* and *stanasyu-*, *stanya-pa*, *stanya-pāyin-*, *stanya-bhuj*, *stanā-bhúj-*.

In the sense of 'being produced by oneself' we have such OI-A. expressions as *aurasya-* 'legitimate child,' *ātmaja-*, *ātmanīna-*, *ātmasaṁtāna-*, *ātmajanman-*; *hṛdayajá-*, *śarīraja-*, *śarīrajanman-*. Here also belong the words mentioned above: *tánaya-*, *tanūja-*. A few other expressions like *uttānaśaya-* indicate the particular stage in the growth of the infant.

Of the vocables indicated above *pota(ka)-*, *śāva(ka)-* and *vatsa-* originally applied to animals of the lower order and then gradually extended to human relationship. Particularly noticeable in this connection is the vocative *vatsa* comparable to *tā́ta* as a term of affection addressed to a junior and to Vedic *tatá-*. But both OI-A. *pota(ka)-* and *śāva(ka)-* retain their original meaning in their unextended forms. Very rarely do we observe the occurrence of such compounds like *muni-śāvaka-*.

Already in classical Sanskrit words such as *árbha-*, *arbhá-*, *arbhaká-* are almost obsolete (the last one surviving perhaps a little later than the others); similarly *tokám*, generally joined with *tánaya-*, is never used in classical literature, while *kanā́*, *kanī́* and *kanīnakā́h* are confined only to the Ṛgveda.

Turning to Pāli we notice the following vocables: *apacca-*. *kaññā*, *kumāra-*, *kumāraka-*, *kumārī*; *tanaya-*, *tanuya-*; *taruṇa-*, *taluṇa-*; *dāraka-*, *dārikā*; *putta-*, *puttaka-*; *pota-*, *potaka-*; *bāla-*, *bālaka-*, *bālikā*; *māṇava-*, *māṇavaka-*; *māṇavikā*; *vaccha-*, *vacchaka-* *vacchatara-*, *vacchatarī* (<OI-A. *vatsatara-*); *chāpa-*, *chāpaka-* cf. OI-A; *śāva-ka-*); *susu-*; *suta-*, *sutā*; *sūnu-*. It would appear from this list that the number of vocables is very much reduced in comparison with OI-A. It is this gradual reduction which brings about new expressions for the concept in NI-A.

In the various Prakrit dialects we observe the following vocables: *apacca-* or *avacca-*; *abbhaya-*; *kaṇṇā*: *kisora-*, *kisori*; *kumăra-*, *kumărī*, *kumāriyā*; *ḍimbha-*, *ḍimbhiyā*; *taṇaya-*, *taṇayā*, *taṇuya-*, *taṇubbhava*, *taṇubhū*; *taruṇa-*, *taruṇī*, *taluṇi*; *dāra-*, *dāraga* *dāraya-*, *dāriā*; *putta-*, *puttaya-*, *puttiā*, *puttī*; *poa-*, *poaya-*, *bāla-*, *bālaa-*, *bālā*, *bāliā*; *vaccha-*, *vacchā*; *vāśū* [1] *chāva-*; *sisu-*, *susu-*, *sua-*, *suā*, *sūṇu-*.

It is not necessary for us to go into further details about these MI-A. expressions as they are more or less derived from their corresponding OI-A. words. But it would be interesting to see how many of these Old and Middle I-A. vocables have survived in their inherited form in the NI-A. languages. [2]

Sk. *ápatyam*: Pa. Pk. *apacca-* Pk. *avacca-*, cf. N. *hacero* the young of a bird, P. *bacc*, *vacc* m. young of fish, reptiles; N. *baccā* or *bacco* the young (of animals), *bacci* a small female child, *baccu* term of endearment for a child, H. *baccā*.

Sk. *kanyắ* f. maiden: Pa. *kaññā*, Pk. *kaṇṇā*, Sdh. *kañā* f.—Sk. *kanyálā* f. maiden: Sdh. *kañirī* a prostitute, and Sk. *kanyasa-*, cf. *kánīyas-*: N. *kā̃nchi* little girl, young woman: *kā̃ncho* young; Ksh. *kũs*^{u}, *kõs*^{u}, *kaĩs*^{u}, *k*^{o}*ch*^{u}, youngest brother; Ku. *kā̃so* younger.

Sk. *kumāráḥ* boy, *kumārakáḥ* little boy, *kumārī́* f.: Pk. *kumāra-* *kumara-*, *kumārī*, *kumarī*; G. M. *kũvar* boy M. *kũvar* f. virgin, G. *k*^{ũ}*varī* f. girl; H. *kũwār*, *k*^{ũ}*wār* Sdh. *kũāro*, N. *kumār(o)* q. v.

Sk. *táruṇaḥ*, *taruṇī*: Pa. *taruṇa-*, *taluṇa-*; Pk. *taruṇa-*, *taluṇa-*; N. *taruni* young woman, *tarunu* young man.

Sk. *dāra-* (cf. *dārakaḥ*): Shina *dārí̤* m. pl. boys; and in the

[1] Occurs only in the dialect of Śakāra in *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

[2] I have used Turner's abbreviations in his *Nepali Dictionary* with some modifications which are easily understandable.

compound **grāmadāra*- village boy : N. *gamār*, *gãwār*, *gãwār* a clown, boor, O. *gamāra* rustic, H. P. *gawār*, G. *gamār*, M. *gãvār*.

Sk. *putráh* : Pa. Pk. *putta*- G. M. *pūt*, K. *pūtu*, P. *putt*, H. *pūt* Ku. *pūt*, A. B. N. *put*, O. *puta* etc. : for further cognates see under N. *put*.

Sk. *potaḥ* young of animal : Pk. *poa*-; A. B. *po* son, O. *puā*.

Sk. *bālaḥ* young : Pa. Pk. *bāla*-; M. N. *bāḷ*, O. *bāla*, H. P. *bālā*, L. *bāl*, Sh. B. *bāl* Sgh. *bal* ; v. s. v. N. *bālakha* (small) child.

Sk. *vatsáḥ*, *vatsakaḥ* : Pa. *vaccho*, *vacchako*, Pk. *vaccha*-m. ; Ku. N. *bācho*, B. Bi. H. *bāchā*, P. *bacchā*, P. L. *vacchā*, Sdh. *vacha*, Sgh. *vasu*, all in the sense of 'calf' ; with -*r*- extension in B. *bāchur*, O. *bāchará* colt, *bāchuri* calf. G. *vāchrū*, *vāchardū̃*. Sk. *vatsarūpam* M. K. *vāsrū̃*.

Pa. *chāpo* young of an animal (cf. Sk. *śāvaḥ*) : Pk. *chāva*- ; Rom. *cavo* son ; O. *chuā* young of an animal ; B. *chā*, *chā̃*, H. *chāwā*, N. *chāwā* ; extensions of this in N. *chāuro* the young of a bear, dog, cat etc. : Ku. *chyauṛo* boy, H. *chāuṛā* young of an animal ;—Rom. arm. *coki* girl ; A. *sawāl* male child, B. *chāoyāl* ; B. *chānā* young of an animal, H. *chaunā*.

In addition to these survivals from OI-A. vocables indicating the concept of 'child' NI-A. has developed a large number of inherited vocables from Old and Middle I-A. in this particular sense. Some of these, in fact, seem to go back to Indo-European, but as matters stand at present, the subject still awaits further investigation. We shall not consider all the vocables found in NI-A. to express this idea, but only the most important of them, and in particular the Marāṭhī form *por*, *porgā*, *mūl*, *mulgā*.

For 'girl' Nepali *celi*, K. *calli*, *celli*; 'boy' N. *celo*, K. *callo* for which we have B. O. H. P. *celā*, Ksh. *cēlo*, Sdh. G. *celo* G. *celko* (cf. K. *cerko*) boy, M. *celā*<**cella*- on whose affiliation see Turner, *Nepali Dictionary* 183a. Connected with this group is K. *cerḍu*, *celḍū* child, M. *ceḍrū̃*< **ceṭarūpam* and the other dialectical forms quoted by Turner s. v. *celo*. This Sk. *ceṭa*- itself in the sense of disciple, pupil, servant, is<Sk. **cṛta*-, **cṛtta*- according to S. K. Chatterji.[1] On the other hand, if we accept Bloch's derivation

[1] Some Etymological Notes, *New Indian Antiquary*, 2. 421-27 ; cf. my Prakrit Uccidima and Uccuḍai in *Kane Festschrift* pp. 258-59 and Indo-Arica I in *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* 1. 153-56.

from Dravidian **cil-* 'small' we shall note the parallelism found in Romance languages where words indicating smallness have often developed the significance of 'child.' On this see below.

H. *chokrā*, O. *chokarā*, N. *chokaṛā*, B. P. *chokrā*, Sdh. *chokaru*. G. *chokro*, M. *sokrā* all indicate 'boy' just as N. *chokaṛi*, H. *chokrī* etc. signifies 'girl.' Compare these forms with N. Ku. *choro* boy, son: Rom *coro* poor, orphan; Sdh. *choro*; N. *chori* girl, daughter: H. G. *chorī*. Turner connects the first group with I-A. **chokkara-*;[1] the other forms quoted by him under the entry *choro* such as H. *chohrā*, O. *chohar*, *chohrā*, *chohrī*, L. *chohur* posit an I-A. **chokhara-*; similarly G. *choḍī* f. girl < **choṭikā* while N. *choṭo* small, short and its cognates in NI-A. all derive from **choṭṭa-*[2] Thus on the one hand we observe **chokkara-* and **chokhara-*, and on the other **choṭa-* (in **choṭikā*) and **choṭṭa-*. The MI-A. form *choyara* which Turner quotes for basing the etymology of N. *choro* may be derived in its turn from Sk. *kṣaudra-* (cf. *kṣudrá-*, *kṣulla*): PMI-A. **kṣaud^{a}ra* or **kṣaudara* > *choyora-*, again showing the extension of 'smallness' to indicate 'child, boy or son.' The origin of the other forms is not quite clear at present but the significance is definite: 'small or smallness' extending to mean 'child, boy or son: girl or daughter.'

Turner gives N. *keṭi*, Ku. *keṭī* girl, daughter: N. Ku. *keṭo* boy, son, without any etymology; but on the analogy of N. *choṭo* < **choṭṭa-* we should posit N. *keṭo* < **keṭṭa-* but still we would be far from explaining the origin of these words. We might even compare them to Sk. *ceṭa-* without arriving at any further explanation of the NI-A. forms.

On the other hand the above forms lend themselves for comparison with Pk. *biṭṭa-*, *biṭṭī*: N. Ku. G. *beṭo*, A. B. H. P. *beṭā*, Sdh. *beṭo*, M. *beṭā*; N. B. A. *beṭi*, H. P. L. G. M. *beṭī* Sdh. *beṭī*, the first indicating 'boy, son' and the second 'girl, daughter.' The *e*-colouring in NI-A. must be due to an original *e* in **beṭṭa-*

[1] **chokkara-* might conceivably be derived from **chukkara-* < Sk. **kṣut-kara-* (cf. *kṣudrá-*) from the base √ *kṣud-*, indicating smallness, minuteness, with *kṣ-* > *ch*. Actually from the base √ *kṣu-* with the *t*-formans we have *kṣu-t* f. 'sneezing', *kṣutkarī* f. black mustard. The **kṣut-* in **kṣut-kara-* may be from √ *kṣud-* with zero suffix.

[2] **choṭṭa-* might similarly be derived from **chuṭṭa-* < **kṣut-tvam* 'smallness' extended to mean 'small' after

beṭṭi preserved as *i* in the extant Prakrit forms quoted above. But what is the original significance of this **beṭṭa-*?

H. P. *laṛkī*, N. *laṛki* girl, daughter; N. *laṛko* boy, son: H. P. *laṛkā*, A. *larā*. H. *leṛkā*<**laḍa-* with *-akka-* extension; this **laḍa-* is compared by Turner with Sk. dhātupāṭha *laṭati* is a child *laḍati* plays. But G. *lāḍkū*, M. *lāḍkā* darling<**laḍḍa-*, thus giving a parallel to **choṭa-* and **choṭṭa-* indicated by N. *choṭo* and G. *choḍī*. There seems to be thus in I-A. a large number of alternate forms not derived from I-E. or OI-A. but formed during the Indian development of I-A. either through incorproation from non-Indo-Aryan languages or through hypersanskritsations of MI-A. forms (cf. *laḍati*: *laṭati*).

Similar to the above are the Hindi forms *laũṛā* boy, *laũṛī* girl, *lauṛiyā* daughter; if there is connection between the forms *lauṛā* and *laũṛā* then we may refer to Sk. *nagnikā* as one of the epithets of a small girl. On this other form see Turner under *lauro* stick.

Turning to the special Marāṭhī forms *por*, *porgā*, *porgī*: *mūl*, *mulgā*, *mulgī* and the dialect forms *jhil*, *jhilgā* we notice at once the suffix *-ga-* in its extended form. Thus we have to deal in reality only with the bases *por-*, *mŭl-* and *jhĭl-* in order to discover their etymologies. The etymology of *por-* is easily connected with Sk. *pota-* with *-ra-* extension as Turner suggests under Nepali *pothi*[1] hen, bird: here we have such cognate expressions as Ku. *potho* any young animal, H. *poti* young female of any animal, but their relationship is not clear with Sk. *pota-*: Pa. *poto*, Pk. *poa-*; A. *po* son, B. *po* son, *poyā* young plant; O. *puo* son *puā* young plantain or bamoo; H. *poā* young plant or animal; M. *povā* young snake, Sgh. *pö* young animal. As cognate with M. *por* we have G. *porī* little girl, *poro* insect. Although there is nothing exceptional in Turner's deriving M. *por* as a *-ra-* extension of Sk. *pota-* for it is quite a normal development, we have to observe here that Sk. *pota-* itself is an extension in *-t-* of I-E. **poᵘ-*, and it will not be unreasonable to consider here the extension in **-ro-* of this I-E. base attested for instance in Gk. *pauros* small, Lat. *parvus*, and which we notice also in Sk. **-pora-* as a second member of a compound in *nīla-pora-* *śataporaka-* a spaecies of sugar-cane. And this inherited form with the extension in **-ro-* might conceivably give us the M. and G. forms.

Tbe matter of accepting direct I-E. origin with the *t*-formans and then with I-A. *-ra-* extension will only be a matter of personal faith, until the balance of probabilities is proved to be on one particular side.

The second word *mūl* with its dental *-l-* indicates a MI-A. **mulla-* which could be easily connected with Sk. *mū́la-* in its derived form *mūlya-* 'being at the root' (i. e. 'beginning' by extension, hence start 'of life'), just as Pk. *molla-* <Sk. *maulya-* and here the matter might rest. Now several Christian dialects of Koṅkaṇī have the words *burgo*, *bhurgo*, *burgi*, *bhurgi* respectively for 'boy' and 'girl,' and they are separable into a base *bur-* or *bhur-* with a suffix *-go-* corresponding to *-gā-* and a suffix *-gi-* corresponding to *-gī-* of Marāṭhī. It is not possible to connect this *bur-* or *bhur-* with any known variant of *por-* or *mūl-* considered above; and yet both the form as well as the meaning indicate that we have here to deal with one set of forms only. Is it possible to connect these different expressions as deriving from a common source?

Initially we may observe that the alternation *bh-* : *m-* has been claimed as an Austro-Asiatic characteristic by Przyluski in his discussion regarding the origin of such double forms in Sanskrit like *bharu-*: *maru-*,[1] *bhalla-*: *mallu-*[2] But in the present case it is difficult to posit any such origin, as the chances appear more favourable in the direction of Indo-European. Already in the Romance languages, which offer such a unique parellel to Indo-Aryan, we find that corresponding to Latin *pŭer-* itself being connected with I-E. **pu-*, one of the modifications of I-E. **pōu̯-* discussed above in connection with Sk. *pota-*. Similarly M. K. *pīl* 'young of an animal,' H. *pillū*, P. *pillā* 'pup' is connected with Lat. *pullus*. Thus K. *b(h)urgo* appears to be derived from this Pistojan *burchio* through the Portuguese connection with Goa. Thus *por-* and *bhur-* can ultimately be connected with I-E. **pōu̯-* or one of its modifications like **pə̯u-*: (**pau-*) **pū-*. Whether M. *mūl-* can be connected with the same base in I-E. must depend upon the change of *p-* to *m-* as a possible factor in I-E. or any of its cognate descendants. The formation with the NI-A. formans *-gā-*, *-gi-* for M. or *-go-*, *-gī-* for K.

[1] *BSL* 90. 197; *bh-*: *m-* ibid. 196-201.
[2] *BSL* 90. 196; Turner, *Nepali Dictionary* 652[b].

suggests the close parallelism existing between these three expressions.

In certain dialects of Marāṭhī and Koṅkaṇī we find the vocables *jhil-* and *jhilgā* or *jhilgo* for 'son, boy.' This can only go back to a MI-A. **jhilla-*, perhaps in the sense of 'small' as in N. *jhilli* 'small fragments of sweetmeats.'

Closely connected with each other seem M. *lĕk*, *lĕkrū̃* and G. *dĩkrī*, *dĩkro* and *ḍikū* 'a small stick (for cattle driving ?),' the first four indicating 'child – boy or girl.' The MI-A. origin suggests forms like **likka-* (: **lekka-*), **dikka-*, **ḍikka-* beyond which we cannot go at present.

There are a large number of other expressions which indicate this idea in NI-A. but they will not be discussed at this juncture. But there are two words in Sanskrit, *kuṇḍá-* and *golaka-*, for an illegitimate child while the husband is still living. The first word goes back to I-E. **kurno-* (or **k. ərno-*) found in Gr. *kúrnoi.* Old Icelandic *hornungr.* The idea seems to be connected with *kuṇḍám* 'a round hole' just as *golaka-* signifies 'roundness.' Compare this with Sk. *śiśu-* 'child' < I-E, **keu-* 'to swell' and Sk. *śāva-*.

For the development of meaning from 'small' to 'child' we may now compare the following examples from Romance languages. [1]

1. Latin *mīn* a pet term for cat : Castellan *miño* 'small' but dial. of Hennegau *minet* 'delicate girl' Bearanian *menit* 'child,' Spanish *menino, -a* 'page,' Jurasian *miña* 'young girl' Catalanian *minyó*, boy, ' *minyona* ' maid ' etc.

2. Latin *parvulus* 'small' : Catalanian *parvol* 'child.'

3. Latin **pīkk-* 'small' : Abruzzian *piččenlle* 'boy,' Rumanian *piciu* 'young boy,' Canavese *čet* 'son,' *pčita*, *četa* 'daughter.'

4. Lat. *pit* 'small' : Campidian *pisterku* 'boy.'

On the other hand an original 'small boy' tends to develop the concept of 'smallness' : Lat. *pūtŭlus* 'small boy' in Rumanian *puchĭos* 'small.'

[1] Meyer-Lübke *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. vv. For *Indo-European* reconstructions reference is to be made to Walde-Pokorny indicated above.

THE ORIGIN OF NĀRĀYAṆA

BY

LILADHAR B. KENY

In the Mahābhārata the word Nārāyaṇa is explained as follows:

आपो नारा इति प्रोक्तास्तासां नाम कृतं मया ।
तेन नारायणोऽप्युक्तो मम तत्त्वयनं सदा ॥

which can be translated thus: " Waters were called (formerly)[2] as Nārā; (and) by me is assumed their (तासां)[3] name; (and) moreover (अपि) that being my abode (अयन),[4] forever, I am called on that account, Nārāyaṇa. "

As the verse itself suggests, there is in the above passage, more of the Dravidian element than the Āryan. It says " Āpa " was formerly called as " Nārā ". Monier Williams, who apparently did not know Dravidian languages, says, while explaining the word 'nārā', that it is " probably only a form

[1] Vana Parva, CXCII, 3. (Kumbhakoṇam Ed.). According to Dutt, it means " In days of yore, I called the waters by the name of Nāra, and because the waters have ever been my Ayana (abode), I am called Nārāyaṇa ": Mbh. Vana Parva, CLXXXIX, 3. (Dutt's Tr.). The same derivation of the word Nārāyaṇa is given in the *Manusmṛti*, I, 10.

[2] This idea seems to have been embodied by Dutt in the expression 'In the days of yore'. The verb used in the text is in past tense which clearly refers to a past age.

[3] अप् and नारा are used in the feminine gender, here. And so this तासां, which is the genitive plural, refers to them, namely waters.

[4] Dutt explains the word अयन as 'an abode'. But the ordinary Sanskrit word for it is आयतन and not अयन. The word अयन, seems to be found twice only in Sanskrit literature, in the two passages referred to above (cf. Apte and Monier-Williams). This fact and the intimate connection of this word with the Dravidian word *nārā*, as well as its derivation from a clear Dravidian root leaves no doubt about its origin. This is very likely another Dravidian word which has passed to the Sanskrit vocabulary, just as अटवि, अग्नि, कला, कुटि, नीर, मीन, etc. (cf. Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, pp. 567–575).

invented to explain Nārāyaṇa.[1]" Caldwell thinks the word to have been derived from 'nir', which in Dravidian languages means 'water'.[2] Kittel and Beschi call it a Dravidian word.[3] Therefore the words themselves, of this verse, show that they explain an old Dravidian tradition.

Moreover as the Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya narrates in this passge one of "the sacred events of ancient ages" (पुरावृत्ताः कथाः पुण्याः),[4] we seem justified to state that the story of these events is a portion of the ancient pre-Āryan lore.

The name of the supposed Āryan god is a combination of three distinct and pure Dravidian words, namely, nār-ay-an. '*nār*' or '*nir*' (ā/i), as we have already seen, means in Dravidian languages 'water'; '*ay*' in Tamil means 'to lie in a place';[5] and *an* is the male personal termination, in Dravidian. The word thus would mean 'one lying (residing) on waters'.[6] This seems to have been a Dravidian god of the seas.

[1] Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 479.

[2] "Nīra, water; assumed derivation *nī*, to guide. This derivation shows that the word was not familiar to the Sanskrit Pandits. Bopp derives it from *nāra*, water"........."*nīra* and *nāra* may have been originally identical, but a reference to the Dravidian languages will show that *nīra* must have been the older form. The Dravidian *nīr* may perhaps be traced to *nīra*, Tam.-Mal. 'to be level'........" "I have little doubt that to *nīra* a Dravidian origin should be ascribed. The corresponding Dravidian word is *nīr* or *nīru*; and as this is the only word properly signifying 'water' which the Dravidian dialects possess, they cannot be supposed to have borrowed it from Sanskrit." *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 571.

[3] *Kanarese-English Dictionary*, pp. xxvii, 157; Beschi, *Saturakarati* p. 204 (Pondicbery 1872).

[4] *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, CLXXXV, 46; of CLXXXVI, 2; CXCI, 2, 3, 15-16.

[5] I owe this information to the Rev. Fr. S. Gnana Prakasar, O. M. I., of Nallur, Jaffna, Ceylon.

[6] In the Bible, also, it is said that "the spirit of God moved over the waters": Gen. I, 2. It has already been shown how identical are some of the ancient Dravidian religious dogmas with the dogmas of the Hebrew nation. Cf. Heras, "The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions", *Journal of the University of Bombay*, V, p. 3. (f. n.); Heras, "La Tradicion del Pecado del Paraiso en las Naciones proto-Indico-Mediterraneas" *Revista Española de Estudios Biblicos*, I, pp. 1 ff.

It can be seen from the Mahābhārata that the passage we have quotod above, just follows the account of the Flood, which shows that they are two parts of the same account and so are connected with each other. But the story of the flood is not referred to at all in the Ṛgveda and it is admitted that the Indo-Aryans never knew it. In this connection M. Burnouf concludes, as stated by J. Muir, that "although, as related in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, the legend of the deluge has received in some respects an Indian character, it is not in its origin Indian."[1] By Indian Burnouf always supposes Āryan. Even Peake, after having studied all the accounts of the flood, comes to the conclusion that "The story can hardly be of Āryan origin, for it does not occur as we have seen, in the earliest religious books of this people, nor in those of the closely allied Persians." "It seems to have been a myth of some pre-Āryan inhabitants of India."[2] This also accounts for the passage of Nārāyaṇa, as given in the Mahābhārata, as originally being non-Āryan, but incorporated later on by the Brāhmaṇas while writing the great epic. They have, in fact, aryanised a non-Āryan God, probably of the people who had a high-sea commerce, and identified him with the present Viṣṇu of the Āryan pantheon.

It is well known that the Dravidians were a great sea-faring people,[3] quite in apposition with the Āryan tillers of the land.[4]

[1] Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I, p. 216.

[2] Peake, *The Flood, New Light on an Old Story*, p. 25.

[3] Autran, *Mithra, Zoroastre et la pré-histoire Aryanne du Christianisme*, pp. 65, 103; Heras, "What was the original name of the proto-Indians?" The Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference, 1941. *Summaries of papers*, pp. 123-125; Hewitt, "Notes on the Early History of Northern India" Part II, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Society*, XXI, pp. 199-201; Heras, "Mohenjo Daro, the people and the Land" *Indian Culture*, III, p. 708; Herodotus, I, 173; VII, 92; Heras, "The origin of the round proto-Indian Seals discovered in Sumer" *B. B. & C. I. Rly. Annual*, 1938, pp. 47-48; Heras, "The Tirayars in Mohenjo Daro". *Jour. of the Bom. Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, (N. S.), XIV, p. 73.

[4] It is admitted by Indo-European philologists that there is not a common word meaning 'sea' in the Indo-European languages, from which fact many authors deduce the consequence that the Āryas did not know the sea before their migration from their home land. Gordon Childe, *The Āryans*, p. 89; Schrader, *Pre-historic Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, p. 353; Dutt, *History of Civilization in Ancient India*, p. 8. cf. Heras, "The cradle of the Āryans" *The New Review*, V, p. 356. Cf. Hornell, "The Chank Shell Cult of India," *Antiquity*, XVI, p. 114.

The Phoenicians, who were a Dravidian tribe, the same as the Paṇis of the Ṛgveda, [1] had even a god *Aleyan* meaning 'the one of the waters'[2] or 'the one of the sea' for *aley* in Tamil, and *ale* in Tulu and Kannada languages mean 'wave' or 'sea' or 'water' and *an* is the male personal termination, as we have already seen. It seems to be the most appropriate name for the god of a sea-faring nation. In the poem of Ras Shamra, *Aleyan* is called 'the house of the sea' and even 'the sea' itself.[3] In one of the proto-Indian inscriptions referring to the tribe of the Tirayars (those of the sea) "the God of the Tirayars" is being mentioned.[4] This god of the Tirayars, being themselves the people of the sea, cannot be other than the 'God of the sea' which is being referred to in another inscription of the same period.[5] This god of the sea seems to be the same as the one described in the above passage, though we do not know his name as yet.

The Avadāna-śataka gives a story which says that the wife of a merchant of Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha, worships and promises Nārāyaṇa, a golden wheel, on the safe return of her husband, who had gone to the sea. And, accordingly, on the safe arrival of her husband, she goes, with a golden wheel and incense, to the temple of Nārāyaṇa.[6] This is a very clear indication that Nārāyaṇa was worshipped by the people of Magadha (South Bihar) as the god of the seas. Now the Māgadhas were a non-Āryan people.[7]

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[1] Autran, *op. cit.*, pp. 67–68; Ludwig, *Translation of the Ṛgveda*, III, pp. 213–215; *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 82.

[2] Montgomery-Harris, *The Rás Shamra, Mythological Texts*, pp. 33 ff.

[3] Dessaud, *Les Découvertes de Ras Shamra (Ugarit) et l' Ancient Testament*, p. 70.

[4] Heras, The Tirayars in Mohenjo Daro, *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (n. s.) XIV, p. 74.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

[6] *Avadāna-Śataka*, I, p. 129; तया नारायणस्य प्रणिपत्य प्रतिज्ञातं यदि मे भर्ता शीघ्रमागच्छति अहं ते सौवर्णचक्रं प्रदास्यामीति ।

[7] Oldenberg, *The Buddha*, p. 400; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, i, 4, 1, 10. cf. *S. B. E.*, XII, p. 104 (f. n.); Maitra, *Fick's Social Organization*, pp. 8-9; Heras, "New vistas of Indian History", *What India Thinks*, p. 118; cf. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, p. 159. Banerji, *Pre-historic Ancient and Hindu India*, pp. 30-35; Vaidya, *Epic India*, p. 187; *Modern Review*, XXXVII, p. 639; Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 6.

This probable Dravidian origin of Nārāyaṇa is the reason of the representation of Śeṣa-śāyi being supported by a Nāga residing on the seas.

The very word Śeṣa-śāyi corroborates the Dravidian character of Nārāyaṇa. The word means 'one sleeping (resting) upon Śeṣa. Śeṣa-nāga is the king of the under-world known as Pātālam, which is explained in the Mahābhārata as:

यस्मादलं समस्तास्ताः पतन्ति जलमूर्तयः ।
तस्मात्पातालमित्येव ख्यायते पुरमुत्तमम् ॥[1]

It means "Since all those objects, having the form of water, fall on it; therefore is this excellent region known by the name of *Pātālam*" (Udyoga Parva, XCIX, 6-10; Dutt's trans). As we see here आलम् is explained as 'water'. We do not come across this or a similar word, meaning 'water', in Sanskrit, but on the contrary *ālam* in Tamil or *ala* in Malayalam means 'water'.

The tradition of Brahmā springing from the navel of Nārāyaṇa seems to be due to the intention of brahmanizing the old deity. Thus the representation of Nārāyaṇa or Śeṣa-śāyi, without Brahmā rising from the navel, is probably the stepping stone to this brahmanization.

The representation of a pure Āryan god with a Nāga, would not seem quite suitable, Śeṣa being the king of the Nāgas, who were a Dravidian tribe.[2] It was the aryanisation of a Dravidian deity of the sea. He was identified, later on, with Viṣṇu and thus incorporated in the Āryan pantheon.[3]

But who is this Dravidian god of the waters (sea)? In the chapter prior to one from which we have quoted the reference to the origin of Nārāyaṇa, there is a passage describing the exact state in which Nārāyaṇa was found, after the flood, by the ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya. The passage says:

ततः कदाचित्पश्यामि तस्मिन्सलिलसंनिधौ ।
न्यग्रोधं सुमहान्तं वै विशालं पृथिवीपते ॥
शाखायां तस्य वृक्षस्य विस्तीर्णायां नराधिप ।
पर्यङ्के पृथिवीपाल दिव्यास्तरणसंस्तृते ॥

[1] Udyoga Parva, XCIX, 6.

[2] Keny, 'The Nāgas in Magadha' *J. B. O. R. S.* XXVIII, p. 163, n. 1.

[3] Hornell, *op. et. loc. cit.*

उपविष्टं महाराज पद्मेन्दुसदृशाननम् ।
फुल्लपद्मविशालाक्षं बालं पश्यामि भारत ॥[1]

The representation of Nārāyaṇa on the tree, which is being said to be standing in the midst of waters all around, has a remarkable parallellism with the Supreme Being of Mohenjo Daro which is also represented as being on a tree.[2] And more striking still is a later passage of the Mahābhārata which identifies Nārāyaṇa with Viṣṇu, Brahma, Indra, Vaiśravaṇa, Yama, Śiva, Soma Kāśyapa, Dhātā, Vidhātā, the Sun, the Fire, the Stars[3] and even Kṛṣṇa.[4] Not only that but he is "...प्रभवः शाश्वतोऽव्ययः । विधाता सर्वभूतानां संहर्ता च..."[5] meaning "the source of all things, the eternal, the unchangeable...creator of all things and also the destroyer of all." Who else can this be, but the Supreme Deity of the Dravidians with whom the epic writers were so very intersted in identifying all the Aryan[6] gods?[7]

1 *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, CXCI, 91-93; Dutt translates it as follows "I saw in that great expanse of water a great and wide extending Banian tree"......"I then saw seated on a cot overlaid with a celestial bed attached to one of the far extending boughs of that Banian tree A boy with a face as beautiful as the lotus or the moon: ...." (*Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, CLXXXVIII, 90-92). The idea, here, of representing god as a child is quite akin to that of the Mediterranean nations where the god of fertility is represented as a young boy (Telepinu, Adonis, Zeus, Jupiter) sometimes shown also over a tree (e. g. Zeus Velcanus, cf. Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 946, fig. 838, 841) which is an evident symbol of fertility. In India there is a literary and iconographical tradition of representing god as a child or with a beautiful child-like face. Even the following chapter of the Mahābhārata, in continuation of the passage quoted, says that Nārāyaṇa is in the form of a boy though he is in fact old ("......अशिशुः शिशुरूपेण......" *op. cit.*, CXCII, 41).

2 Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilisation*, I, Pl. XII, No. 18; cf. Heras, "Tree Worship in Mohenjo Daro", *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Jubilee Volume*, p. 37.

3 *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, CXCII, 5-7, 51.

4 *Ibid.*, Vana Parva, CXII, 51.

5 *Ibid.*, Vana Parva, CXCII, 4.

6 Among these Āryan gods mentioned in this passage the name of Śiva is also found. It might be well possible that this name of a Dravidian god should have been added to this catalogue of deities at a later period. Yet we may point out that though Śiva is a Dravidian god, his name seems to have been used by the Āryans for the first time. Cf. Heras, "The Aṇu in India and Egypt" A paper submitted to the 5th Conference of Indian History, Hyderabad, Deccan; Banerji Sastri, *Asura India*, p. 18.

7 This is only an individual instance of what is said in the first Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda एकं सद् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति । I, 164, 46.

Thus this Nārāyaṇa of the Āryan pantheon seems to be the Supreme Being of the Mohenjo Darians, a god who was probably styled Āṇ,[1] a name still kept in Tamil literature as Āndivanan, the proto-type of the historic Śiva.[2]

[1] Heras, *Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions*", *Journal of the University of Bombay*, V, pp. 2–4. Heras, "The Plastic Representation of God amongst the Proto-Indians" *Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, (1938) p. 223.

[2] In a Śloka (Veṅba) of Opillamaṇi Pulavar, a poet of the Saṅgam Period (1st century A. D.) we read the following expression in which Āndivanan is spoken of as adorned with a crescent on his head as befits Śiva. While addressing the king of Madura, Vananghamudi Pāṇḍyan, the poet says : " O Pāṇḍya, thou who never bowest thy head to any body, art not thou perhaps prostrated at the feet of Āndivanan, while the progenitor of thy sacred race—the cool-rayed moon, at the touching of whose rays the lotus flower opens its petals and the nymphaea flower closes–rests upon his shining hair ? " *Thanipaddatrirattu*, Opillamani Pulavar, No. 19, (Madras. 1923). As may be easily deduced from the above passage the Pāṇḍya kings of Madura were supposed to belong to the Lunar race, that is the reason why the poet calls the moon, the progenitor of the race of the king.

A NOTE ON THE FAMILY RECORDS OF THE PESHWA'S AGENTS AT DELHI

BY

G. H. KHARE

In the month of May 1942, while I was on tour in the Nasik district in search of historical material, I happened to visit Chāndōrī, a village in the same district, from which hailed the Hiṅgaṇe family, many members of which acted as Peshwa's agents with various powers in the North some time or other in the last three quarters of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century. There in the old house of Mr. Nīlakaṇṭhrāo alias Bhayyāsāhib Hiṅgaṇe, the Jagirdar of the place, I saw a big heap of old papers, account books, etc. out of which Sardar N. Y. Mirīkar, his deceased father-in-law, after a continuous labour of three weeks had selected about 1500 documents for careful examination. Mr. Bhayyāsāhib Hiṅgaṇe, on my request, readily handed over to me all those documents. But as about 250 out of them were not directly concerned with historical events, being only private sale-deeds, receipts, etc., I left them there and brought with me to the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala remaining documents for careful study and publication if necessary and possible. On examining them, I find that at least 300 documents deserve immediate publication.

The pedigree[1] of the family runs thus :

(1) Padmākarabhaṭṭa Hiṅgaṇe

|

(2) Govindabhaṭṭa

|

(3) Mahādevabhaṭṭa (died about 6-2-1744 A. D.)

|

(4) Bāpūjī alias Bābā Died circa 1766 A.D.	(5) Dāmodara alias Dādā Died about the end of Feb. 1757 A.D.	(6) Puruṣottama alias Nānā Died in 1782 A.D.	(ı) Devarāo or Divākara alias Tātyā Died circa 1794 A.D.

[1] Based on original published and unpublished papers.

Padmākarabhaṭṭa and Govindabhaṭṭa, who must have lived in about the last and the first quarters of the 17th and the 18th centuries respectively, as is evident from sale-deeds etc., never seemed to have gone beyond their hereditary profession of a priest of pilgrims who used to flock at Nasik, before both the Peshwa and the Hiṅgaṇe families came into prominence, evan as an offshoot of the family does the same even now.

Mahādevabhaṭṭa also followed probably the same profession for a long time before he arrested the attention of Bājīrāo I, who took him into his service and sent him as his agent at the courts of Jaipur, Delhi, etc. He seems to have done his duties very well till a little before the 6th of February 1744 A. D. when he died of wounds received in an action fought between his and the exasperated sepoys formerly in the service of Savāī Jaisingh of Jaipur. At this time he was representing at Delhi both the Peshwa and the Īshvarsingh of Jaipur, a queer coincidence indeed. [1]

After him his three sons Bāpūjī, Dāmodara and Puruṣottama acted as the agents of the Peshwas and exerted considerable influence with several powers in the North. But at home, their services did not bring them, it seems, much credit; for there are letters in this lot which clearly show that they were several times repremanded for not representing the Peshwas and their generals at the various courts according to expectations. [2] It was for the same reason that their *jagir*, estate, *inams* etc. remained confiscated probably for one year (1757-58 A. D.). During this period they were continued in their offices and after taking a *nazar* of twenty lakhs, their estate etc. were returned to them.[3] In 1757 A.D. when Abdālī had been to Delhi, the three brothers fled away and took refuge at Zansi and other places, where died the second brother Dāmodara. [4] Now the fourth brother Devarāo took his place and came into prominence. All these brothers worked as

[1] Purandare Daftar Vol. I, no. 154.

[2] This lot nos. 992, 993, etc.

[3] Ibid and nos. 873, 1037.

[4] Selections from the Peshwa Daftar Vol. XXI, no. 103. Rajwade: मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासाची साधनें (M. I. S.) Vol. I, no. 63.

Peshwa's agents till 1766,[1] 1782[2] and 1794[3] A. D. respectively; for we see letters addressed by and to them till those years which were most probably the years of their deaths also.[4] We find the last brother Devrāo often mentioned as Divākara whose identity, however, is undoubted.[5] The sons of these brothers also took to this very profession; but they did not seem to have risen very high in the esteem of the Marāṭhā Court.

The late R. B. Parasnis had published in his now defunct magazine Itihāsa Saṅgraha hundreds of letters, written by Purusottama and Devarāo, which he found in the archives of Meṇavalī, the native place of Nānā Fadnavīs. But these refer to the post-Panipat period on which there is already a vast amount of first hand material. The late Mr. V. K. Rajwade, the great Savant of Marāṭhā History, indeed had an access to these family records as is apparent from about 275 documents published by him in his Sources of Marāṭhā History (M. I. S.) vol. VI. There are some stray letters of this family also published;[6] but this lot excels all these in importance.

Most of these letters were sent by the several members of the Peshwa family as well as of Shinde, Holkar, Jādhava, Pawār and other *sardar* families and their *diwans* and as such carry first rate importance. They throw a flood of fresh light on the aims of the Marāṭhā empire, the methods of achieving them, the drawbacks of various personages contributing towards the growth of the empire and a number of other points. Then there are drafts of letters sent by the members of the family to the Peshwas and to their *sardars* as also some letters written by various Rajput powers.

These letters supplement in many places what is already known; sometimes they rectify false impressions; at other times they reveal altogether new facts and help us to form a better estimate of the important personages of those times.

1 Rajwade: M. I. S. Vol. VI, no. 425.
2 Ibid no. 434.
3 Ibid no. 438.
4 This lot nos. 710, 493 show that Purusottama died on 2?-3-1782 A. D.
5 Ibid no. 112 and Rajwade: M. I. S. Vol. VI, no. 415.
6 In the Selections from the Peshwa

Owing to the difficulty experienced in fixing the dates of Marathi letters, I cannot tell with certainty which is the earliest letter among these; but a letter of Mahādevabhaṭṭa Hingaṇe from Delhi asking Rāṇojī Shinde to retreat from Ujjain which he had captured while negotiations were in progress through him with the Mughal prime minister in Delhi in 1728 A.D. appears to be the earliest.[1] The latest documents belong to the beginning of the British regime in Delhi when some members of the family were still residing there.

As usual each letter contains at the beginning a long summary of the letter to which the former forms a reply and therefore fills in the deficiency caused by the absence of the original letters. The importance of this system of letter-writing can be easily realized from the fact that whereas about thirty letters of the pre-Panipat period addressed by the father and his four sons have by this time come to light, about four times this is the number of letters of the Peshwas etc., addessed to these persons, many of which contain the summaries of the original letters sent by them.

As a specimen I produce here a short letter [2] addressed to Bāpūjī Mahādeva and his younger brother Dāmodara Mahādeva by Malhārjī Hoḷkar and Jayājī Shinde on behalf of Bāḷājī Bājīrāo Peshwa for which reason it bears his (B. B. P.) seal and signet generally used by his deputies. Though it is defectively dated as the 29th of Jumād II, it can be easily ascribed to the year 1749 A.D. and hence its date is the 4th of June of that year. Early in this year Nāsir Jang, the successor of Āsaf Jāh Nizām-ul-Mulk I in the Dekkan under the pretext of an imperial order was trying to penetrate his way to Delhi with a view to chalk out a plan in concert with other nobles there for ousting the Marāṭhās from their acquisitions in the North and the South.[3] With this intention he even crossed Narmadā at the Akbarpūr ford. But as the Marāṭhās thought this action of his, harmful to their aim of expanding their own territory, the above two deputies blocked

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1 This lot nos. 1217, 1218.

2 Ibid no. 741.

3 Selections from the Peshwa Daftar Vol. II, no. 13; Maāthir-ul-Umarā Vol. III, pp. 850, 851.

his way near Kota. Nāsir Jang thereupon under the same pretext began his return marches on the 19th of Jumād II (25-5-1749 A. D.) towards Burhanpur. Though the present letter supplies only partly the information given here, the lot contains a very long letter of Malhārjī Holkar addressed to the same persons which is replete with details bearing on this very subject.[1]

The original letter runs thus:

श्री

राजश्री बापूजी माहादेव व राजश्री दामोदर माहादेव गोसावी यांसि

ई अखंडितलक्ष्मीआलंकृत राजमान्य श्नो॥ मल्हारजी होलकर व जयाजी सिंदे दंडवत विनंति उपरी येथील कुशल जाणौन स्वकीये कुशल लिहीत जाणे विशेष इकडील वर्तमान तर नवाब अकबरपूरच्या घाटावर आला आहे घाट उतरोन दिलीस जात आहे हे वर्तमान आइकिलीवर मनसबा पाहाता कदाचित दरकूच जात असेल हे ध्यानात आणून बुलगे पेढारी व गौली वगैर वाणी बकाल यास खेचीच्या रानात टाकून सडे लस्कर कोट्याच्या सुमारे आडवे व्हावे या विचारे आलो असियास हे बातमी नवाब नासरजंग यास ठीक जाताच छ १९ जमादिलाखरी कूच करून माघारे बऱ्हाणपुराकडे रोख धरिला आहे वरकड सविस्तर आलाहिदा पुरवणी पत्रावरून कलेल छ २९ जमादिलाखर [In different hand-writing*] बहूत काये लिहिणे हे विनंती [signet with the legend*] लेखन सीमा

पो॥ छ १३ रजब

[The seal bears the following legend*] श्रीराजा शाहू नरपति
हर्षनिधान बाळाजी बाजीराव प्रधान

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[1] This lot no. 1168.

ICONOGRAPHY OF CANDRA AND CANDRAS'EKHARA IMAGES

By

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To the average uninitiate of the West, Indian art, especially the figures of gods and goddesses in their numerous poses and functionings with their activities and qualities symbolised as hands, heads, weapons and *mudrās* (poses) appear a little out of the common if not uncanny or monstrous, and do not yield that pleasant feeling of intellectual repose which they derive by gazing at a figure of Apollo or Venus d'Medici; whereas, in the case of an Indian, their importance as religious objects for adoration and devotion is intensified by this very fact of extra limbs and weapons, and serves to focus his mind better as a preliminary to his enraptured ideal of silent contemplation (*dhyāna*).

The tall spire of the Hindu temple is one of the first objects to arrest the attention of the observant foreigner and excite his curiosity as he travels throughout India. On going to the temple, he meets with a number of what may perhaps appear to him to be grim and meaningless images in stone and bronze and other materials, some with two, others with four or more arms, holding a variety of weapons and other more or less curious articles in their hands. The innumerable gods and goddesses, comprised within the tolerant and all inclusive fold of the Hindu religion, are full of interest to him alone who cares to know and study their significance in their proper environment.

The Sanskrit texts on Iconography mention that the five planets—Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn,—along with the ascending and descending nodes of the Moon called Rāhu and Ketu, with the Sun and the Moon, are collectively known as the *Navagrahas*.

The nine planets are worshipped by the Hindus and their images are generally found in all important S'aiva temples in South India. They are invariably placed in a separate *maṇḍapa* having a pediment of about three feet in height; and no two of them are made to face each other. While describing the respec-

PLATE I

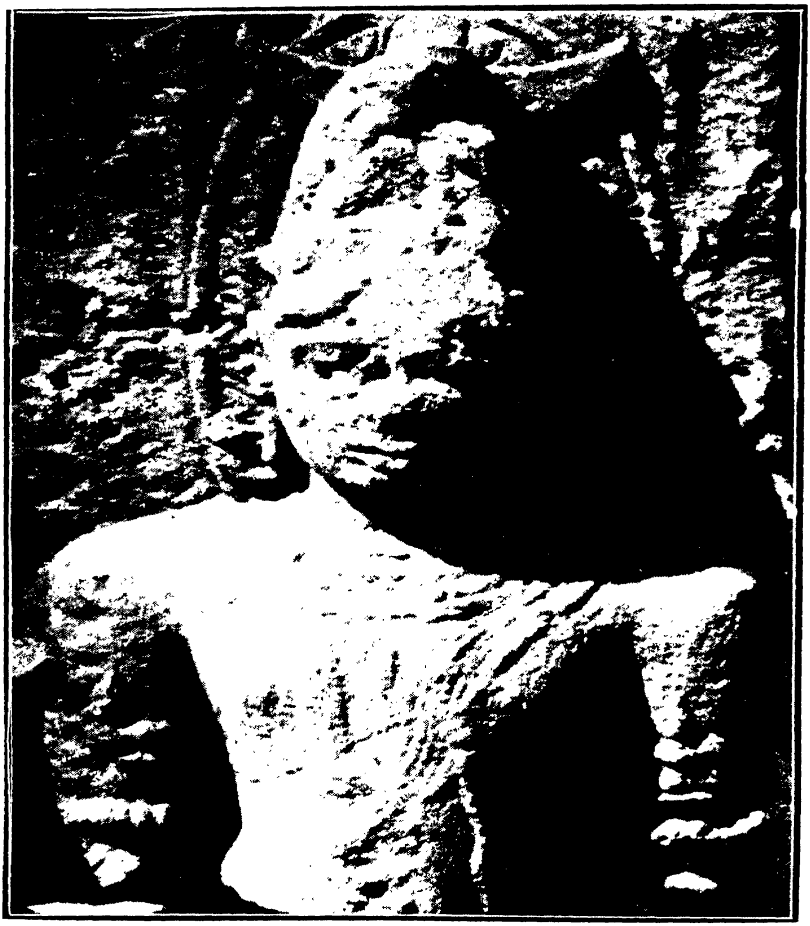


Image from Sūrya-Kuṇḍa
at Moḍherā, North Gujarāt.

PLATE II



Rājshāhi, Pahārpur, Śiva with crescent moon over head.
(Pahārpur Memoir, Pl. XXX, 6.)

PLATE III



Candra from Vaḍnagar,
North Gujarāt.

PLATE IV



Candra and Sūrya on one stone from Vaḍnagar,
North Gujarāt.

PLATE V



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Head of Moon-God from Bhilsā
(now in the Gwalior Archæological Museum.)

PLATE VI



Candra, mounted on a chariot with ten horses from Central Museum, Nagpur.

PLATE VII



Candra.
From 16th Century Nava-graha painting on cloth from Gujarāt. The *hariṇa* as *vāhana*, the *prabhā-maṇḍala* and the *gadā* in one hand are remarkable.

tive positions of the various planet-images in a Sun-temple with the twelve forms of Sūrya, it is stated in the *Rūpamaṇḍana* that the Moon should be on the east of the temple. (पूर्वस्यां दिशि

The Navagrahas, including Soma or Candra, in varying orders are found carved on the lintel of some of the Hindu temples in India; but they are rather in a miniature form. Beautiful, separate and striking images in marble of S'ukra, S'ani, Rāhu and Ketu are found in the collection of the Rajputānā Museum, Ajmer, although the image of Candra is missing.

Candra or the moon is also known as Soma; and is identified with the glistening drops of Soma-juice so well known in the Vedic period. His figure, according to the *Aṃśumadbhedāgama*, may be represented either as standing or sitting. In the latter case, the seat, upon which he is to sit, should be a *siṃhāsana*. The colour of Candra should be perfectly white and his head should be surrounded by a halo or *prabhāmaṇḍala*. He should also be adorned with various ornaments and a garland composed of all sorts of flowers and should be clothed in white garments. He should have two hands each of which should hold a white water-lily (*kumuda*). On his chest should be shown a golden *yajño-pavīta* and his countenance should be beautiful and possess a peaceful (*saumya*) look.[1]

The *S'ilparatna* requires that the figure of Candra should be shown as seated in a chariot drawn by ten horses, that this deity should hold a *gadā* in the right hand, and that the left should be held in the *varada* pose.

In the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, the Sanskrit text on Iconography, popular in Gujarāt and Western India during the glorious period of Hindu rule, references are available regarding the colour,[2]

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1 सोमस्सिंहासनासीनः कुन्दशङ्खसमद्युतिः ।
प्रभामण्डलसंयुक्तो द्विभुजस्सौम्यवक्त्रकः ॥
आसीनो वा स्थितो वापि कुमुदोज्ज्वलकं करः ।
हेमयज्ञोपवीताङ्गस्सर्वाभरणभूषितः ॥
शुक्लवस्त्रधरश्शान्तस्सर्वपुष्पैरलंकृतः ।
सोम एवं समाख्यातः ॥

— अंशुमद्भेदागमे

2 श्वेतः सोमः । श्लो. १६.

the conveyance[1], and the hands[2] of the Soma-image. Regarding the diadem and ear-rings[3], the references common to all the planet-images, apply to Soma also.

According to Agni Purāṇa, Candra should be shown as holding *kamaṇḍalu* and *akṣasūtra* which is actually the representation in the joint marble-image of Candra and Sūrya on one stone situated at Vaḍanagar, North Gujarāt. The Pahārpur image, to be referred to later, has also *akṣasūtra* in the right hand, and not exactly a *kamaṇḍalu* but something like a citron (*mātuluṅga*) in the left.

In the Varāha-panel at Mahābalipuram, up above the heads of Brahmā and S'iva to the right and left respectively of the Varāhamūrti are represented probably the Candra and the Sūrya, worshipping Varāha with folded hands, here represented only upto the middle of the body, the lower portion being left unsculptured evidently to suggest that they are up and unsupported in the sky. The figure of Sūrya is represented with a *prabhāmaṇḍala* round about the head, the edge of the lower circumference touching the chin of the image. The image of Candra here represented, however, does not help us in getting any knowledge about its iconography.

The Moḍherā image (to compare notes with the description of the Moon-image as given in the *Aṃśumadbhedāgama*), has

(1) a face which is shown surrounded by a halo (प्रभामण्डलसंयुक्तः); and

(2) is beautiful and shows a peaceful temperament (सौम्यवक्त्रकः).

(3) It has two hands (द्विभुजः); but it is not possible to know what things were held by them as they are broken.

(4) It is also not known whether it was a sitting (आसीन) or a standing (स्थित) figure, as only the upper portion of the body is available.

(5) It has a golden yajñopavīta (हेमयज्ञोपवीताङ्गः).

(6) It is adorned with various ornaments and garlands (सर्वाभरणभूषितः); and

(7) it has a diadem (किरीटी), and has

(8) ear-rings (रत्नकुण्डलशोभितः).

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1 चन्द्रो दशहयः स्मृतः । श्लो.६४. 2 पद्महस्तो भवेत्सोमः । श्लो.६२. 3 ग्रहाः किरीटिनः कार्या रत्नकुण्डलशोभिताः । श्लो. ६६.

The identification of this image (*Plate I*) noticed by me at the Sūrya Kuṇḍa, facing the famous Sun-temple at Moḍherā, North Gujarāt, and published in the *Journal of the Bombay University* in Vol. V, Part VI, May 1937, as Soma, requires reconsideration; as a great authority like Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the Director-General of Archaeology for India writes to me in a private letter that he is disposed to identify this image as being that of Candras'ekhara S'iva and not as of the planet Candra.

It was through his kind offices that the Superintendent, Eastern Circle, sent me a print of the photograph of a Candras'ekharamūrti (*Plate II*) found from Pahārpur excavations (Bengal), verily the oldest of the sculptures that are reproduced here.

Let us first consider the *dhyāna* of Candras'ekhara. Candras'ekharamūrti is one of the twenty-five Līlā-mūrtis of Mahes'a, who manifests himself to the devotees in different forms, performing several sports (*līlās*) as seated or standing, dancing or riding upon vehicles, as terrific (*ugra*) or pacific (*saumya*) and so on. The name *Candraśekharamūrti* implies an image which has Candra (moon) as its head-ornament.

The generic form of Mahésa has one face set with three eyes, the head adorned with a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, four arms, and is standing on *padmāsana*. In two of his hands are the *mṛga* and the *paraśu*, and the remaining two hands are held in the *abhaya* and the *varada* poses. Sadās'iva or Mahésa may be conceived as having only one face set with three eyes which represent the *Icchāśakti*, *Jnānaśakti* and the *Kriyāśakti*. *Candrakalā* (the crescent moon) stands as a symbol of *jnāna* (wisdom) picked up in the *jaṭāmukuṭa* and adorned with all ornaments such as the *yajñopavīta*. The Pās'upatamūrti is very much identical to the Candras'ekharamūrti in description[1].

The *Aṃśumadbhedāgama* says that the Candras'ekarakevalamūrti should have one of his right hands held in the *abhaya* pose, one of his left hands in the *varada* pose: the other

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1 अथ पाशुपतं वक्ष्ये चन्द्रशेखरवत्स्थितम् ।
चतुर्भुजं त्रिनेत्रं चाप्यूर्ध्वकेशं महातनुम् ॥
दक्षिणेऽभयकं शूलं कपालं वरदं परे ।
प्रवालसदृशप्रख्यं सर्वाभरणभूषितम् ॥ —शिल्परत्ने

right hand should carry the *ṭaṅka* and the remaining left hand a black buck; S'iva should be standing erect, without any bends in his body, i. e. in the attitude known as *samabhaṅga* which is said to be expressive of the *rājasa guṇa* of the image.

He should be shown as wearing on his head a *jaṭāmukuṭa* ornamented with a crescent moon which may be attached to the right or the left of the *jaṭāmukuṭa*; also, he should have three eyes, a beautiful face and be adorned with all ornaments.

In the left ear of the image of S'iva Candras'ekhara there should be either the ear-ornament (*ratnakuṇḍala*, *śaṅkhapatra* or *padmapatra*), whereas in the right ear there may be either the ornament *makarakuṇḍala*, *siṁhakuṇḍala* or *patrakuṇḍala*. The curls of hair should hang at the back as far down as the ear, while the *jaṭā* (braids or plaits) should hang on the right and left of the shoulders.

The figure should also be ornamented with several necklaces (*muktāhāra*, *ratnahāra*); and there should also be *yajñopavīta*. Besides, there should be *keyūras* and other bracelets (*kaṭakas*) on the arms, the fingers should be adorned with rings and the waist with a zone, and the ankles with anklets. The figure should be standing upon a *padmapīṭha*.[1]

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1 **चंद्रशेखरमूर्तिः ।**

"इन्दुमौलीप्रतिष्ठां तु वक्ष्ये लक्षणपूर्विकाम् ।
चतुर्भुजस्त्रिनेत्रश्च समपादस्थानके स्थितः ॥
वराभयसमायुक्तपूर्वस्थकरपल्लवं ।
वरदं वामहस्ते स्यादभयं दक्षिणे करे ॥

... ...

पद्मपत्रिकया वापि शोभितं वामकर्णकम् ।
सव्यं मकरसिंहाख्यं पत्रकुण्डलकैर्युतम् ॥
पृष्ठतः कर्णपर्यन्तं केशवर्तिविलम्बनम् ।
पार्श्वयोर्बाहुमूलान्तु जटाग्राणां विलम्बनम् ॥
हारयुग्ग्रीवसंयुक्त तथा कर्णिकयान्वितम् ।
वक्षस्स्थलं प्रकर्तव्यं भुजाः केयूरसंयुताः ॥
सुपत्रवलयोपेतास्सर्वरत्नोपशोभिताः ।
मुक्तादामविलम्बाश्च तदग्र मणिभूषणम् ॥
कराग्र कटकोपेतमङ्गुल्यो मुद्रिकान्विताः ।
छन्नवीरोत्तरीयोपवीतैस्सोदरबन्धन· ॥
समस्तरत्नपाशाढ्यकृत्रिमाननदामभिः ।
संयुक्तकटिसूत्रोऽन्तपादजालकसंयुतः ॥
चंद्रशेखर एवं स्याद्देव्या च सहितो न वा ।"

—उत्तरकामिकागमे

केवलमूर्तिः ।

"अभयं दक्षिणं हस्तं वरदं वाममुच्यते ।
वरदं वामहस्तं तु अधोमुखं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
जटामुकुटसंयुक्तं दक्षिणार्धेन्दुसंयुतम् ।
वामेन्दुशेखरं वाथ प्रवालसदृशप्रभम् ॥
त्रिनेत्रं सौम्यवदनं सर्वाभरणभूषणम् ।
पीताम्बरधरं देवं वस्त्राग्रौ नलकान्तगौ ॥"

—अंशुमद्भेदागमे शिल्परत्ने च

"अभयवरदहस्तं सौम्यशृङ्गारभावं ।
विपुलवदननेत्रं चन्द्रबिम्बांशमौलिम् ॥
ऋजुतनुसमुपादस्थानकं विद्रुमाभं ।
हरिणपरशुपाणिं पद्मपीठोपरिस्थम् ॥"

—श्रीतत्त्वनिधौ

The Sanskrit texts quoted above are taken from T. A. Gopinath Rao's "Elements of Hindu Iconography", Vol. II, Part II, pp. 54, 55, 56 (1915).

The image from Pahārpur is rather unique in that the crescent moon is fixed on the *jaṭāmukuṭa* as in the case of the image at Moḍherā above referred to; even though the Sanskrit texts require that the Candrakalā may be fixed either on the right or the left side of the *jaṭāmukuṭa*, and not on the top as in these two uncommon cases. (Vide Plate XIII, T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I. p. 109).

The two trunks of trees visible on each of the two sides of the image from Pahārpur appear to be some variety of palm, from which intoxicating juice like the Soma-juice of the Vedic times used to be extracted. This fact leads us to revise the identification of the image to be Soma (moon-god); and we are constrained to believe that it cannot be Candras'ekhara S'iva. Moreover, the two objects visible in the two hands of this image are exactly identical with those held by the image found from Vaḍanagar, North Gujarat (*Plate III*) where the image of Sūrya is also carved on the same marble pedestal upon which the sculpture of Candra is executed. This fact leaves no doubt regarding the identification of Candra (*Plate IV*) in case of the Vaḍanagar sculpture owing to the close proximity of Sūrya.

Of course, the representation of the crescent moon on the *jaṭā* in the case of the Pahārpur image and in the Moḍherā image is, however, quite identical; and is the principal feature which leads one to think of them as being connected with Candras'ekhara S'iva; but the Moḍherā fragment can be distinguished from this by its unique *prabhā-maṇḍala*.

The only surviving head of the Moon-God (*Plate V*)[1] from Bhilsā (Central India) now in the Gwalior Archaeological Museum, has a *prabhā-maṇḍala* worked out in the same way as in the Vaḍanagar image of Candra, the lower edge of the circumference touching the chin of the image.

An image of Moon-God has been illustrated and described by the late Mr. Natesha Aiyar in the *Descriptive List of Exhibits in the Archaeological Section of the Nāgpur Museum*: "Sculpture (*Plate VI*) (ht. 2′ 2″) of greyish buff-coloured sandstone, is in good preservation representing Candra, the Moon, seated cross-legged in an arched niche surrounded by a border of leaves probably meant for rays. The seat consists of a chariot drawn

1 Photo kindly lent by Mr. M. B. Garde, Director of Archaeology, Gwalior state.

by ten-horses, five on each side, and provided with two wheels. The god holds a lotus-bud in his right hand. His left hand, which rests on his lap, is partially damaged, and must have been held down originally in the boon-granting attitude (Skr. *varadamudrā*). He wears a peculiar cap, hemispherical in shape, as well as a necklace. There is a headless animal sitting on his right thigh which can be identified with his cognizance, a hare. In front of him is his charioteer with mutilated head.

The Sculpture is said to have come from Mandla.

The following description of this god occurs in the *S'ilparatna*,

चंद्रश्चित्रे विधातव्यः श्वेताम्बरसमावृतः ।
दशश्वेताश्वसंयुक्तमारूढः स्यान्दनं शुभम् ॥
द्विभुजो दक्षिणे पाणौ गदां बिभ्रत्पृथूदरीम् ।
वामस्थवरदे हस्ते शशाङ्कश्च निरूप्यते ॥

Again in a quotation from the *Matsyapurāṇa* contained in Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, the description runs thus:—

चन्द्रः श्वेतवपुः कार्यः श्वेताम्बरधरः प्रभुः ।
चतुर्बाहुर्महातेजाः सर्वाभरणभूषितः ॥
कुमुदौ च सितौ कार्यौ तस्य देवस्य हस्तयोः ।
कान्तिर्मूर्तिमती कार्या तस्य पार्श्वे तु दक्षिणे ॥
वामे शोभा तथा कार्या रूपेणाप्रतिमा भुवि ।
चिह्नं तथास्य सिंहाङ्कं वामपार्श्वेऽर्कवद्भवेत् ॥
दशाश्वश्च रथे कार्यौ द्वे चक्रे वरसारथिः ।
श्वेतः श्वेताम्बरधरः श्वेताश्वः श्वेतभूषणः ।
गदापाणिर्द्विबाहुश्च कर्तव्यो वरदः शशी ॥"[1]

This variety of the image-making of Candra is according to Sanskrit texts; however, he is represented as seated, and though it has two hands, there is very little in common with the illustrations described above.

The points common to the icons of Candra and Candras'ekharamūrti, as well as those of dissimilarity between them can be better appreciated when collected together as under:—

Candra and Candras'ekharamūrti are (1) standing, (2) in the *samabhaṅga* (erect) pose, (3) with ornaments on various parts

1 This relevant quotation with the photograph *Plate VI* is due to the courtesy of the Curator, Nagpur Museum.

of the body (4) and a *yajñopavīta* (5) with *udarabandhana* (girdle)[1] (6) and the figure of crescent moon on the head (7) the face being serene—*saumya* (derived from Soma).

The points of difference as can be gathered from the Sanskrit texts are as under : (1) Ćandra has two eyes ; Candras'ekhara S'iva is everywhere mentioned with three eyes ; (2) Candra has two arms (excepting the *Viṣṇudharamottara* text which mentions four arms) ; Candras'ekhara has always four except we rely on the descriptions of Sadyojāta and Tatpuruṣa given in the *Rūpamaṇḍana* ; (3) Candra has a halo-*prabhāmaṇḍala*-according to texts as well as in actual sculptures ; Candras'ekhara has none ;[2] (4) Candra is mentioned white in colour like a conch ; Candras'ekhara reddish white like *pravāla* ; of course, both are compared with products from the ocean ; (5) Candra may be represented either seated or standing ; Candras'ekhara as always standing in an erect pose ; (6) things held in two hands, in examples where hands are in tact, are almost identical, the *akṣasūtra* being common in the right hand ; but the other hand in case of Candramūrti holds a *kamaṇḍalu*, and in the Candras'ekharamūrti holds a citron (*mātuluṅga*,) or it may be a broken ***kamaṇḍalu***. (7) Candra has the plaits of hair worked up in a *jaṭāmukuṭa* ; Candras'ekhara from Pahārpur has the plaits of hair spread on both the shoulders.

The descriptions given of Tatpuruṣa S'iva[3] (Rudra) and of Sadyojāta S'iva (Rudra) in the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, lead us partly to identify the Pahārpur image as that of Candras'ekhara S'iva. Whereas the description of the former tallies with the actual

1 The *urudāma* or the girdle in case of the Pahārpur image is very simple as contrasted to the elaborately ornamented one of the Vaḍanagar Candra image, suggesting a pretty early date for the former.

2 In two examples, the crescent moon is on the top of the *jaṭā*, in the other two instances, it circumscribes the lower end of the face, touching the chin, and forms a part of the *prabhāmaṇḍala*. T. A. Gopinath Rao notices on page 121 of Vol.II, Part I that : "In case of Candras'ekharamūrti whether in company with his consort or not, it should have around him the *prabhāmaṇḍala*. It must also be noted that this image of S'iva should always be a standing one." No text, however, has been traced regarding the *prabhāmaṇḍala* for Candras'ekharamūrti.

3 पीताम्बरस्तत्पुरुषः पीतयज्ञोपवीतवान् ।
मातुलुङ्गं करे वामेऽक्षमाला दक्षिणे तथा ॥
—रूपमण्डने तत्पुरुषः । अ. ८, श्लो. १२.

sculpture as far as it has a *yajñopavīta*, a *pītāmbara*-cloth wrapped round the body, and it holds *akṣamālā* in the right hand and may be a *mātuluṅga* (citron) in the left ; but it does not make mention of the crescent moon, the main convincing item for such an identification.

In the description of Sadyojāta S'iva[1] over and above the white cloth, the image has white garlands, plaits of hair with crescent moon on its top, three eyes, a peaceful look, *kuṇḍalas* in the ear, and the two hands in the *varada* and *abhaya* poses. But then, this differs from the actual sculpture as far as the holding in the two hands is concerned ; there is also no trace of the third eye.

Thus, anyway, there is no text directly and fully helpful in identifying the Pahārpur image as being that of Candras'ekhara S'iva, to my knowledge.

Scholars are invited to throw more light on the dubious identification of these and the like Candra and Candras'ekhara-mūrtis in interests of the study of Hindu Iconography.

1 शुक्लाम्बरधरं देवं शुक्लमाल्यानुलेपनम् ।
जटाभारयुतं कुर्याद् बालेन्दुकृतशेखरम् ।।
त्रिलोचनं सौम्यमुखं कुण्डलाभ्यामलंकृतम् ।
सद्योजातं महोत्साहं वरदाभयपाणिनम् ॥
—रूपमण्डने सद्योजातः । अ. ८, श्लो. १२.

MANVANTARA-CATURYUGA METHOD

(as employed in Purāṇas for chronological computations)

By

D. R. Mankad

In my papers on 'The Yugas[1]' and 'The Manvantara[2]', after examining the question of Yugas and Manvantara, I have based the following conclusions. (1) All the Yugas, at first, had equal number of years, each having 1000 years at first and then 1200 years, the total of four Yugas being at first 4000 years and then 4800 years. (2) Yugas were computed at various figures, so were caturyugas. (3) Manvantara was used in two senses: (*a*) period from one Manu (Manu being a generie dynastic title for a king) to another Manu, or (*b*) period from a Manu (starter of a dynasty) to any king of his line. (4) Caturyuga in the usual Puranic formula 'caturyugāṇām hi saṁkhyātā sādhikā hyekasaptatiḥ manvantaram' was computed at 40 years. (5) I have further suggested that the Purāṇas employ what I call Manvantara-caturyuga method for longer chronological computations. The method was employed thus. They took a unit of 40 years (termed as caturyuga) and in a given dynasty they kept as many kings as the units of 40 years were required. If a dynasty lasted for 200 years and even if during these 200 years there ruled ten kings of that dynasty, the Purāṇas would keep only five prominent names and omit others, for they would require five units of 40 years (i.e. five caturyugas) each. Thus in our Puranic genealogical tables of Solar and Lunar branches, the kings who are enumerated are really speaking caturyugas or king-units or regnal units of 40 years each (of course, on an average). This is what I mean by Manvantara-caturyuga method. (6) I have also shown that such Manvantara-caturyuga computations were made particularly in the days of the 71st, 72nd and 73rd kings, and more particularly in the days of 72nd king. It is, therefore, that we have Manvantara (= total regnal period of a dynasty upto a particular point) equal to 71 caturyugas.

I shall, here, show how this method is actually used in our Puranic genealogies.

1 See Poona Orientalist, April 1942.

2 See IHQ (article appearing shortly).

1. *Manvantara of 71 Caturyugas*

Let us see if manvantara computations were made in the reign of the 72nd king.

This tradition of 71 kings or caturyugas in one manvantara is found in the Purāṇas in one other connection also. In most of the Purāṇas, which give full lists of Solar and Lunar dynasties, the dynasties stop with Sumitra and Kṣemaka respectively. But after all the dynastic lists are over, there are certain general concluding remarks made in almost all such Purāṇas. They are important. I shall quote relevant portions of these remarks from two or three sources.

In Matsya it is said in these concluding remarks: (273rd)

एवं राजर्षयोऽतीताः शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः ॥१४
मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यासन्वर्तमानेऽन्तरे विभो ।
तेषां तु निधनोत्पत्तौ लोकसंस्थितयः स्थिताः ॥१५
न शक्यो विस्तरस्तेषां संतानस्य परस्परम् ।
तत्पूर्वापरयोगेन वक्तुं वर्षशतैरपि ॥१६
अष्टाविंशत्समाख्याता गता वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे ।
एते देवगणैः सार्धं शिष्टा ये तान्निबोधत ॥१७
चत्वारिंशत्त्रयश्चैव भविष्यास्ते महात्मनः ।
अवशिष्टा युगाख्यास्ते ततो वैवस्वतो ह्ययम् ॥१८

In Vāyu similar verses are found; the last two verses read thus: (99th).

अष्टाविंशद्युगाख्यास्तु गता वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे ।
एता राजर्षिभिः सार्धं शिष्टा यास्ता निबोधत ॥४५९
चत्वारिंशच्च यैः चैव भविष्या सह राजभिः ।
युगाख्यानां विशिष्टास्तु ततो वैवस्वतक्षये ॥४६०

In Brahmāṇḍa (3,74) these verses read thus:

अष्टाविंशद्युगाख्यास्तु गता वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे ॥२१२
एतै राजर्षिभिः सार्धं शिष्टा यास्ता निबोधत ।
चत्वारिंशत्त्रयश्चैव भविष्या सह राजभिः ॥२१३
युगाख्यानावशिष्टास्तु ततो वैवस्वतक्षयः ।

It will be seen that Brahmāṇḍa reading is the best. These verses say that, so far 28 yugākhyās have elapsed and 43 more yugākhyās are to elapse yet. Here yugākhyā is the same

as caturyuga.[1] Thus it is said that 28 caturyugas have passed so far and 43 more are to pass. Then there will be 'vaivasvatakṣaya'. This evidently means that 28 caturyugas of a manvantara have passed and 43 are to pass. Thus a manvantara had 71 caturyugas.

On reading the above statements of the Purāṇas that 28 caturyugas have passed, we are at once reminded that according to our traditional calculation, we are, now, in the 7th manvntara's 29th caturyuga, 28 caturyugas having already passed. Of course, traditionally it is said that at present 6 manvantaras, 28 caturyugas and 3 yugas have passed. This will again remind us that according to Āryabhaṭṭa 6 manus, 27 caturyugas and 3 yugas have passed.

Why is it so universally believed that 28 or 27 caturyugas of the 7th manvantara have passed ? Let us see.

When were the 28 caturyugas over according to the above verses ? These concluding remarks are put after Solar and Lunar lines are all over; and the obvious conclusion is that before Sumitra and Kṣemaka, who are pronounced to be the last of the Aikṣavākus and Ailas, 28 caturyugas were over. Taking caturyuga to be a ruling generation it would mean that before Sumitra 28 kings had passed. But of which manvantara 28 kings had passed ? The calculation cannot be from Manu Vaivasvata, for, according to Purāṇas, as we find them to-day, Sumitra was about 120th from Manu and not 28th or 29th.

My explanation is this. I suggest that when the 71st king from Manu Vaivasvata was dead, one manvantara was actually taken as closed and another Manvantara was taken as started. I shall later give my evidence for this statement, but taking for the present that after the reign of the 71st king was over, a new manvantara was taken as started, we can say that Sumitra should have been the 29th king of that manvantara or, in other words, he should have been the 29th king after the 71st king from Manu Vaivasvata. Then it would be said that of this new manvantara (which would be taken as started with the accession of the 72nd king) 28 caturyugas or ruling generations had passed before Sumitra. But from which king was Sumitra the 29th king ? When was the new manvantara taken as started ? Who was the 71st king after whom Sumitra was 29th ?

1 Cp. Mbh. (Vana, 188, 38) एषा द्वादशसाहस्री युगाख्या परिकीर्तिता, where yugākhyā is clearly used in the sense of caturyuga.

We shall examine Sumitra's descent. Starting from the close of the Mahābhārata war, we get the following genealogy of the Solar line in different Purāṇas.

TABLE I

No.	Vāyu	Viṣṇu	Matsya	Bhāgavata	Bhaviṣya	Garuḍa
1	Bṛhadbala	...*	...	...	...	...
2	Bṛhatkṣaya	...		...	Bṛhadaiśāna	
					Maukṣepa	
3	Kṣaya	Urukṣaya	Kṣaya	Urukriya	Vatsapāla	Kṣaya
4	Vatsavyūha	...	Vatsadroha	...	...	...
5	Prativyūha	...	...	...	...	Bṛhadaiva
6	Divākara	...	...	...	...	
7	Sahadeva	...	...	...	...	
8	Bṛhadaśva	...	Dhṛvāśva	...	...	
9	Bhānuratha	...	Mahābhāga	...	...	...
10	Pratītāśva	...	...	...		...
11	Supratīta	...	...	...	...	...
12	Sahadeva	Marudeva	...	...	...	Manudeva
13	Sunakṣatra	...	...	...	...	...
14	Kinnara	...	...	...	...	...
15	Antarikṣa	...	...		...	...
16	Suparṇa	...	Suṣena	...	...	...
17	Amitrājit	...	...	...	...	...
18	Bharadvāj	...	...	...	...	...
19	Dharmī	...		...	...	
20	Vrāta	Kṛtañjaya	...	...	...	...
21	Raṇañjaya	...	...	...	...	...
22	Saṁjaya	...	...	...	...	...
23	S'ākya	...	...	...	...	...
24	S'uddhodana	...	...		...	...
			Siddhārtha			
25	Rāhula	...	...	...	...	...
26	Prasenajit	...	...	...	...	...
27	Kṣudraka	...	...	...	...	...
28	Kṣulika	...	...	...		Sammitra
29	Suratha	...	...	...	...	...
30	Sumitra	...	...	...	...	...
	30	30	29	28	29	25

* Three dotted lines show that the same name occurs in the Purāṇa.

From this table we find that according to Vāyu and Viṣṇu, Sumitra was 30th from Bṛhadbala, according to Matsya and Bhaviṣya he was 29th, according to Bhāgavata he was 28th and according to Garuḍa he was 25th from Bṛhadbala who was killed in the Mahābhārata war. Mr. Sita Nath Pradhan, who has tried to reconstruct this line, puts Sumitra as 28th from Bṛhadbala, but he admits that both Vrāta and Raṇañjaya ruled separately and thus even according to Mr. Pradhan, taking the ruling generations, Sumitra was 29th from Bṛhadbala.[1] I, however, suggest that according to Purāṇas, as Vāyu and Viṣṇu have it, Sumitra was 30th from Bṛhadbala. The discussion that now follows is by itself the proof of this.

Now let us take the Lunar line from Mahābhārata war. From Abhimanyu to Kṣemaka we have 26 to 30 kings (both inclusive). I shall give the table.

TABLE II

No.	Viṣṇu	Matsya	Garuḍa	Bhāgavata	Vāyu
1	Abhimanyu	...	...	...	...
2	Parikṣit	...	...	...	...
3	Janamejaya	...	...	...	...
4	S'atānika I	...	...	...	...
5	Aśvamedhadatta		...	Sahasrānika	...
6	Adhisīmakṛṣṇa	...	...	...	...
7	Nicaknu	Vivakṣu	Kṛṣṇa	Nemicakra	...
8	Uṣṇa	Bhuri*	Aniruddha		...
9	Vicitraratha	...	...	...	...
10	S'ucirath a	...		Kavirath a	..
11	Vṛṣṇiman	...	...	...	Dhṛtiman
12	Suṣeṇa	...	...	...	...
13	Sunītha	...	...	...	Sutīrtha Ruca
14	Nṛpacakṣu	...	...	...	...
15	Sukhibala	...	...	...	...
16	Pariplava	...		...	...
17	Sunaya	Sutapā		...	...
18	Medhāvi	...	...	...	...
19	Ripuñjaya	Purañjaya	Nṛpañjaya	...	
20	Mṛdu	Ūrva	Hari	Durvā	

1 See his chronology of Ancient India, pp. 250-253. Mr. Pargiter's text accepts 30 kings.

* Named as Bhūmi in a Ms. of Mt. (lmt of Pargiter.)

21	Tigma	...	...	Timi	
22	Bṛhadratha	...	...	: ...	
23	Vasudāna	...		Sudāsa	
24	S'atānika II	...	...	...	
25	Udayana	...	...	Durdamana	
26	Ahīnara	Vahinara	...	...	
27	Daṇḍapāṇi	...	...	...	...
28	Naramitra	...	...		...
29	Kṣemaka	...	...	...	...
	29	28	26	27	22+8==30

It will be seen from this that from Abhimanyu, who, like Bṛhadbala, died in the Mahābhārata war, to Kṣemaka, the last of the line, we have 29 according to Vn, 28 according to Mt, 27 according to Bg, 26 according to Gd and 22 according to Vy. But in Vāyu there is a gap of eight kings from Ripuñjaya to Ahinara. Therefore, according to Vāyu there were 30 kings. Moreover, Vāyu is explicit about this. It explicitly declares that there will be 25 future kings, i. e. 25 from Adhisīma to Kṣemaka (for Adhisīma was the sāmprata king) both inclusive.[1] Thus even in this line, we have 30 kings from Abhimanyu, i. e. from the close of the Mahābhārata war.

Both Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu were killed in the great war. From them the last kings in their lines viz. Sumitra and Kṣemaka were 30th in number. In both these lists, Divākara and Adhisīmakṛṣṇa are taken as sāmprata kings, i. e. Purāṇas were closed in their days. From Divākara to Sumitra and from Adhisīma to Kṣemaka there were 25 kings (both inclusive).

Now according to Purāṇas, as quoted above, with Sumitra and therefore also with Kṣemaka, 28 caturyugas, i. e. ruling generations had passed and 29th was passing. This was in the new manvantara. That is, both Sumitra and Kṣemaka should be 29th after the death of the 71st king with whom one manvantara would be over and another would start. Now in order that Sumitra and Kṣemaka should be 29th after the death of the 71st king, Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu should be taken as 71st kings. Therefore, manvantara was taken as closed with the end of the Mahābhārata war or with the death of Bṛhadbala Abhimanyu.

1 See Vy. 99, पञ्चविंश नृपा ह्येते भविष्या पूर्ववंशजाः । २११

Therefore in the Solar line, I take Bṛhadbala to be the 71st and in the Lunar line, Abhimanyu to be the 71st. Sumitra thus will be 29th after Bṛhadbala, 25th from Divākara the sāmprata king and 100th from Vaivasvata Manu.[1] Similarly, Kṣemaka will be 29th after Abhimanyu, 25th from Adhisīmakṛṣṇa and 100th from Vaivasvata Manu. I know that according to the present Purāṇas the actual numbers of Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu are not what I have given above. But I have shown elsewhere[2] that Bṛhadbala's number was originally 71st. This will apply to Abhimanyu also.

Thus it would be said that with Sumitra and Kṣemaka 28 caturyugas had been over and 29th was passing (or three quarters of the 29th had passed)

Now Āryabhaṭṭa, who takes manvantara to have 72 caturyugas, is bound to say that of the new manvantara, 27 caturyugas and 3 yugapādas had elapsed. If after the death of the 71st king, 28 caturyugas had gone after the death of the 72nd king, 27 caturyugas had gone. Thus it will be seen that the usual calculation is made after the death of Abhimanyu, while Āryabhaṭṭa's calculation is made after the death of Parikṣit. But both come down to the same point i.e. Sumitra. Thus the discrepancy of one caturyuga seen in Āryabhaṭṭa's statement is due to the fact that he took the manvantara as closed after the death of the 72nd king and not after the death of the 71st king as the usual calculation does.

It may be here objected that Āryabhaṭṭa's caloulation is from the beginning of the Kalpa to the Mahābhārata war and not from the Mahābhārata war to Sumitra as I have suggested. That is how his statement is usually interpreted. Let us see how the matter stands. Here is his statement :

काह्नो मनवो ढ (२४) मनुयुगाश्ख (१२) गतास्ते च (६) मनुयुगछ्ना (२७) च ।
ा (३) च गुरुदिवसाच्च भारतात् पूर्वम् ॥

This may be construed as कल्पादेः भारतात् गुरुदिवसात् पूर्वम् । and that is how it is usually done. But let us put this in proper prose order :

1 Cf. Vy. 99 ऐलवंशस्य ये ख्यातास्तथैवैक्ष्वाकवां नृपाः ।
तेषामेकशतं पूर्णं कुलानामभिषेकिणाम् ॥ ४५१

2 See D. R. Manakd : Pre-Mahābhārata Solar Dynasty in Bhāratīya Vidyā 1942 2nd issue.

काहो? मनवो ढ, मनुयुगाश्ख पूर्वम्, कल्पादेः ते च, भारतात् गुरुदिवसात् च, मनुयुगछ्ना च, युगपादा ग च गताः ।

I would translate this thus : "What is a day ? 14 Manus. There are 72 Manuyugas. From the start of Kalpa they 6 (i. e. manus 6), and from the Bhārata Thursday, manuyagas 27 and yugapādas 3, have passed previously i. e. before now."

If we do not translate as I have done, what will be the force of 'ca' after 'gurudivasāt' ? Why is that 'ca' put ? Therefore, Āryabhaṭṭa means : "Previous to this, i.e. before now (pūrvaṃ), from the kalpādi and from the Bhārata Thursday, 6 manus, 27 caturyugas (which are here significantly called manuyagas) and 3 yugapādas have passed." That this is the only sense that can be given to this statement, will be clear to every reader from what I have said previously and from what I shall say now. Kalpa here will mean the start of Svāyambhuva Manu's manvantara.

Thus on examining why we take the present caturyuga to be the 29th of the 8th manvantara, we have incidentally proved that a caturyuga was taken as a ruling unit, that a manvantara was taken as closed after the death of the 71st king, that a new manvantara was taken as started after the 71st king and that with this 71st king Mahābhārata war ended.

2. *Yuga of 1000 years*

Now let us consider one other point which arises from this discussion. We have said that a yuga was first computed at 1000 years and later at 1200 years, as a caturyuga (bigger) was first computed at 4000 years and later at 4800 years. We shall now proceed to see if there are any positive proofs for this.

It will be seen that in the reign of Parikṣit and Janamejaya, there was a lot of Puranic activity. Bhārata was written. Purāṇas were recast. Vedas were finally arranged. It was at that time that 71 caturyugas from Vaivasvata Manu were over i. e. 71 ruling units were over. We have taken Abhimanyu as the 71st, so Parikṣit was the 72nd. It was in the 11th regnal year of Parikṣit that this reconstruction was made.[1] One man-

1 I have based this statement on the fact that according to Romaka theory a yuga had 2850 years. Now Romaka theory does not recognise manvantara, kalpa etc. See (Bhāratīya Jyotiṣas'āstra, by S. B. Dikshit, p. 155);

(continued on the next page)

vantara was closed and, as I hope to show in future, there was a traditional reason to close the line at the 71st king, from Manu, so a new manvantara was taken as started with Parikṣit, the 72nd king. This activity of revision and reconstruction seems to have continued in the reign of Janamejaya also. Still we find that the genealogical lists were closed finally in the days of Adhisīmakṛṣṇa, as he is taken as the sāmprata king. Why was it so? Adhisīma is not a famous king otherwise. He was the great-grandson of Janamejaya and thus removed by only two degrees from him. And as all was practically recently reconstructed, what was the reason of taking Adhisīma as the sāmprata king and of closing the king-lists in his days? I shall answer.

Taking Abhimanyu to be 71st king-unit, Adhisīma will be 76th from Manu and taking that, as yet, a yuga of 1000 years only was in vogue, we shall see that the third yuga or the Dvāpara closed with the death of the 75th king named As'vamedhadatta ($75 \times 40 = 3000$). Just as manvantara was closed after Abhimanyu, Dvāpara was over after As'vamedhadatta. Thus Dvāpara was over five ruling generations or 200 years after the manvantara was over. Lists were closed in the days of Adhisīma and Divākara, because such an important event as the closing of a yuga had happened then.

If this is true i. e. if a yuga was computed at 1000 years and if Dvāpara was over with the reign of As'vamedhadatta, whom we have taken to be 75th from Manu Vaivasvata, then Kali should have been over 25 ruling generations after As'vamedhadatta or with the 100th king. We have seen that both Sumitra and Kṣemaka were 100th kings. Thus the Kali should have been over in their days or with them. Is there any indication of Kali closing in the days of Sumitra and Kṣemaka?

(*continued from the previous page*)

युगमन्वतरकल्पाः कालपरिच्छेदकाः स्मृतावुक्ताः ।
यस्मान्न रोमके ते स्मृतिबाह्यो रोमकस्तस्मात् ॥

This means that Romaka did not recognise the manvantara, yugas and kalpas as known to others Therefore, his yuga of 2850 years is distinct. I suggest that his yuga is here equal to manvantara. If so, according to Romaka, manvantara was closed 2850 years after Manu i. e. according to our key ($2850 \div 40 = 71.25$) in the 72nd king's reign or to be exact after 10 years had passed of the rule of the 72nd king i. e. of Parikṣit.

I have to submit that Purāṇas very clearly declare that Kali had closed with both these. I shall quote from Vāyu :

ईक्ष्वाकूणामयं वंशो सुमित्रान्तो भविष्यति
यतस्तं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ । (कलिः)
(99, 992-93)

and again क्षेमकं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ (99, 279)

And apart from these definite statements there is a very strong corroborative proof for this in the Purāṇas. I have shown elsewhere[1] that Sumitra and Kṣemaka were contemporaries of Kalki. And all our literature loudly proclaims that with Kalki Kaliyuga ended and Kṛtayuga started. I shall only give two quotations :

Agni (16th) कल्की विष्णुयशःपुत्रो याज्ञवल्क्यपुरोहितः ।
उत्सादयिष्यति म्लेच्छान्गृहितास्त्रः कृतायुधः ॥ ८
स्थापयिष्यति मर्यादां चातुर्वर्ण्ये यथोचिताम् ।
आश्रमेषु च सर्वेषु प्रजाः सिद्धवर्त्मनि ॥ ९
कल्किरूपं परित्यज्य हरिः स्वर्गं गमिष्यति ।
ततः कृतयुगं नाम पुरावत् सम्भविष्यति ॥१०

Here it is said that Kṛta started with the death of Kalki. Bhāgavata (12, 2) :

शम्भलग्राममुख्यस्य ब्राह्मणस्य महात्मनः ।
भवने विष्णुयशसः कल्किः प्रादुर्भविष्यति ॥ १८
अश्वमाशुगमारुह्य देवदत्तं जगत्पतिः ।
असिना साधुदमनमष्टैश्वर्यगुणान्वितः ॥ १९
विचरन्नाशुना क्षोण्यां हयेनाप्रतिमद्युतिः ।
नृपलिङ्गच्छदो दस्यून्कोटिशो निहनिष्यति ॥ २०
... ...
यदावतीर्णो भगवान्कल्किर्धर्मपतिर्हरिः ।
कृतं भाविष्यति तदा प्रजासूतिश्च सात्त्विकी ॥ २३

Here Kṛta is said to have started with the birth of Kalki. Therefore, Kali was over with Kalki who was a contemporary of Sumitra.

And as Sumitra and Kṣemaka were 25th kings (i.e. king-units) from the present kings, a yuga of 1000 years (25 × 40) was over with them. This will, therefore, show that upto the end of Sumitra's reign, yuga was computed at 1000 years and therefore

1 See D. R. Mankad; Kalki—the Earliest check to Buddhism in New Indian Antiquary, January, 1942.

caturyuga at 4000 years. We have already seen that Sumitra and Kṣemaka both were at one time, taken as 100th kings from Manu Vaivasvata. So, with them or 10 years after them the mahācaturyuga also was over.

Now I submit that just as there was reconstruction of our traditions in the reigns of Parikṣit and Janamejaya, so was there another readjustment in the reign of Sumitra. It was at this time, i.e. when one mahācaturyuga of 4000 years was over, that a yuga was taken to have 1200 years and caturyuga to have 4800 years. The reason for this change was the following.

Purāṇakāras in or after Sumitra's time found that a manvantara was closed with the death of the 71st king, but the yuga (dvāpara) was closed five generations later i. e. after the death of 75th king.

Now Brahmapurāṇa preserves a tradition[1] that a manvantara was over after 70 caturyugas or ruling generations. Thus manvantara was either closed after Arjuna i. e. Yudhiṣṭhira (70th) or Abhimanyu (71st). That it closed after the 71st king was the general belief. But now in the days of Sumitra they found that between the close of the manvantara and the close of the yuga (dvāpara) there was a gap of 4 or 5 generations i.e. of 160 or 200 years. Usually it was expected that with the close of the manvantara the yuga also should close. But it had not been so. Yuga had ended 200 years too late. What was to be done? The simple thing was to say that the yuga had 1200 years instead of 1000 years; and thus it was taken that each yuga had 1200 years and caturyuga 4800 years.

But Kali had closed in the days of Sumitra. Now we shall call the Kali of 1000 years the real Kali and Kali of 1200 years the amended Kali. Thus the real Kali had started 1000 years before Sumitra i.e. with the reigns of Divākara and Adhisīma, the sāmprata kings. But now this amended Kali should start 200 years earlier. Thus the amended Kali was taken as started after the 70th king or with Abhimanyu and Bṛhadbala. 70 kings ruled before Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu i. e. 2800 years had passed before them. But if the amended Kali started with Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu, the other three yugas, i.e. the amended three yugas, should have 3600 years before Bṛhadbala

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1 See Br. V, 54-55.

and Abhimanyu. Actually only 2800 years had passed before him but 800 years more were added to that and thus it was that 3600 years (i.e. 3 yugas each of 1200 years) had been taken as over before Abhimanyu the 71st king. From Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu to Sumitra and Kṣemaka there will be 1200 years (Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu being 71st and Sumitra and Kṣemaka 100th).

In my paper on 'Pre-Mahābhārata Solar Dynasty' I have shown that Bṛhadbala's original number was 71st from Vaivasvata Manu, but it was brought down to 91st by the Vāyu school by inserting eight kings between Manu and Rāma and by appending eleven or twelve kings of the Lava-branch after Vyuṣitās'va. I shall here explain why Vāyu school has done this.

We have just seen that in the days of Kalki and Sumitra, priests pushed back the beginning of Kali by 200 years, and in order to adjust these 200 years, said that the yuga had 1200 years and the caturyuga (bigger) had 4800 years. But this adjustment was not so easy. On pushing back Kali by 200 years and putting its beginning at Mahābhārata war, they found that there were 30 ruling units from Bṛhadbala to Sumitra. That gave them the necessary 1200 years for Kaliyuga (and also the advantage that manvantara and yuga closed together). But they found that in actuality only 2800 years had elapsed before Bṛhadbala (70 ruling units) and they now wanted 3600 years to have elapsed in order to make every yuga of 1200 years. Thus they found that they were short by 800 years at the end of the 70th generation. How were these 800 years to be adjusted ? At the rate of 40 years for a ruling unit, the genealogies would require $(800 \div 40) = 20$ more kings. How should they be produced ? Already Vyuṣitās'va or S'aṅkhana and S'rutāyu were taken as 71st kings. Bṛhadbala, as belonging to Lava branch (minor branch), was not taken into account both by Bṛ. school and Mt. school and upto now also by Vy. school. So the Vāyu school now thought of making use of this branch of Lava and just appended the kings of that line to the line which ended at S'aṅkhaṇa or Vyuṣitās'va. Originally Bṛhadbala was 71st. Now they found that he should be 91st as 20 kings had to be inserted between Manu and Bṛhadbala. They added about 12 or 13 kings of Lava line just at the end of the lists and inserted 7

or 8 other kings earlier before Rāma. Thus these Purāṇas of Vāyu school came to have their present Aikṣavāku genealogy which otherwise substantially agrees with other Purāṇas of Bṛ. school.[1]

Thus 1200 years after the Mahābhārata war it was settled that 3600 years should be taken as elapsed before that war, though actually only 2800 years had elapsed before that war (of course, from Manu Vaivasvata).

This tradition gained ground and in later days, i. e. in days later than Sumitra, all chronology would naturally procceed on the basis that a yuga had 1200 years, that from Manu 3600 years had elapsed before the Mahābhārata war and that 1200 years had elapsed from Mahābhārata war to Sumitra. Thus in all 4800 years were taken as elapsed from Manu to Sumitra (though in reality only 4000 years had elapsed between them).

3. *Yuga of 1200 years.*

That such a tradition of a yuga of 1200 years etc., was known to Purāṇas in 325 B. C., is proved from the following.

There are two places in the Fragments of the Indika of Megasthenes which are helpful to us in this connection.

First is the Fragment L. C. (Pliny, Hist. Nat.) which runs thus:[2]

"From the days of Father Bachhus to Alexander the Great their kings are reckoned at 154 whose reigns extended over 6451 years and 3 months."

Second is from Solin which runs thus:[3]

"Father Bachhus was the first who invaded India and was the first of all who triumphed over the vanquished Indians. From

1 General tradition took a difference of one yuga between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, that is, there were 1000 years or 25 king-units between them. But Rāma was really 57th and Kṛṣṇa 70th. There were only 13 king-units between them. So, they put 12 kings between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa and 8 more before Rāma, and thus added 20 in all. And this is what we actually find in Vy. It adds Bala and 11 others from Puṣya to Bṛhadbala and 8 more (viz. Anaraṇya, Trasadas'va, Haryas'va, Vasumanā, Kṛtas'armā Vis'vamahat, Dīrghabāhu and Ailavida) before Rāma.

2 Tr. by MacCrindle, Calcutta, 1926, p. 116.

3 Ibid p. 115.

him to Alexander the Great 6451 years are reckoned with 3 months additional, the calculation being made by counting the kings who reigned in the intermediate period to the number of 153."

Now taking Megasthenes' statement to refer to 325 B. C., Bachhus, according to the calculation given by him, will have lived in (6451 + 325 =) 6776 B. C. And as all our post diluvian chronology starts with Vaivasvata Manu, so Vaivasvata Manu's time was taken to be 6776 B. C. in the days of Megasthenes.

But were there 153 or 154 kings and 6451 years between Manu and Alexander ? Fergusson tried to explain this number 153 thus: According to him (History of Indian and Eastern Architecture p.712) "this number is eminently satisfactory as it seems clear that we possess in the Puranas the same lists as were submitted to the Greeks in the fourth century B. C. In the solar lists we have in the Tretāyuga 62 reigns from Ikṣavāku to Rāma. For the Dvāpara age we have three solar lists: one from Kus'a to Bṛhadbala, 35 reigns; another from Diṣṭa to Janamejaya, 33 reigns; a third from the son of Sīradhvaja, the father of Sīta to Mahabasi, 34 reigns. In the Kaliyuga we have no complete solar lists, but the lunar list gives fifty descents from Jarāsandha to the last Nanda. This gives 145 or 146 reigns."

This apparently means that Fergusson has added the number of kings from Sahadeva to Nanda to the total number of kings of the Solar dynasty which, according to him, will have about 63 + 33 = 96 kings. Thus he gets 96 + 50 = 146. But Fergusson is wrong when he takes 50 kings from Sahadeva to Nanda. According to the unanimous verdict of the Purāṇas, Candragupta Maurya is 40th from Sahadeva (cf. Table III), and not 50th. Fergusson's error is possibly due to taking 32 kings for the Bṛhadratha dynasty according to Vāyu. But there were only 22 kings in that line after the Mahābhārata war, though there were 32 kings from Bṛhadratha to Ripuñjaya. Thus Fergusson's number should have been 136 and not 146 and 136 falls short of 153 by 17.

Let us, therefore, inquire ourselves about this. Candragupta, at whose court Megasthenes lived, was Candragupta Maurya according to most of the scholars, but some Indian scholars take him to be Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. Let us see when these two kings flourished according to the Purāṇas.

Following the Solar line we find that the number of Bṛhadbala who died in the Mahābhārata war, as actually found in the Purāṇas to-day, varies from 80th to 95th. Therefore, Candragupta Maurya, who was 40th after Mahābhārata war, will be (80+40)=120th or (95+40)=135th from Manu Vaivasvata. Thus between Purāṇas and the statement of Megasthenes there is a difference of about 20 kings. That will not do.

Let us then, consider the case of Candragupta I. According to Kaliyugarājavṛttānta of Bhavis'yottara[1], after the Mahābhārata war, the following dynasties ruled for the periods noted against them:

TABLE III

Dynasty	No. of kings	No. of total regnal period
Bṛhadratha	22	1006
Pradyota	5	138
S'aiśunāga	10	360
Nanda	9	100
Maurya	12	316
S'uṅga	10	300
Kaṇva	4	85
Andhra	32	506
	104	2811 − 4 = 2807

Thus, according to this Purāṇa 104 kings ruled after the war and before the beginning of the Gupta dynasty. Therefore, Candragupta I will be 105th from Sahadeva. If we now add 80 or 95 (the Solar kings before the war), we find that Candragupta I will be 185th or 200th, both of which figures do not tally with Megasthenes' figure.

Let us then follow the Lunar line. In fact, we should not follow the Solar line, as the Kali dynasties in all the Purāṇas are always put in direct continuation of the Bṛhadratha dynasty which is a Lunar dynasty. Now Sahadeva of the Magadha dynasty, is 48th from Manu according to Mt. 38th according to Bg. 46th according to Vy. and 41st according Vn.

1 As quoted by M. Krishnamachariar in his Classical Sanskrit Literature page lxxviii and also by Jagannath Rao in his 'Age of Mahābhārata War.'

Now Candragupta Maurya, in order to be 153rd from Manu, will require (153 - 40 his own number after the war) = 113 kings before the Mahābhārata war. So, he could not have been a contemporary of Megasthenes, for the Lunar line does not show more than 57 kings in any of its branches before the war. But Candragupta I will require (153 - 105) = 48 kings before the Mahābhārata war. And we find that according to Matsya Sahadeva was actually 48th. Thus according to Purāṇas, Candragupta I was 153rd from Vaivasvata Manu.

Therefore one who was the contemporary of Megasthenes and Alexander and was 153rd from Bachhus, was not Maurya Candragupta but Candragupta I of the Gupta Dynasty. Even Megasthenes testifies to it, or in other words, that was the Puranic tradition supplied to Megasthenes.

Thus we find that Megasthenes' statement about 153 or 154 kings intervening between Bachhus and Alexander is in complete agreement with the Puranic traditions.

Now let us see if 6451 years elapsed between Bachhus and Alexander. According to Megasthenes, Bachhus will be put in 6451 + 325 = 6776 B. C. From the table that I have just given, it will be found that, 2807[1] years had elapsed from the close of the Mahābhārata war to the beginning of the Gupta dynasty, i. e. upto the end of the Āndhra dynasty. But the post-Mbh genealogical calculations in the Purāṇas start with the accession of Parikṣit. Now Parikṣit was 72nd according to caturyuga method ; therefore, 2840 (71 × 40) + 800 (of the amended yugas) = 3640 years were taken as elapsed from Manu to Parikṣit. Adding these 3640 to 2807 we get 6447. Thus there is a difference of 4 years between Megasthenes' figure and the Puranic figure. Therefore, Megasthenes' statement calculates upto the 5th regnal year of Candragupta I.

Now let us apply this to Candragupta Maurya. After the war, we have 1006 years for Bṛhadrathas, 138 for Pradyotas, 360 for S'ais'unāgas and 100 for the Nandas. Thus we will have 1604 or 1600 years from Sahadeva (who was 72nd) to the

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1 I have taken 2807 years, though the table shows 2811 years, for the total of the first three dynasties, according to this table, is 1504 years, but as according to the very clear evidence of all other Purāṇas (which I shall detail in my future papers) these first three dynasties had 1500 years in all. Therefore, I have deducted four years from its total.

accession of Candragupta Maurya. Adding 3640 years (from Manu to Sahadeva) we get 5240 years, which is nowhere nearer the figure of Megasthenes. Therefore also Candragupta Maurya was not a contemporary of Megasthenes.

This will show that the tradition which Megasthenes notes is absolutely in keeping with the Puranic genealogies as we have them to-day, both in the number of years and in the number of kings. It thus shows that most of the Puranic tradition was the same then as it is now. It further proves that in 325 B. C. Purāṇas took a yuga to have 1200 years and not 1000 years (for the figure of Megasthenes will tally with the Puranic figures only if we take 3600 years for the first three yugas and not 3000).

But it may be objected that I have here relied upon Bhaviṣyottara which may not be very reliable. But in a future article[1] I have examined the question of the chronology of the Kali dynasties upto the start of Guptas, and proved that in reality there is no difference between the various conflicting figures seen in different Purāṇas.

4. Caturyuga of 40 years.

Thus they amended the yuga system and to suit it they amended the genealogies. But, it will be seen that when in later days, this matter of the amendments was not clearly remembered, dim memories of a bygone system may sometimes cause confusion and sometimes preserve the true tradition.

Caturyuga of 40 years was long known, but after the yuga was taken to have 1200 years, it, very conveniently, became a sub-yuga of a bigger yuga. Let us see how. Caturyuga of 40 years will have four basic yugas each of 10 years called Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali, and the caturyuga of 4800 years will have four basic yugas each of 1200 years. Now we shall name the sub-yugas of the caturyuga of 40 years as laghukṛta, laghutretā, laghudvāpara and laghukali and the sub-yugas of the caturyugas of 4800 years as mahākṛta, mahātretā, mahādvāpara and mahākali. Laghukṛta etc. will have 10 years each, mahākṛta etc. will have 1200 years each. Caturyuga of 40 years will be called laghu-caturyuga and the caturyuga of 4800 years will be called mahācaturyuga.

1 To appear shortly in Poona Orientalist.

Now each of the mahāyugas will have 30 laghu-caturyugas (1200÷40=30). That is, in mahākṛta etc. there will be 30 laghukṛtas, 30 laghutretās, 30 laghudvāparas and 30 laghukalis. Thus laghukṛta etc. will have 10 years each, laghu-caturyuga will have 40 years, mahā-kṛta etc. will have 1200 years and mahācaturyuga will have 4800 years.

Keeping in mind that such a system is possible only after the amended yuga system (of 1200 years) came in vogue, if we read the Purāṇas, several passages seem to corroborate such a system.

There are Puranic passages[1] in which Devāpi and Maru are described as the founders of new kṣatriya lines in the 29th caturyuga. These passages, for some reasons which I shall explain in future, take Devāpi and Maru as contemporaries of Sumitra. Therefore, this is obviously the laghu-caturyuga of the amended mahākali. It refers to the 29th caturyuga after the 28 caturyugas or yugākhyās were over with or after Sumitra. Thus this mention of 29th caturyuga positively proves that the yuga of 1200 years had come into existence, for in a mahāyuga oi 1000 years, the 29th caturyuga (of 40 years each) will never be possible.

But we have another reference. Almost all the Purāṇas, in one or the other way, say that Vyāsa Dvaipāyana lived in the 28th Dvāpara There are some Purāṇas which give avatāras, where they point out that Vyāsa Dvaipāyana and Kṛṣṇa also lived in the 28th dvāpara and Vyāsa Parās'ara in the 26th dvāpara.

Now which dvāpara is this? Dvaipāyana Vyāsa lived at the Mahābhārata time and we know that real Kali ended 200 years later than Mahābhārata war. 28th dvāpara of this real Kali of 1000 years is not possible, as a mahāyuga of 1000 years will have only 25 laghuyugas. Therefore, this dvāpara refers to the amended yuga system.

Now amended Kali started and amended Dvāpara ended in 3176 B. C. So the 28th dvāpara of the preceding mahādvāpara will close 80 years earlier, i. e. in 3256. This is a possible date (of birth) for both Dvaipāyana and Kṛṣṇa if we take their lives to have been of more than 80 years. Similarly, 26th dvāpara of the mahādvāpara

1 Cp. Mt. 273rd, 56-53; Vy. 99th, 437-440; Bd. 3, 74, 250-253.

(i.e. 80 years earlier than Yudhiṣṭhira and Kṛṣṇa) is possible for Parās'ara, as he was a contemporary of Vicitravīrya who was three degrees senior to Abhimanyu.

Thus both these calculations are based on amended yuga-system.

Again it is said that Rāma (Dās'arathī) lived in 24th or 27th tretā (more probably 27th tretā). This too refers to the amended yuga system, Rāma is usually placed in Tretā, i. e. in the 27th laghutretā of mahātretā. Therefore, according to the amended yuga system, Rāma will be removed from Manu by (30 laghu-caturyugas of mahākṛta and 27 laghu-caturyugas of mahātretā i. e. in all by) 57 laghu-caturyugas. And we have found that in the genealogies his real number was 57th[1]. Again between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa usually one mahāyuga is believed to have elapsed. If Kṛṣṇa and Dvaipāyana were in the 28th dvāpara of the mahādvāpara, Rāma must be in the 27th tretā of the mahātretā. (Of course, actually the difference between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa was not of 1200 years but of $(70-57=13\div 40=520)$; about $500-525$ years, as Kṛṣṇa, along with Yudhiṣṭhira was 70th. Thus, Rāma's actual date will be $(3201-525=3726)$ cir. 3725-50 B. C.

But it is said that Māndhāta was in the 15th yuga, i. e. caturyuga. Now here the calculation is based upon the yuga system when the number of kings was not harmonised with the number of caturyugas. Thus Māndhāta, though 20th from Manu, was in the 15th caturyuga from Manu i. e. was removed from Manu by about $15\times 40=600$ years. (It is, therefore, possible that the kings of the mahākṛta, i. e. the first 25 kings of the Ikṣavāku dynasty are kept in tact. No king is omitted from them, 2nd method of samāsa and vyāsa being applied only from the kings of Tretā i. e. mahātretā downwards.) Thus, Māndhāta's real date will be 5976 B.C. (Manu's real date) $-600=5376$ B. C.

These pieces of evidence should, I believe, prove beyond all doubts, that at some time of our Puranic traditions, a yuga of 1200 years and its sub-divisions into smaller yugas of 40 years were in vogue. This time must have been from Sumitra to the Gupta period at least.

1 In my paper on Pre-Mahābhārata Solar Dynasty already referred to.

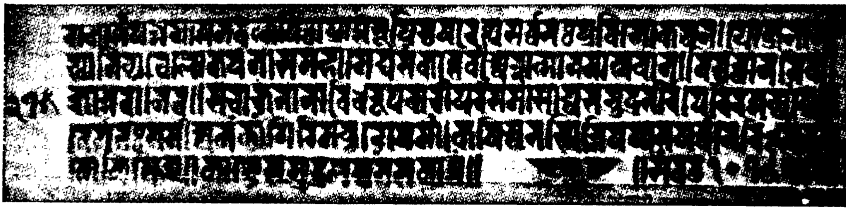
Thus it will be seen that what looked as bold presumptions on my part in the beginnig of this undertaking, have been proved to be solid facts. We have seen that yugas were of equal lengths—first of 1000 years (upto the days of Sumitra) and then of 1200 years (at least upto the rise of the Guptas); that caturyuga of 40 years was utilised for the purposes of chronological calculation, that this caturyuga of 40 years, which was the basis of Manvantara computation, was taken as a king-unit and that the king-lists of the Purāṇas preserve the names of these king-units.

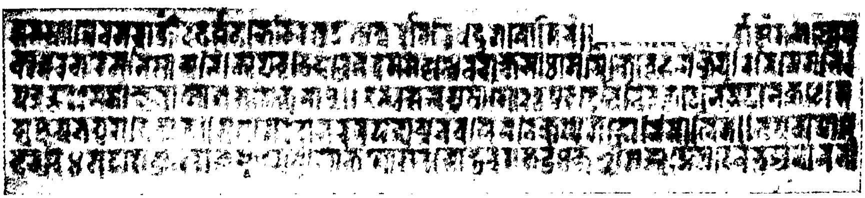
And this is what I call Manvantara-Caturyuga method. I shall show in my future article[1], that this method was used by the Purāṇas upto the end of the Mauryas and then abandoned, though its nature was thoroughly known to them even upto the end of the Āndhras.

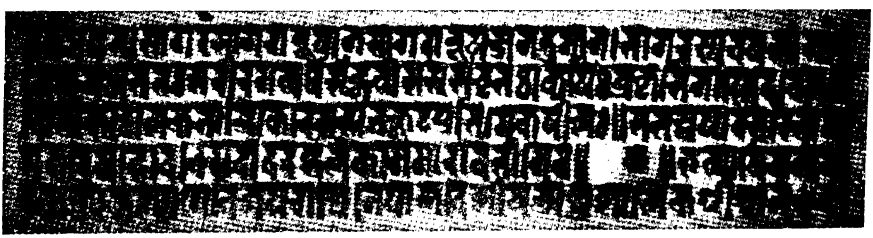
1 To appear shortly in Poona Orientalist.

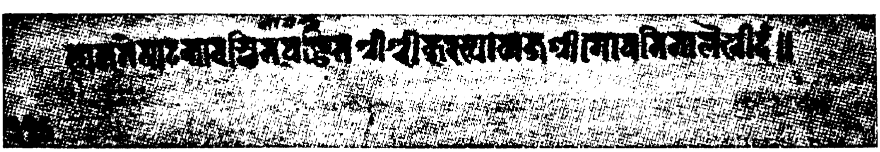
Facsimile of the Rāmāyaṇa Ms. dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1076 from the Nepal Durbar Library which mentions the Mahārājādhirāja Puṇyaloka, Somavaṁśodbhava, Garuḍadhvaja, the illustrious Gāṅgeyadeva, ruling in Tirabhukti.

(Folios 375 b, 376 a).









(By the courtesy of Dr. Raghu Vira, Director, International Academy of Indian Culture, Lahore).

GĀṄGEYADEVA OF TĪRABHUKTI

BY

V. V. MIRASHI

In his historical introduction to Mm. Haraprasad Sastri's *Catalogue of the Nepal Durbar Library,*[1] Prof. Cecil Bendall first drew attention to the colophon of a Ms. of the Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which mentions Gāṅgeyadeva of Tīra-bhukti. He transcribed the colophon as follows[2]: *Saṁvat 1076* (१०७६) *āṣāḍha badi 4 mahārājādhirāja puṇyāvaloka soma-vaṁśodbhava- Gauḍadhvaja-śrīmad- Gāṅgeyadeva-bhujyamāna-Tīrabhuktau kalyāṇavaijayarājye Nepāla-des'īya-bhāñcu-śālika-śrī-Ānandasya pāṭakāvas'hita-(Kāyastha)*[3] *-paṇḍita--śrī-śrīku-rasy·ātmaja-śrī-Gopati-ālekh·īdaṁ.* Bendall took this to mean that 'in samvat 1076 Gopati, son of S'rīkura, (Kāyastha) Paṇḍita belonging to the country of Nepal and living in Ānanda's *pāṭaka* belonging to Bhāñcu S'āli (?), copied this during a victorious reign in Tirhut, when it was ruled by Gāṅgeyadeva, the great king, beholder of holiness, sprung from the lunar race and banner of Gauḍa'. On account of the archaic nature of the writing, Bendall referred the date to the Vikrama era and took it to be equivalent to A. D. 1019.[4] He identified this Gāṅgeya-deva with the Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva of Cedi who was known to be reigning in A. D. 1030 from Alberuni's *Kitāb-ul-Hind.* Bendall's afore-mentioned introduction was not accompanied by a facsimile of the colophon. There was, therefore, no means available to verify his transcript. Taking it to be accurate, many scholars have discussed the historical information furnish-ed by it.[5] Most of them have accepted Bendall's view that Gāṅgeyadeva mentioned therein was the homonymous Kalacuri

1 *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXXII (1903), pp. 1 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

3 This word was added in a different hand.

4 The colophon does not specify the era to which the date belongs. As it does not mention any week-day etc., it does not admit of verification.

5 R. P. Chanda, *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 41, ft. n.; R. D. Banerji, *Bāṅgalār Itihāsa* (second edition), Vol. I, p. 252; H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 317 and Vol. II, p. 774.

king of Tripurī. M. Sylvain Levi, however, has questioned the identification on the following grounds :—[1]

(1) The titles ending in *avaloka* are not known to have been used by the Kalacuris. They were borne by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

(2) The title *Gauḍa-dhvaja* indicates some political authority of Gāṅgeyadeva in Gauḍa, but the Kalacuri king had no pretensions to suzerainty over Bengal.

(3) The Kalacuri king is not known to have ruled over Tirhut.

Levi suggested, therefore, that this Gāṅgeyadeva belonged to a local branch of the Kalacuris like the one ruling over the adjoining country of Gorakhpur. He pointed out that a prince of this branch named S'aṁkaragaṇa is said to have won a victory over the king of Gauḍa while another assumed the *biruda* of *Mugdhatuṅga* which recalls similar *birudas* of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda has added another argument to those mentioned by Levi.[2] He says that as Magadha was under the Pālas and the country to the west under the Candellas, Gāṅgeyadeva could not have extended his rule to Tirhut.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar also has lent his support to Levi's objections against the identification of Gāṅgeyadeva of Tīrabhukti with the Kalacuri king of the same name.[3] He has suggested that the date 1076 of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Ms. should be referred to the S'aka era and taken to be equivalent to A. D. 1154. He identifies Gāṅgeyadeva with Gaṅga, the son of Nānyadeva of Mithilā.[4] As Nānyadeva began to reign in A. D. 1097 and enjoyed a rule of 50 years (A. D. 1097-1147), this date A.D. 1154 falls in the reign of his son Gaṅga. From Nānyadeva's commentary called *Bharatavārttika* or *Sarasvatīhṛdayālaṁkāra*, which has recently been described by Mr. M. Ramkrishna Kavi,[5] we learn that Nānyadeva, who is evidently identical with the well-known king of Mithilā, had the *biruda* of Dharmāvaloka. His son Gaṅga may have assumed a similar one viz. Puṇyāva-

1 Sylvain Levi, *Le Nepal*, Vol. II, p 202, ft. n. 1.

2 *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 42, ft. n.

3 *Ind Hist. Quart.*, Vol. VII, p. 681.

4 He is mentioned in a Nepal inscription dated in the year 769 of the Newar era (A.D. 1649). *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 188.

5 *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 55 ff.

loka[1] as mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa Ms. The same commentary states that Nānyadeva had broken the power of Vaṅga and Gauḍa. This explains, according to Dr. Majumdar, the title *Gauḍadhvaja* assumed by his son.

When I attended the fourth session of the Indian History Congress held at Lahore in 1940, I noticed a photostat copy of the afore-mentioned colophon which was exhibited as the oldest Ms. of the *Rāmāyaṇa*[2] in the Historical Exhibition of the History Congress. It attracted my attention at once and I found to my great surprise that Bendall's transcript of the colophon was incorrect in one important respect. At my request Dr. Raghu Vira very kindly supplied me with a photostat copy of the pages of the Ms. containing the colophon. It is reproduced in the accompanying facsimile.

I give below my reading of the colophon: *Saṁvat 1076 Āṣāḍha vadi 4 Mahārājādhirāja-Puṇyāvaloka-soma-vaṁś-odbhava--Garuḍadhvaja-śrīmad—Gāṅgeyadeva-bhujyamāna-Tīrabhuktau kalyāṇa-vijayarājye Nepāla-deśīya-Bhāluśālika-śrī--Ānandasya kṛe Pāṭak-āvasthita-[Kāyastha]-Paṇḍita-śrī-S'rīkurasy=ātmaja-śrī-Gopatin=ālekh=idaṁ.* I translate this as follows: 'In the year 1076 on Āṣāḍha va di. 4, during the auspicious and victorious reign in Tīrabhukti which is being ruled by the *Mahārājādhirāja, Puṇyāvaloka,* the illustrious Gāṅgeyadeva, who is born in the family of the moon and has the Eagle standard, this has been written by the [Kāyastha] Paṇḍita, the illustrious Gopati, the son of the illustrious S'rīkura who resides at Pāṭaka for the sake of the illustrious Ānanda, the Bhālus'ālika of the country of Nepāla.'

This transcript will be found to differ from Bendall's in one important respect, *viz.*, in the epithet *Garuḍadhvaja* applied to Gāṅgeyadeva. Bendall read in its place *Gauḍadhvaja* which he translated as 'the banner of Gauḍa'. This gives no satisfactory meaning. Other scholars have understood the expression to mean 'one who has planted his banner in Gauḍa'. This has

1 This *biruda* is borne by a king of Mithilā named Rāmasiṁha whom M M Chakravarti identifies with the homonymous great-grandson of Nānyadeva (*J. A. S B.* 1915, pp. 413 ff.) But the date V. S. 1446 (A. D. 1390) given by him from the Ind. Govt. Ms. (1741) goes against the identification.

2 The photostat copy of the Ms. of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was presented by the Government of Nepal to the International Academy of Indian Culture, Lahore.

been taken to indicate Gāṅgeyadeva's occupation of Bengal. The facsimile now clearly shows that the correct reading is *Garuḍadhvaja* which signifies 'one who has the Eagle standard'.[1]

From the colophon of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Ms. we thus get the following particulars about this Gāṅgeyadeva :—

(1) He was ruling in Tīrabhukti in the year 1076 of an unspecified era.

(2) He bore the title *Mahārājādhirāja* and the *biruda* *Puṇyāvaloka.*

(3) He belonged to the lunar race.

(4) His standard had the figure of the Eagle on it.

Let us next examine the several theories which have been advanced so far about the identification of this Gāṅgeyadeva.

(1) Bendall's view that this Gāṅgeyadeva belonged to the Kalacuri dynasty has been accepted by many scholars. The year 1076 must in that case be referred to the Vikrama era and taken to be equivalent to A. D. 1019-20. As Bendall has already pointed out, this Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva is mentioned in Alberuni's *Kitāb-ul-Hind* of A. D. 1030 as the contemporary ruler of Ḍāhala with the capital Tripurī. His Piawan stone inscription[2] is dated in the Kalacuri year 789 (A. D. 1037-38). From the Benares plates[3] of his son Karṇa we know that he died in A. D. 1040. He may therefore have reigned from A. D. 1015 to 1040. Bendall's view does not therefore present any chronological difficulty. Besides, as the Kalacuri kings traced their descent f.om the moon, Gāṅgeya can be described as 'born in the lunar race'. In the Piawan inscription he is given the title

1 Bendall seems to have committed this mistake because he had not the Ms. before him when he wrote his Introduction. As he says in it, he gave the transcript from his own notes. It will be noticed that he has also omitted the word *kṛte* after *śrī-Ānandasya.*

2 Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 113 and pl. XXVIII. Prof. Hodivala has recently put forward the ingenious conjecture that Kābkan, the *Rājā* of the kingdom adjoining that of Gaṇḍa, who sent some wonder-working presents to Mahmud of Ghazni in A. D. 1023 was this Gāṅgeyadeva of Tripurī. *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, pp. 78 ff.

3 These plates which record a grant made on the first anniversary of Gāṅgeya's death are dated A. D. 1041. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 310 and Vol. XI, p. 146.

of *Mahārājādhirāja*. The objection raised by Levi that he does not seem to have any pretensions to suzerainty over Bengal has no force now, because the colophon gives him the epithet *Garuḍadhvaja*, not *Gauḍadhvaja*. As for R. P. Chanda's argument that the Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva could not have extended his rule to Tirhut as the Pālas were supreme in Magadha and the Candellas in the territory to the west, it may be pointed out that in the Goharwā plates of his son Karṇa, Gāṅgeyadeva is said to have looked resplendent with the wealth of the Aṅga country.[1] This evidently indicates that he raided the territory round modern Bhāgalpur. Gāṅgeya's son Karṇa invaded Magadha towards the end of his father's reign.[2] There is therefore no inherent impossibility in Gāṅgeya's rule over Tirhut. Besides, we know Gāṅgeya held the holy places of Prayāga and Benares. The Jubbulpur and Khairhā plates[3] state that he was fond of staying at Prayāga where he ultimately breathed his last. From the *Tārikh-us-Subuktigin* we learn that in the summer of A. D. 1033 Ahmad Nialtigin, the Governor of the Punjab, raided Benares which belonged to the territory of Gaṅga. This Gaṅga is none other than the Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva. Karṇa's Benares plates which were issued just a year after Gāṅgeya's death record the grant of land in the Kāś'ī-bhūmi or the subdivision of Benares.[4] There is therefore no doubt that Benares was included in the kingdom of Gāṅgeya. With Benares as his base, Gāṅgeya could have easily overrun Tīrabhukti.

The identification of Gāṅgeyadeva of Tīrabhukti with the Kalacuri king does not however appear probable in view of two other epithets applied to him in the colophon of the Rāmāyaṇa Ms. He is called therein *Puṇyāvaloka* and *Garuḍadhvaja*. As Levi has already shown, Kalacuri kings are not known to have assumed such epithets ending in *avaloka*. As for the epithet *Garuḍadhvaja* it may be noted that like most other Kalacuri

1 *Ibid.* Vol. XI, p. 143.

2 See the discussion about the date of this expedition, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p.104.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 3 and Vol, XI, p. 143.

4 The plates record the grant of the village Susī in the Kāś'ī-bhūmi. This village I have identified with Sursi in the Mirzapur District, just outside the southern boundary of the present Benares District. *Nagpur University Journal*, Vol. II pp. 51 ff

kings, Gāṅgeyadeva was a devotee of S'iva.[1] He is not therefore likely to have adopted Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu, as his *lāñchana*[2]. The Kalacuri Gāṅgeya was, no doubt, a mighty king and in the Piawan inscription of A. D. 1037, he bears the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, but it is doubtful if he had assumed that imperial title as early as A. D. 1018-19, the date of the *Rāmāyana* Ms. In this connection I draw attention to a stone inscription recently discovered at Makundpur, nine miles southwest of Rewah.[3] It is dated in the Kalacuri year 772, corresponding to A. D. 1019, *i. e.*, in the same year in which the *Rāmāyaṇa* Ms was written. Besides, it comes from the heart of the home province of the Kalacuris. It would therefore be interesting to see how it describes the reigning king. Gāṅgeyadeva bears in this inscription the modest title of *Mahārha-mahā-mahattaka* together with another which is probably *Mahārāja*[4]. Now *Mahāmahattaka* was assumed by petty chiefs and ministers.[5] Even with the prefix *mahārha* it cannot be said to be equivalent to *Mahārājādhirāja*. It is plain therefore that in A.D. 1019 Gāṅgeyadeva was subordinate to some other power. This is again confirmed by a Mahobā inscription which describes that 'the moon of the Kalacuris' (evidently Gāṅgeya) and the king Bhoja (the well-known king of Dhārā) worshipped, full of fear, like a pupil, the Candella prince Vidyādhara who had caused the destruction of Rājyapāla, the king of Kanauj, and who was lying on a couch.[6] Curiously enough, the defeat of Rājyapāla occurred in the spring or summer of this very year A. D. 1019. All this goes to show that in A. D. 1019 Gāṅgeyadeva held a

1 In lines 2-3 the Piawan inscription probably contained the epithet *Paramamāheśvara* in place of Cunningham's reading *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. See plate XXXVIII in Cunningham's *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI.

2 The seal of the Goharwā plates issued by Gāṅgeya's son Karṇa has the figure of S'iva's bull (Nandī). *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XI, plate facing p. 142.

3 A copy of this inscription has been kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for Indfa. The inscription is still unpublished, but I have discussed its date in the *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXIV, p. 118, n. 4

4 The first line of the inscription reads *Saṁvat 772 Kārttika śu di 12 Vu(Bu)dha dine-Mahā[r]ha-mahāmahattaka-śr[ī]Ma[hārāja ?]- śrī-Gāṅge[ya]deva-rājye*. Only the *akṣara ma* of *Mahārāja* is certain, the following *akṣaras* being lost owing to the peeling off of the stone. There is not sufficient space for the title *Mahārājādhirāja*.

5 For the title *Mahāmahattaka* assumed by several ministers of the kings of Mithilā, see Jayaswal's Introduction to the *Rājanītiratnākara*, *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol.X.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 222.

subordinate position to the Candella Emperor Gaṇḍa, the father of Vidyādhara. It is again extremely unlikely that he had extended his way as far as Tirhut before A. D. 1019. The Sārnāth stone inscription[1] dated V. S. 1083 (A.D. 1026) which records that Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla established, by the order of Mahīpāla I of Bengal, hundreds of precious monuments of glory in Kās'ī, shows that the holy place was in the occupation of the Pāla king at least seven years after the date of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Ms.

Notwithstanding the epithet *Somavaṁśodbhava* and the date, I am therefore inclined to regard the indentification of Gāṅgeyadeva of Tīrabhukti with the Kalacuri king of Tripurī as extremely unlikely.

(2) M. Sylvain Levi has suggested that this Gāṅgeyadeva of Tīrabhukti might have been a prince of a local Kalacuri family like the one which was ruling over the adjoining country of S'arayūpāra (modern Gorakhpur District in U. P.)[2] No such local Kalacuri family is known from any record of Tirhut. As for the family ruling over S'arayūpāra, it is known from two records, the Kasiā stone inscription[3] and the Kahlā plates.[4] The former is undated, but as I have shown elsewhere,[5] it may, on the evidence of palaeography, be referred to the 10th century A.D. The princes mentioned in it must therefore have flourished some time before Gāṅgeyadeva of Tīrabhukti. The second record is dated in V. S. 1135 which corresponds to A. D. 1079. It gives a long genealogy of the Kalacuri king Soḍhadeva, but mentions no prince of the name Gāṅgeyadeva. This Soḍhadeva bore the title *Mahārājādhirāja* and like other Kalacuri princes traced his descent from the moon. If Gāṅgeyadeva of Tīrabhukti belonged to this family, he could, no doubt, be described as *Somavaṁśodbhava*

1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV, pp. 139 ff. As the Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva was supposed to have held Tirhut in A. D 1019, the evidence of the Sārnāth inscription was not regarded as sufficient to prove Mahīpāla's occupation of Benares. It may be noted in this connection that if the Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva had been ruling in Tīrabhukti and Benares in A.D. 1019 and 1026 respectively, the dates of the Ms. and the Sārnāth inscription would in all probability have been recorded in the Kalacuri era. We find that the era was used in dating another Buddhist record at Sārnāth during the reign of Karṇa. Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 1225.

2 *Le Nepal*, Vol. II, p. 202, n. 1.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 128 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 85 ff.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 259 and n. 6.

But the other two epithets *Garuḍadhvaja* and *Puṇyāvaloka* would present the same difficulties in his case as in that of Gāṅgeyadeva of Tripurī. Besides, the date A.D. 1019 to which we have to refer this Rāmāyaṇa Ms. falls in a period when this family was in great trouble. The Kahlā plates state that Bhīma, the predecessor of Soḍhadeva's father Vyāsa, was deposed through adverse fate and that Vyāsa ascended the throne in V.S. 1087 (A.D. 1031). The plates do not state who had deposed Bhīma. Vyāsa could not, certainly, have been responsible for it; otherwise the Kahlā plates issued by his son would not have showered fulsome praise on Bhīma. There was presumably some foreign invasion and annexation of the kingdom. Ultimately Vyāsa recovered his ancestral country and crowned himself king at Gokulaghaṭṭa in A.D. 1031. It is not known how long the foreign occupation of the S'arayūpara country lasted. In any case it does not seem likely that in A. D. 1019 this Kalacuri family was powerful enough to extend its rule to Tirhut.

(3) Dr. R. C. Majumdar refers the date of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Ms. to the S'aka era and takes it to be equivalent to A. D. 1154.[1] He identifies Gāṅgeyadeva with Gaṅga mentioned in a Nepal inscription as the son and successor of Nānya.[2] This king is named as Gāṅga in a verse of a Mithilā Pañjī.[3] This name, though not completely identical with Gāṅgeya, bears much similarity to it. As Nānyadeva is traditionally known to have come to the throne in A. D. 1097 and ruled for fifty years,[4] he may have closed his reign in A. D. 147. The date S'aka 1075 (A. D. 1154) therefore falls in the reign of Nānya's successor Gaṅga. As Nānyadeva bore the title *Dharmāvaloka*, his son may have assumed another ending in *avaloka* like *Puṇyāvaloka*.

The identification of Gāṅgeyadeva with Gaṅga or Gāṅga, the son of Nānya, does not, however, appear to be convincing. We have,

1 *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. VII, pp. 681 ff.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp, 188.

3 See the following verse cited in Jayaswal's Introduction to *Rājanītiratnākara* p. r. n. 3, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. X:—

शास्ता नान्यपतिर्बभूव तदनु श्रीगाङ्गदेवो नृप-
स्तत्सूनुर्नरसिंहदेवनृपतिः श्रीरामसिंहस्ततः ।
तत्सूनुः खलु शक्र(क्ति)सिंहविजयी भूपालवन्द्यस्ततः
यत्र श्रीहरिसिंहदेवनृपतिः कार्णाटचूडामणिः ॥

4 *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. VII, p, 680.

in the first place, no evidence to prove that Nānya's family claimed descent from the moon and called itself *Somavaṁśodbhava.* In his commentary *Bharatavārttika* on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, Nānya makes no mention of any such claim. He describes himself only as *Karṇāṭa-kula-bhūṣaṇa* 'an ornament of the Karṇāta family'.[1] In a late Nepāl inscription of the 17th century A. D. an attempt is made to give a divine origin to the family of Nānya. But there also its descent is traced from the sun, not from the moon.[2] It is therefore extremely doubtful if Nānyadeva and his son called themselves *Somavaṁśodbhava.*[3] Secondly, it does not seem likely that this Gaṅga ever assumed the title of *Mahārājādhirāja.* His father Nānya was undoubtedly the most powerful member of this family. In his afore-mentioned commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, he claims to have defeated the kings of Mālava, Baṅgāla, Gauḍa and Sauvīra. But even he called himself *Mahāsāmantādhipati* only.[4] He does not seem to have assumed the imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja.* No records of his son Gaṅga have yet been discovered and so we cannot say if he was powerful enough to

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1 *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 56.

2 आसीच्छ्रीसूर्यवंशे रघुनृपकुलजो रामचन्द्रो नृपेशः
तद्वंशे नान्यदेवोवनिपतिरभवत्तत्सुतो गङ्गदेवः । *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 188.

The inscription is dated in the year 769 of the Newar era corresponding to A. D 1649. The Malla dynasty of Nepal traced its descent from Nānya. An earlier inscription of the dynasty dated in the year 533 of the Newar era (A. D. 1413) also mentions the descent of the family from the sun, though it does not name Nānya or his son Gaṅga.

3 The Ms. of the *Bharatavārttika* does not indicate whether Nānya was a devotee of S'iva, Viṣṇu or some other deity. The opening *maṅgala śloka* would have given us some clue but that leaf is missing in the Ms. 'The first sheet of the Ms. belongs to some other work later by two or three centuries.' *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol.I, p.55,

After this article was sent to the press, Dr. V. Raghvan informed me that in the chapter of the *Bharatabhāṣya* on Puṣkara there occurs the following verse as a *maṅgala śloka* :—

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This clearly shows that Nānyadeva was a S'aiva. His son Gaṅga also may have likewise been a devotee of S'iva.

4 See the colophons of the *Bharatavārttika*-
श्रीमन्नान्यपतिविरचिते सरस्वतीहृदयालंकारनाम्नि भरतवार्तिके etc. In a stone inscription of his minister S'rīdhara, Nānya is simply called *śrīmān* (illustrious). *J B.O.R.S.*, Vol. IX, p. 308.

claim that title. The political situation in North-eastern India was certainly not favourable for this king of Tirhut to attain the imperial status. His small principality was hemmed in by the Gāhaḍavālas on the west and the Senas on the east. As early as A. D. 1126 we find that the powerful Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra had extended his sway as far as Māner in the Patna District.[1] Twenty years later the Gāhaḍavāla ruler had pressed as far as Mudgagiri (Monghir) in the east where he made his grant recorded in the Lār plates of V. S. 1202 (A. D. 1146).[2] The Sena king Vijayasena claims in his Deopara inscription to have inflicted a defeat on Nānya probably towards the close of the latter's reign.[3] He is not likely to have tolerated the assumption of an imperial title by the son of Nānya soon after his accession.

We have thus seen that none of the theories so far advanced for the identification of Gāṅgeyadeva of Tīrabhukti is satisfactory. As a matter of fact, the history of Mithilā before the rise of Nānya is enveloped in obscurity. But in view of the information supplied by the colophon a conjecture may be hazarded, leaving its corroboration to future research.

The colophon states that Gāṅgeyadeva of Tīrabhukti had the *biruda* of *Puṇyāvaloka* and claimed descent from the moon. He was also probably a devotee of Viṣṇu as he had the Eagle standard. Now we know that such *birudas* in *avaloka* were assumed by Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings.[4] Again in their later records the Rāṣṭrakūṭas traced their descent from the moon.[5] Most of them were devotees of Viṣṇu and used the Eagle seal for their copper-plates. So this Gāṅgeyadeva of Tīrabhukti is likely to have been a king of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty.

The date of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Ms. probably refers to the Vikrama era ; for S'aka dates of the 10th or 11th century A.D. are rarely

1 *J. O. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 441 ff.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 98 ff.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 309.

4 See e. g. the biru la *Khaḍgāvaloka* assumed by Dantidurga and *Raṇāvaloka* by Stambha, the son of Dhruva.

5 In the earlier inscriptions of the dynasty such as the Bhāndak plates of Kṛṣṇarāja I, the Añjanavatī and other plates of Govinda III etc., no mention is made of the lunar race. But in later inscriptions of the dynasty such as the Cambay plates of Govinda IV, and the Deoli and Karhād plates of Kṛṣṇa III, the genealogy is traced back to the moon.

found in North-East India. The date therefore corresponds to A.D. 1019-20. Let us now see if we have any evidence of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa family settled in the territory adjoining Mithilā in this period.

From the Bāngaḍ grant of Mahīpāla I, we learn that a Pāla king named Rājyapāla who seems to have flourished in the beginning of the 10th century A. D., married Bhāgyadevī who was the daughter of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king named Tuṅga.[1] This Tuṅga may be identical with the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* king Tuṅga *alias Dharmāvaloka* who has left an inscription[2] at Buddha Gayā recording his dedication of a *Gandhakuṭī* for the service of the Buddha.[3] We cannot of course conclude from this that Buddha Gayā was included in his territory, but in view of his matrimonial alliance with the Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar he may have been ruling in the neighbourhood, perhaps over Mithilā.[4] In the absence of further information about this Rāṣṭrakūṭa family it is not possible to say if it produced any king of the name Gāṅgeyadeva in the beginning of the 11th century A. D. But the existing data for the history of North-East India do not at least preclude the possibility of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of that name who claimed descent from the moon and assumed the title *Mahārājādhirāja* and the *biruda Puṇyāvaloka*, ruling over Mithilā and the adjoining territory in the beginning of the 11th century A. D.

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 324 ff.

2 This record is not dated, but on palaeographic grounds it can be referred to the 10th century A. D. See pl. xl in R. L. Mitra's *Buddha Gayā*.

3 Tuṅga's grandfather Nanna also bore a *biruda* ending in *avaloka*, vize. *Guṇāvaloka*. R. L. Mitra, *Buddha Gayā*, p. 195. Kielhorn identifies Tuṅga, the father of Bhāgyadevī, with Jagattuṅga II, the son of Kṛṣṇa II. Another view is that he was identical with Kṛṣṇa II. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 136.

4 The Buddha Gayā inscription of Tuṅga mentions in l. 13 that Nanna, the founder of the family, conquered the impregnable fort of Maṇipura where he seems to have subsequently established himself. This Maṇipura has not been identified.

THE VEDIC DOCTRINE OF THE WORLDS ABOVE

By

H. G. NARAHARI

Of the heavenly world of Yama to which repair the virtuous Souls according to the Vedic poets, after their death, there is a clear mention made in the funeral hymns of the *Saṁhitās*; but a study of the cosmological speculations of these people reveals that a belief in a plurality of heavens was also current among them. It was usual in this period to divide the Universe into Earth, Air or Atmosphere, and Heaven. Each of these spheres was called by several names in accordance with the angle with which it was viewed by the poet. Thus, when he thought of the Earth as a 'broad place', he called it *urvī* or *pṛthivī*, *aparā* when he conceived it as 'boundless', and *bhūmiḥ* when as the 'place from which everything springs'. Earth is also very often denominated the 'great' (*mahī*), the 'extended' (*uttānā*) or simply 'this' (*idam*) as contrasted with the upper sphere which is distant. Heaven is likewise designated the 'shining light' (*div, rocana, rocanam dīvaḥ*), the 'woven web of light' (*vyoman*)[1], the 'height' (*sānu, pṛṣṭha, viṣṭap*), the 'place situated afar' (*parāvat*), the 'roof of the world supported on high',[2] and the 'firmament above the sky' (*divo nāka*) in which the stars are fixed'. It is *Hertel's*[3] claim that in India as well as in Iran heaven was conceived 'as a great stone building filled with light, through whose doors the sun and the stars, the light of heaven shines upon men' In the course of an elaborate examination of this view, *Keith*[4] points out that the evidence called in support of the contention is not accurate. The Vedic

1 Cf. RV. III.54.9 where the gods are described as standing on the spacious far extended path-way (*urau pathi vyute*) and singing praises.

2 X. 149.1; IV.56.3.; II.15.2; VI.47.4.; though a definite expression conveying this meaning is not found in these passages, they prove in plain terms that heaven was conceived by the Vedic bard as the *roof* of the world supported on high without beams (*avaṁśa, askambhana*).

3 *Die Himmelstore in Veda und im Avesta*, cited by Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, II.621.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 621 f.

Seer often thought of Heaven and Earth together, and the couple was then denominated by such terms as *dyāvāpṛthivī*, *rodasī*, and *kṣoṇī*.

Rajas is the name by which the atmospheric region was commonly known, but the term is often used[1] as a general name for all the three spheres. On such occasions, heaven is called *tṛtīya* (IX.74.6 ; X.45.3 ; 123.8), *uttama* (IX.22.5), or *parama* (III.30.2) as contrasted with the earth which is then called *upara* (I.62.5) or *pārthiva* (I.154.1 ; IV.53.3). The different spheres are all mentioned together as the three earths, the three heavens and the three atmospheres, and the matter is made all the more complex when occasionally addition is made in the singular of one member of the trio, when the three have already been mentioned.[2] What is more, the dual division of heaven and earth is sometimes combined with the three-fold division, and *six* regions are thus enumerated (*ṣalimā rajāmsi*).[3] Such manipulation of numbers might have originally been mere freaks of language,[4] but, as we shall presently see, they later resulted in an actual sub-division of each of these regions.

The vault (*nāka*)[5] is often added after the triad (I.34.8), and a region higher than the usual three is thus posited ; but a verse in the *Atharvaveda* (IV.14.3) seems to speak of a still higher region when it mentions this sphere before the realm of celestial light (*svar*, *jyotis*). In one verse of the Ṛgveda (IX.96.19), Soma is said to enter the atmospheric region and then travel further to the fourth sphere (*turīyam dhāma*):

1 The term *pṛthivī* also finds a similar use and in such contexts (I.108.9,10) the atmospheric region is called middle (*madhyama*) and heaven by the name highest (*parama*), while earth is called lowest (*avama*). Zimmer (*Altindisches Leben*, p. 357) thinks it necessary to accept the existence of a *rajas* beneath the earth to account for the course of the sun at night, but Wallis (*Cosmology of the Rigveda*, p. 115 f.) rightly points out that in the Vedic passages containing the word *rajas*, the reference is always to a region situated above the earth.

2 For instance, RV. VII. 33.7 ; cf. Wallis, *op. cit.* p. 114.

3 RV. I.164,6, cf. RV. VII.87.5 where *three* heavens (*tisraḥ dyāvaḥ*) and *three* earths (*tisraḥ bhūmīḥ*) are mentioned together.

4 Wallis, *loc, cit.*

5 Words like *sānu* (I.51.4), *viṣṭap* (I.46.3), *pṛṣṭha* (I.115.3) *nākasya pṛṣṭha* (I.125.5), *divaspṛṣṭha* (III.2.12), *nākasya sānu* (VIII 103.12), *tṛtīye pṛṣṭhe* (IX.86.27) which occur frequently in the *Ṛgveda* denote the same region,

Camūṣacchyenaḥ s'akuno vibhṛtvā govindur drapsa
āyudhāni bíbhrat ।
Apām ūrmíṁ sacamānas samudram turīyam dhāma
mahiṣo vivakti ॥

According to Sāyaṇa, this 'fourth sphere' is the realm of the Moon[1] which is situated above the solar region (*sa somaḥ turīyam caturtham dhāma candramasam sthānam vivakti sevate* ; *sūryalokasyopari candramaso loko vidyate*).

Quite frequently *three* worlds are marked as distinct from the usual three regions by such expressions as *tisro divaḥ*, *trīṇi rocanā*, and *trīn dyūn*; *tisro divaḥ* are distinguished from *tisraḥ pṛthivīḥ*, and *trīṇi rocanā* and *trīn dyūn* from *tisro bhūmīḥ*:[2]

Trír antarikṣam savitā mahitvanā trī rajāṁsi paribhūs
trīṇi rocanā ।
Tisro divaḥ pṛthivīs tisra invati tribhir vratair abhi no
rakṣati tmnā ॥
Trī rocanā varuṇa trīr uta dyūn trīṇi mitra dhārayatho
rajāṁsi ।
Vāvṛdhānāv amatim kṣatriyasyānu vratam rakṣamāṇāv
ajuryam ॥
Tisro dyāvo nihitā antarasmin tisro bhūmīr uparāḥ
ṣaḍvidhānāḥ ।
Gṛtso rājā varuṇas' cakra etaṁ divi preṅkham
hiraṇyayam s'ubhe kam ॥
Triviṣṭidhātu pratimānam ojāsas tisro bhūmīr nṛpate
trīṇi rocanā ।
Atīdam vis'vam bhuvanam vavakṣithās'atrur Indra januṣā
sanād asi ॥
Tisro bhūmīr dhārayan trīr uta dyūn trīṇi vratā
vidathe antar eṣām ।
Ṛtenādityā mahi vo mahitvam tad aryaman varuṇa
mitra cāru ॥

Varuṇa's rays are once (RV. VIII.41.9) described to pervade not only the three earths (*tisraḥ bhūmīḥ*), but to go beyond as well and fill up the three superior realms of heaven (*trir uttarāṇi papratuḥ*).

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1 Geldner (*Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, II.148) reiterates this view and so dces Ludwig (*Der Rigveda*. V.388), though in a hesitant fashion. Oldenberg does not explain the phrase *turīyaṁ dhāma*.

2 RV. IV.53.5; V.69.1.; VII.87.5 ; I.102.8; II.27.8.

The Ṛgveda also mentions 'three shining worlds' (*trīṇi rocanā*) and 'three distant heavens' (*tisraḥ parāvataḥ divaḥ*) which, from the special attributes used in describing them, should mean something other than the usual triad of Earth, Air and Heaven :[1]

Besides these passages, it is also possible to find in the *Saṁhitās* distinct references to a three-fold division of the heavenly region (*divaḥ*); the highest heaven is called *uttama*,[2] the middle goes by the name of *madhyama*[3] or *uttara*,[4] and the lowest is called either *avama*[5] or *pārya*[6]. The AV.(XVIII.2.48) which divides heaven into *avamā*, *madhyamā* and *tṛtīyā* says that the first is rich in water (*udanvatī*), the second in stars[7] *pīlumatī*) and that the third (*pradyauḥ*) is the place where the fathers sit (*yasyāṁ pitara āsate*).

But a verse of the Ṛgveda (I. 35. 6) dedicated to *Savitṛ* has a varied account to give of these *three* heavens :

> Tisro dyāvaḥ savitur dvā upasthāṁ ekā yamasya
> bhuvane virāṣāṭ ।
> Āṇim na rathyam amṛtādhi tasthur iha bravītu
> ya u tac ciketat ॥

We read here that, of the *three* heavens, *two* belong to *Savitṛ* and *one* to *Yama*, and that all immortal things rest on Savitṛ

1 RV. V.81.4 ; VIII.5.8.
2 RV. V. 60. 6.
3 Ibid.
4 RV. IV. 26. 6.
5 RV. V. 60. 6.
6 RV. VI. 40. 5 : the AV. (V. 4. 3) seems to call this *tṛtīya* ; cf. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, I. 361 n.
7 The translation here is based on *Sāyaṇa*'s commentary which explains the word thus : *Pālayantīti pīlavaḥ, grahanakṣatrādayaḥ ; te yasyām santīti pīlumatī*. *Griffith* understands the word to mean 'blossoming with the *pīlu* tree' (*Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, II. 233 n.). Macdonell and Keith (*op. cit.*, p. 361) prefer to leave the word untranslated; *Whitney* calls the commentator's meaning noted above 'a worthless etymological guess', but still finds it necessary to incorporate the meaning in his translation of the entire verse. He also mentions that one of his Mss. reads *pītumatī* which, though obviously wrong, could be emended as *pitumatī* (rich in food) [*Atharvaveda Saṁhitā*, translated by W. D. Whitney, pp. 842 ff.] Roth and Bohtlingk (*Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, IV. 748) leave the word untranslated, but say that it denotes the middle sky (*der mittlere Himmel*).

as on the axle-end of a car. *Mādhava*[1] and *Sāyaṇa*[2] interpret the *three* worlds mentioned here to mean the group of Earth, Air and Heaven, and hold that the first and last belong to *Savitṛ* and that the second region belongs to Yama. *Veṅkaṭamādhava*[3] understands the 'three worlds' here to mean the 'three heavens' which stand supported by Agni and Savitṛ, and that all immortals are supported by the latter for he grants immortality. *Skandasvāmin*[4] mentions both these meanings as alternatives. *Macdonell*[5] says that of the *three* worlds, Savitṛ occupies Air and Earth, and that the third world which is the highest heaven, is the abode of Yama in which dwell the *pitaraḥ* (men after death). All these explanations proceed from a quaint understanding of the passage and are in the highest degree fanciful. Seeing that the term *dyauḥ* is used most frequently in the Veda to denote a region distinct from the usual trio,it is unnecessary to take the word *dyāvaḥ* in this verse in the generic sense of 'a region'. What is to be understood here[6] is the existence of "three heavens" besides Earth and Atmosphere, *two* of which belong to *Savitṛ* and are the station of immortals, while the *third* which is the abode of Yama serves as the residence of ordinary mortals who after death become the Manes. Also, the heavens belonging to *Savitṛ* should be accepted to be situated on a higher plane than the one of which *Yama* is the lord. When *Macdonell* said that the world of *Yama* is the highest and that the *two* worlds of *Savitṛ* are situated at a lower level, he was perhaps influenced by the Atharvavedic verse (XVIII.2.48) noticed already; but this conception is entirely opposed to Ṛgvedic tradition[7].

For a ratification of these observations as well as for obtaining a full knowledge of the distinctive features of the *three*

1 *Ṛgvedavyākhyā Mādhavakṛtā*, Ed. by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, p. 270.

2 Cf. Geldner (*Der Rigveda*, I. 38 n.) who understands this earth and the visible and invisible portions of the sky by the three heavens mentioned here (*Die drei Himmel sind hier Erde, der sichtbare und der jenseitige, unsichtbare Himmel*).

3 Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

4 *Ṛgvedabhāṣya*, Edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, p. 133,

5 *Vedic Reader*, p. 16,

6 Cf. J. Ehni, *Der Vedische Mythus des Yama*, p. 115.

7 That there is frequently a scuffle between the traditions of the RV. and the AV. is a well known fact. For some instances see my *Designation of Hell in the Ṛgveda and the meaning of the word 'Asat' in the Indian Historical Quarterly XVIII.164.*

heavens, it is necessary to make a careful study of the eschatological conception in the *Saṁhitā* period.

Mundane pleasure had all its charms for the Vedic poet,[1] but death had no terrors for him. He believed, as did Socrates long after, that it is not death but dying that is terrible. To the pessimistic Socrates death was attractive because it marked the cessation of mundane misery;[2] but the optimistic Vedic Indian did not fight shy of death for a different reason. Death held out to him a prospect of greater happiness. It brought out not a cessation of his existence but a prolongation of his old life lived under better conditions. The abode of Yama which the virtuous man reached after death is no strange place. It is his own home, discovered for him by his ancestors and ruled by one of them (RV. X. 14. 1, 2; 16. 9). He was not severed from intercourse with those whom he left behind on earth,[3] for he was, in a measure, dependant on the offerings of his descendants. Nor did he suffer for want of those pleasures which were available to him on earth. He had all these in a greater measure, so much so that it is possible to call the Vedic Heaven 'a glorified world of material joys'.[4] The Heaven in which the dead man thus passes a life of enjoyment may be identified with the *Lunar World of later times*. The idea that the Manes live here seems to be quite familiar to these Vedic Seers, though it is still in its beginnings and not yet fully developed as in the Upaniṣads. Soma is described to be in very close connection with the Manes. He is said to be united with them (RV.VIII.48.13) or accompanied by them (AV. XVIII.4.12), Soma stimulated the fathers to deeds (RV.IX.96.11), and through his help they found the light and the cows (RV.IX. 97.39). The fact is no doubt true that Soma is a regular name of the Moon only in Post-Vedic Literature, and that in the Veda it generally signifies the plant or more frequently the

1 For details, see my *Apropos of the Conception of Immortality in the Veda* in course of publication in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*.

2 Cf. the Poet-Philosopher *Heine* who wrote:

"Süss ist der Schlaf, der Tod ist besser,
Am Besten wär' es, nie geboren sein."

3 In several of the passages of the AV. (XII.3.17; VI.120.3; IX.5.27) an expectation is expressed that there will be a continuation of family relations maintained even in the next world, (Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V. 305 f.).

4 Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 168.

juice; but it has to be conceded that there are certain passages[1] in the Ṛgveda which would give an absurd meaning if the word *Soma* occurring in them is taken in either of these latter senses. Chief among such are those (RV.X.85) which decribe the wedding of *Soma* with *Sūryā*, the daughter of the Sun. Soma is here described as placed in the lap of the stars (*nakṣatrāṇām eṣām upasthe soma āhitaḥ*).[2] It is also stated here (RV.X.85.3) that albeit the fancy of the drinker of the juice of the Soma-plant that he has drunk *Soma*, no one really tastes of him whom the priests know to be *Soma* (*somam yaṁ brahmāṇo vidur na tasyāśnāti kaścana*). Besides these passages where *Soma* cannot mean the juice or the plant, there are some which speak of the connection of the daughter of the Sun with Soma; the former is thus said to purify the distilled *Soma* (RV.IX.1.6), and to have brought *Soma* after it had been expanded by rain (IX. 113. 3). The connection between *Sūryā* and *Soma* mentioned in these passages becomes clear only if *Soma* is here understood to mean the *Moon* who, as a luminary even like the Sun, can reasonably be regarded as his son-in-law. Yet another passage (RV.X.123.8) describes *Soma* as the drop (*drapsa*) which goes to the Ocean, looking with the eye of a vulture; and here also the allusion must be only to the Moon. The *Atharvaveda* which is generally reputed for conceptions more advanced than the *Ṛgveda*, holds its own even on the present occasion. It declares in clear terms the identity of *Soma* with the *Moon* when it says (AV.XI.6.7) "May the god Soma free me he whom they call the Moon" (*somo mā devo muñcatu yam āhuś candramā iti*).

It is thus clear that *Soma* meant also the Moon to the Vedic Seers; and this idea, coupled with the fact that these people believed in a close association of *Soma* with the Manes, leads one naturally to the conclusion that the Moon must have been regarded, even so early as in the Vedic Period, as the world of the Manes.

The *Manes* are not all of the same kind. There are distinctions made among them (RV.X.15.1) into those that are lower (*avara*), those that are higher (*para*), and those that are middle

1 It must be of interest to note in this context that *Hillebrandt* contends that in the whole of the *ninth* Maṇḍala, *Soma* is the Moon and nowhere the ordinary plant. (*Vedische Mythologie*, pp. 309, 326).

2 RV. X.85.2.

(*madhyama*); of these, it is only those that belong to the last variety that are expressly spoken of as soma-loving (*madhyamāḥ pitaraḥ somyāsaḥ*), and it can hence be inferred that it is these alnoe that are intimately connected with the Moon. The lower (*avara*) variety of the Manes might be composed of the ordinary virtuous dead who go to Yama's Heaven to revel in his company. *Soma* is intimately connected even with *Yama*.[1] The latter, we are told, sits under a tree in Heaven and drinks *Soma* in the company of the gods (RV.X.135.1). *Varuṇa*, who is the companion of Yama in his merriment in this world, is often identified with *Soma* (IX.77.5; 95.4), so that the dead man who is promised that he would meet the two kings, Yama and Varuṇa, (RV.X.14.7) can be considered to meet *Soma* also. If so, we have here the beginnings of the Upanișadic theory that people of ordinary merit like sacrificers and philanthropists reach the Lunar World after their death. The theory that these people enjoy there might also have been suggested by the Vedic belief that the dead man finds Yama in his Heaven engaged in an ever-lasting bout with the gods and that he is also welcome to the party.

But the higher class (*para*) of Manes were justly honoured with a higher award. To this class belong the *Ṛbhus*, the *Maruts*, the *Aṅgirases*, the *Virūpas*, the *Navagvas*, the *Daśagvas*, the *Atharvans*, the *Bhṛgus*, and the *Kuśikas*. All these are people who distinguished themselves by exhibition of special merit,[2] and as a reward they became immortal and were treated even like gods. Not only do we hear often that the Manes are in close relation with the Sun, but also immortality is found in the Veda to have a sort of special connection with the Solar gods. Thus, on the far path to the world of the Manes, *Pūṣan* is the protector and *Savitṛ* the usherer of the dead (*pūṣā tvā pātu prapathe purastāt...tatra tvā devaḥ savitā dadhātu*).[3] The Manes are united with or guard the Sun (RV.X.107.2; 154.5) or are connected with the rays of the Sun (RV.I.109.7),[4] and suns shine for them in Heaven (RV.I.125.6). In another passage

1 Cf. Hillebrandt (*op cit.*, I.394 ff.) according to whom *Yama* is the Moon, in which dying is typical, and thus the mortal child of the Sun and closely connected with the Manes.

2 For an elaboration of this theme, see my *Apropos of the Conception of Immortality in the Veda* mentioned already.

3 RV. X.17.4.

4 Cf. Bloomfield, *J.A.O.S.*, XVI.27.

(RV.IX.113.9) we are even told clearly that the abode of the fathers is the highest point of the Sun (*lokā yatra jyotiṣmantaḥ tatra mām amṛtaṁ kṛdhi*). Varuṇa is the wise guardian of immortality (*dhīram āmṛtasya gopām*),[1] and on Savitṛ all immortal things rest as on the axle-end of a car (RV.I.35.6). Sūryā is in one passage (RV X.85.20) asked to ascend the chariot bound for the world of immortals, and in another context it is clearly stated that man becomes immortal by the solar ray (*upāṁśunā sam amṛtatvam anaṭ*).[2] As in the case of the close relation of Soma with the pitṛs which might be the beginning of the identification of the *Pitṛloka* with the Moon, the intimate relation of immortality with the Sun may be the starting point for the later doctrine of Immortality being identified with dissolution in the Sun.

From this world which is the abode of immortals like the Ṛbhus must be distinguished the abode of Viṣṇu, another solar god[3] in the Vedic pantheon. This is a god whose status in the Ṛgveda is much debated. The general view[4] has been that Viṣṇu presents the unique spectacle of a god whom, from a very inferior position in the Vedic period, rises later in the Puranic period, to the dignity of the Supreme Spirit. Several reasons are adduced to prove that the position of Viṣṇu in the Ṛgvedic age is quite insignificant. Not more than *five* whole hymns and a few more stray verses are addressed here to this god, so that, judged by the statistical standard, he will have to be counted as a deity of the fourth rank. Besides, in most passages he is lauded along with a host of other divinities, and many of the attributes given to him are those which he shares in common with many of them[5]. Viṣṇu is even stated to have sung the praise of Indra (RV.VIII.15.9),

1 RV. VIII, 42.2.

2 RV. IV. 58.1.

3 *Oldenberg's* view that *Viṣṇu* is only a space-god (*weltall durchschreitende Gott*) is untenable, for the idea that he is the solar home of souls is too clearly connected with him to be brushed aside as of no account (cf. Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, XVI. cxlvii ff.).

4 Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p 227; Muir, *O.S.T.*, IV. 98: Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 164; Bhandarkar. *Vaiṣṇavism, S'aivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 33 f.; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p.37; *Vedic Reader*, p. 30, Griffith. *Rigveda*, I. 27 n. For other views of the same nature, see Dr. Dandekar's interesting article *Viṣṇu in the Veda in Festschift. Prof. P. V. Kane*, pp. 95 ff.

5 For instance, like *Viṣṇu*, Indra takes strides, spreads out the spaces and creates the wide air (RV.VI.69.5; VII.99 6). Along with *Mitra*, *Varuṇa*, and the *Maruts*, *Viṣṇu* sings the praises of *Indra* (RV. VIII.15.9).

and to derive his power from that god (RV VIII.12.27). From these considerations it should follow that Viṣṇu is no prominent god at all in the RV. and that he is not only on a footing of equality with other gods, but is often seen to be subordinate even to some of them.[1] It is true that the hymns in which Viṣṇu is celebrated in the Ṛgveda are extremely small in number compared with those used in edifying Indra or Varuṇa ; but to deny on this score to Viṣṇu the position of a great god in the Veda would only be to forget that in a sacrificial collection like the Ṛgveda that is handed down to us the comparative prominence of the numerous gods in the Vedic pantheon is not necessarily brought out to the fullest extent.[2] It is not necessary even to say that Viṣṇu might have been quite popular among the masses, while the priestly classes, with its love for sacrifices, did not think much of him.[3] That would be to think that when the seer praised *Viṣṇu* he did so with the utmost reluctance. This, however, cannot be, for the seer is seen to extol Viṣṇu's unique feat of taking the 'three strides' with as much gusto as the feat of any other prominent god of the Veda. No one who reads the hymns in praise of Viṣṇu can afford to feel that this god 'occupied a somewhat subordinate place in the estimation and affections of the ancient ṛṣis'.[4] Of the three steps of Viṣṇu, two, we are told, are visible to the naked eye, but the third and highest is beyond mortal ken. It is accessible to none, not even to the winged birds in their flight. (RV.I.155.5 ; VII.99.2). It is the highest place (*paramam padam*)[5] or the highest path (*paramam pāthaḥ*),[6] and is known only to its

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1 *Weber* stresses this by pointing out that *Viṣṇu* owes almost all his famous qualities to Indra (*Indische Streifen*, II. 226 ff., cited by Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 298).

2 cf. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, I. 109 ff.

3 Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 166 : In a very interesting study of *Viṣṇu* in the Veda published recently, Dr. *Dandekar* challenges both the views that this god is not prominent in the Ṛgveda and that he is un-Aryan in origin, and maintains that he must have been supreme in the popular religion of the masses, though neglected by the higher class composed of priestly intellectuals (*Festschrift Prof. P. V. Kane*, p. 111). That Viṣṇu is not quite important in so far as sacrifices are concerned lends some justification to the latter part of the statement ; but the former part must remain unsettled till the community to which devotees of Viṣṇu like *Medhātithi Kāṇva* or *Dīrghatamas* exactly belonged is known with certainty.

4 Muir, *op. cit.*, IV. 98.

5 RV. I. 22.20.21.

6 RV. III. 55.10.

owner who guards it zealously (RV.X.1.3).[1] This is a station situated far away from this earth (*kṣayantam asya rajasaḥ parāke*).[2] The same is the import of other passages[3] which describe Viṣṇu as living on high (*bṛhan kṣayaḥ*), as mountain-abiding (*giriṣṭhā*) or mountain-dwelling (*girikṣit*). It is also a fact that Viṣṇu shares many an attribute with the other gods, and that he is even described sometimes as subordinate to Indra.[4] Seeing that, in a kathenotheistic religion like that of the Ṛgveda, each god is, for the time being, supreme in the mind of the devotee, it is not right to pay much attention to attributes given to the gods by their worshippers when they are in divine ecstacy.

The personality of *Viṣṇu* is far more important in the Veda than is ordinarily estimated judging him from these criteria. His importance lies in the very fact that he is not a sacrificial deity.[5] As *Yāska* would classify him, he is a god of the celestial region (*dyusthāna*) living on the highest plane compared with those gods that live in the atmospheric (*antarikṣa*) or terrestrial (*pṛthivī*) regions. While almost all the other gods receive sacrificial offerings like *havis* or *soma*, this is the god who is content with mere prayer (*stuti*). Like the god of the Puritans, he cares for piety rather than sacrifice, for devotion rather than offerings. It is thus stated that the group of Manes that go to his abode after their death is composed only of the pious (*devayavaḥ sūrayaḥ*)[6] among these Vedic poets. Their eye is ever directed towards this highest abode of Viṣṇu which is situated like an eye in Heaven (*divīva cakṣur ātatam*). It is their fond desire always that they should attain to the dear domain of Viṣṇu where are the many-horned nimble kine,

1 cf. RV. III. 55.10; VII. 99.1.

2 RV. VII. 100.5.

3 RV. VIII.15.9; I.154.2,3.

4 Such descriptions come chiefly from insignificant members of the family of Kāṇva like *Parvata*. *Goṣūkti* and *Aśvasūkti*. The *Kāṇva* family is moreover known for its special devotion to Indra. But *Viṣṇu* is really the highest god in the Veda. *a*

5 For details in this connection, see my *Sūktabhājaḥ* and *Havirbhājaḥ* in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā* III.131ff. It is of interest to note here that deities which are *Sūktabhāks* are not at all prominent in the Ṛgveda that has come down to us.

6 cf. RV. I. 50.10 which says that the godly attain to the supreme light of the Sun (*sūryam devatra aganma jyotir uttamam*). Another passage (RV. X. 15. 3) where connection between the manes and the wide-step of *Viṣṇu* is mentioned should also be of the same import.

where men devoted to the gods rejoice,[1] and which is a veritable spring of nectar:

> Tad viṣṇoḥ paramam padam sadā pas'yanti sūrayaḥ ।
> Divīva cakṣur ātatam ॥
> Tad asya priyam abhi pātho asyām naro yatra devayavo madanti ।
> Urukramasya sa hi bandhur itthā viṣṇoḥ pade parame madhva utsaḥ ॥
> Tā vāṁ vāstūny us'masi gamadhyai yatra gāvo bhūris'ṛṅgā ayāsaḥ ॥
> Atrāha tad urugāyasya vṛṣṇaḥ paramam padamava bhāti bhūri ॥[2]

In the later age of the Epics and Purāṇas, *Viṣṇu* occupies the high place of one among the trinity, and even forms to his sectaries the highest god. But the Purāṇic *Viṣṇu* is only a logical development of the god of the Vedic period. His history is the history of one regular and normal development. There are no traces here of breaks and stop-gaps, of sudden elevations and recognitions. From the Vedic age down to the age of the Epics and Purāṇas, *Viṣṇu* is primarily revered for being the saviour and asylum of departed souls.[3]

To sum up : the Vedic seers believed in a *three-fold* heaven. The lowest of them which was intimately connected with Soma or Moon and belonged to *Yama*, formed the destination of people of ordinary merit like sacrificers and philanthropists. The remaining *two* heavens were situated in the higher region. The realm of *Savitṛ* and *Sūrya* was the lower of these two, and in this were accommodated men like the *Ṛbhus* and the *Maruts* whose exceptional merit brought them immortality and divinity. The other which is no other than the highest heaven of *Viṣṇu* was accessible only to the seers and even among these seers, only to those who were known for their piety and devotion towards the gods.

1 According to RV. VIII. 29.7, the gods themselves rejoice in this abode (*yatr devāso madanti*).

2 RV. I. 22.20; 154.5,6.

3 cf. Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, p. 170; Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 458; *Notes on Dyaus, Viṣṇu, Varuṇa and Rudra* (J.A.O.S.. XVI, cxlvii ff.)

THE NĀNĀṆĀ GRANT OF CAULUKYA KING KŪMĀRA-PĀLADEVA OE GUJARAT DATED VIKRAMA SAṀVAT 1212

BY

GAURISHANKAR H. OJHA

The grant was found while digging the foundation of a house at the village called Nānāṇā, about three miles from Bhagvānpurā railway station on the B. B. & C. I. Ry. On hearing about its discovery, I secured it through a friend of mine for examination and subsequently published its summary in my Annual Report on the working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer for the year ending 31st March 1937, pp. 3–4.

The grant consists of two copper-plates, which are inscribed on one side only. The measurement of each plate is 12″ by 9½.″ Their edges are slightly turned up so as to form raised rims to preserve the writing. Two ring-holes at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plate show that they were originally held by two rings, which are now missing. Each plate contains 16 lines of writing. The letters are engraved deeply and their average size is about four-tenths of an inch. The plates are in a fairly good condition and the writing is legible throughout.

The language of the inscription is *Sanskrit* and the characters are *Nāgarī*. Except the five verses at the end (ll. 22–29), which are benedictory and imprecatory, the rest of the record is in prose. As regards *orthography* the letter ब is throughout denoted by the sign for व. A consonant following र् is mostly doubled, e. g. श्रीकण्र्णदेव (l. 5), चक्रवर्त्ति (l. 7), विनिर्ज्जित (l. 8), स्वर्ग्गं (l. 22), गर्त्ता° (l. 26), etc. Rules of *Sandhi* are observed in all places. The sign of *avagraha* has been used only thrice, e. g. ऽस्यां (l. 13), ऽस्मद्वंशजे° (l. 20) and दूतकोऽत्र (l. 31). The sign of *anusvāra* is mostly used, e. g. चामुंड (l. 3), रणांगण (l. 8), शाकंभरी (l. 8), मंडल (l. 9) etc., while at some places the *nasal* is also employed, e. g. अवन्ती (l. 6.), and मंडलान्तः (l. 9). *Pṛṣṭhamātṛkās* have been mostly used, but at places we also come across ordinary *mātrās*, e. g. पुण्ययशो° (l. 16), नाड्डूले (l. 18), चैतद् (l. 20) and वंशजे° (l. 20). इ is written in its old form (ः) at two places, e. g. इह (l. 25) and इति

(l. 31). The language of the inscription is quite correct and a few mistakes which occur in it are mostly due to the engraver.

The grant refers to the reign of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara* Śrī Kumārapāladeva and gives the following genealogy of the Caulukya kings of Gujarat :--

1 Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara Śrī Mūlarājadeva.
2 P. M. P. Śrī Cāmuṇḍarājadeva.
3 ,, Śrī Durlabharājadeva.
4 ,, Śrī Bhīmadeva.
5 ,, Śrī Karṇadeva alias Trailokyamalla.
6 ,, Śrī Jayasiṁhadeva alias Avantīnātha, Tribhuvanagaṇḍa, Barbarakajiṣṇu (i. e. conqueror of Barbaraka) and Siddhacakravartī (Siddharāja).
7 ,, Śrī Kumārapāladeva, conqueror of Śākambharī

The record mentions that the last named king (Śrī Kumārapāladeva) granted one *dramma* per day from the customs-house of Nāḍūla (Nāḍol), on the occasion of the lunar eclipse, to the temple of Lākhaṇeśvara built by Lākhaṇadevī, daughter of the exalted Nāḍūlīya (of Nāḍol) Cāhuvāṇa (Chauhān) family of Kuntapāla and situated within the precincts of the temple of Tripuruṣadeva.

The grant was issued from Aṇahilapāṭaka and is dated Monday, the fifth day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa (Kārtikādi), Vikrama Saṁvat 1212, corresponding to the 24th July 1156 A. D. The day is irregular as the Caitrādi Śrāvaṇa Śudi 5 fell on Wednesday, while it was Tuesday on the same date of the Kārtikādi Śrāvaṇa.

The grant was written by Mahādeva, son of Lakṣmaṇa of the Gauḍa Kāyastha family, the Mahā-Akṣa-Paṭalika (the Chief Registrar). The *dūtaka* is Mahā-Sandhivigrahika (the Minister of Peace and War) Śrī Delaṇa. The second plate bears at the end the name of Śrī Kumārapāladeva (written by the writer).

Of the places mentioned in the grant, Nāḍūla is the present Nāḍol in the Godavāḍa district of the Jodhpur State and Aṇahilapāṭaka (Aṇahilavāḍā) is the present Pāṭaṇa in the territory of His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda.

Plate I

(1) ओं [1]स्वस्ति राजावलीपूर्ववत् समस्तराजावलीविराजितपरमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व-

(2) रश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री-
चा-।।[2]

(3) मुंडराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीदुर्ल्लभ-

(4) राजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभीमदेव-
पादानु-

(5) ध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीत्रैलोक्यमल्लश्रीकर्ण्ण-
देवपादा-

(6) नुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरावन्तीनाथत्रिभुवनगंड-

(7) वर्वरकं[3]जिष्णुसिद्ध[4]चक्रवर्त्तिश्रीजयसिंहदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहा-

(8) राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरानिजभुजविक्रमरणांगणविनिर्ज्जितशाकंभरीभूपा-

(9) लश्रीमत्कुमारपालदेवः स्वभुज्यमाननाड्डूलमंडलान्तःपाविनः[5] समस्त-
राजपु-

(10) रुषान्[6] ब्राह्मणो[7]त्तरांस्तान्नियुक्ताधिकारिणो जनपदांश्च वो[8]धयत्यस्तु वः
संविदि-

(11) तं यथा । श्रीमद्विक्रमादित्योत्पादितसंवत्सरशतेषु[9] द्वादशसु
द्वादशाधिकेषु

(12) श्राम्वणं[10]मासशुक्लपक्षपंचम्यां सोमदिने यत्रांकतोपि संवत् १२१२
वर्षे श्रावण-

(13) शुदि ५ सोमेऽस्यां संवत्सरमासपक्षवारपूर्विकायां तिथावद्येह
श्रीमदणहि-

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1 Indicated by a symbol.

2 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

3 Read बर्बरक°.

4 Read °सिद्ध.

5 Read °पालिनः.

6 Read पुरुषान्.

7 Read ब्राह्मणो°.

8 Read बोधय°.

9 Read शतेषु.

10 Read श्रावण°.

PLATE I

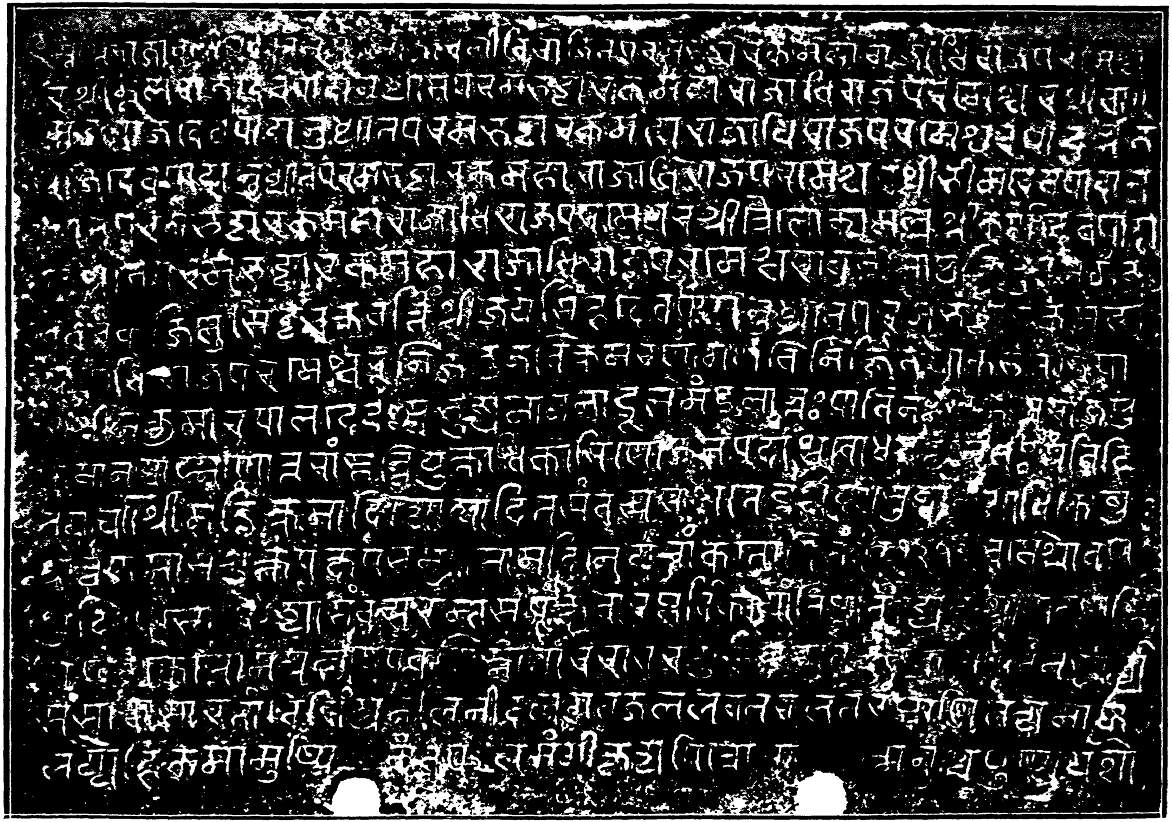
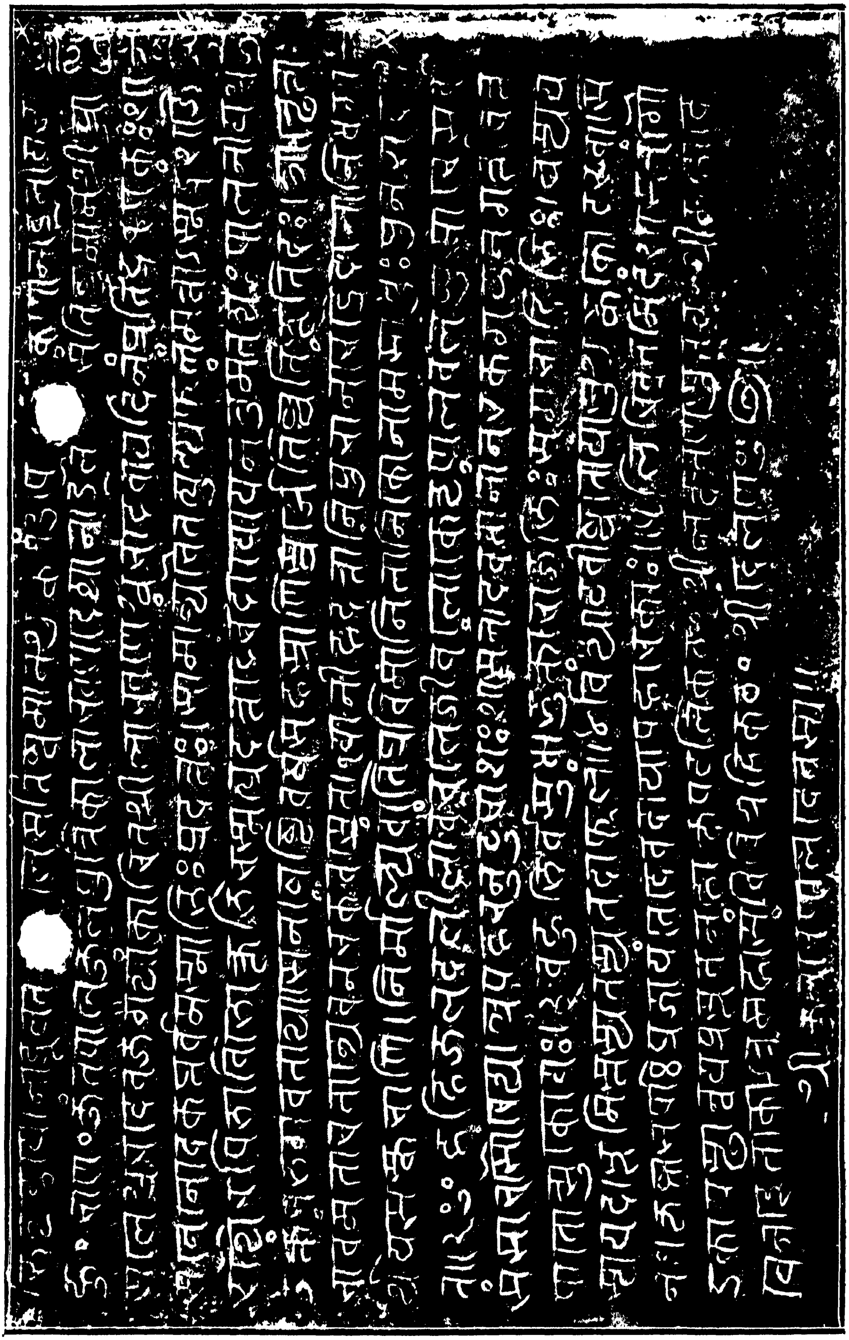


PLATE II



(14) लपाटके सोमग्रहणपर्वणि स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानीपति-
मभ्यर्च्य

(15) संसारासारतां विचिंत्य नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरं प्राणितत्यमाक-[1]

(16) लय्यैहिकमामुष्मिकं च फलमंगीकृत्य पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशो-

Plate II

(17) भिवृद्धये ।[2] नाडूलतले संतिष्ठमानशुल्कमंडपिकायां नाडूलीयचा

(18) हु०[3] वाण०[4] कुंतपालकुलपुत्रिकालाखणदेव्या नाडूले संतिष्ठमान

(19) श्रीतृपुरुषदेवजगत्यां[5] कारितश्रीलाखणेश्वरदेवाय दिनं प्रति द्रं[6] १
एकः शा-

(20) सनेनोदकपूर्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्तः । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं मत्वा-
ऽस्मद्वंशजै-

(21) रन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तदेवदायोयननुमंतव्यः[7] पालनीयश्च

(22) उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूतिर्दः[8] ।
आच्छेत्ता

(23) चावमंता च तान्येव नरकं वसेत् । १ [।] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेंद्रै-
दानानि[9] धर्मा-

(24) र्थयसस्करार्णि[10] । निर्माल्यवांतिप्रविमानि तानि[11] को नाम साधुः
पुनराददी-

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[1] Read प्राणितव्य°.

[2] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[3] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[4] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[5] Originally the words श्रीआसलेश्वरदेवजगत्यां were engraved, but all the letters have been struck off by two short slanting strokes at the top of each letter and on the right hand margin श्रीतृ(त्रि)पुरुषदेवजगत्यां is written in the same hand. To denote the alteration two Haṁsapadas in the form of crosses (×) have been placed at the beginning as well as at the end of the original and altered words.

[6] Read द्रम्म.

[7] Read °यमनु°.

[8] Read भूमिदः.

[9] Read नरेंद्रैर्दानानि.

[10] Read यशस्कराणि.

[11] Read °प्रतिमानि तानि.

(25) त ॥ २[॥] इह हि जलदलीलाचंचले जीवलोके तृणलवलघुसारे सर्व-

(26) संसारसौख्ये । अपहंरनु[1] दुराशः[2] शासनं देवतानां नरकगहनगर्त्तावर्त्त[3]-

(27) पातोत्सुको यः । ३[।][4]वहुभिर्वसुधाभुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य य-

(28) स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥४ [॥] विंध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासि-

(29) नः कृष्णसर्पाः प्रजायंते देवदायापहारकाः ॥ ५ [॥] लिखितमिदं शासनं गौ-

(30) डकायस्थान्वयप्रसूतनहाक्षपटालिक[5] ठ[6]० श्रीलक्ष्मणसुत ठ० श्रीमहादे-

(31) वेन । दूतकोऽत्र महासांधिविग्रहिकं[7] ठ० श्रीदेलण इति ॥

(32) श्रीकुमारपालदेवस्य

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[1] Read अपहरति.

[2] Read दुराशः.

[3] Read गर्त्तावर्त्त°.

[4] Read बहुभि°.

[5] Read महाक्षपटलिक.

[6] Read टक्कुर.

[7] Read सांधिविग्रहिक.

THE VIḶIVĀYAKURAS AND SIVALAKURA OF THE KOLHAPUR COINS

BY

M. GOVIND PAI

The genealogy of the later Sātavāhanas i. e. the last 8 kings of the Sātavāhana dynasty from Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi to the last Puḷumāvi, with their respective regnal periods as I have settled, stands as follows—[1]

1 Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi
60–91 A. C.

2 Vāsiṣṭhīputra
Śrī Puḷumāy(v)i
91–119 A. C.

4 Vāsiṣṭhīputra
Śrī Śiva Śātakarṇi
148–152 A. C.

3 Vāsiṣṭhīputra
Śrī Śivaskandha
Śātakarṇi
119–148 A. C.

5 Gautamīputra
Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi
152–181 A. C.

6 Vijaya
181–187 A. C.

7 Vāsiṣṭhīputra
Śrī Caṇḍa (Candra)
Śātakarṇi
187–197 A. C.

8 Śrī Puḷumāvi
197–*C* 205 A. C.

Some 60 years ago, certain coins of copper and lead were discovered in Kolhapur, buried in what appears to have once been a Buddhist *stūpa* near the hill of Brahmapurī, north-west of the town. These coins bear three kinds of legends. viz—

[1] This table has been given here merely for reference. The articles bearing upon the genealogy and chronology of the later Sātavāhanas will be published soon hereafter.

(1) Raño Vāsiṣṭhīputasa Viḷivāyakurasa,
(2) Raño Māḍharīputasa Sivalakurasa, and
(3) Raño Gotamīputasa Viḷivāyakurasa.

And this serial order is based on the evidence of the re-strikings of the coins themsleves, for no. 2 Māḍharīputra re-strikes the coins of no. 1 Vāsiṣṭhīputra, and similarly no. 3 Gautamīputra re-strikes the coins of no. 1 Vāsiṣṭhīputra as well as those of no. 2 Māḍharīputra, so that of these three rulers whom these coins have brought to light, Vāsiṣṭhīputra is no doubt the earliest, Māḍharīputra comes next, and Gautamīputra is the latest in point of time.

Different scholars have explained these names and identified these rulers in different ways, [1] but none of them seems to be satisfactory. So I shall offer my explanation here, which may be taken for what it is worth.

In Ptolemy's geography [2] we are told that in his time (1) the capital of *Tiastanes* i. e. obviously Caṣṭana, the Śaka ruler of Surāṣṭra and Mālava, was Ozēnē=Ujjayinī, and (2) the royal seat of *Sir Polemaios* was *Baithana*, which is no doubt Ptolemy's Greek for the Prākrit Païṭṭhana=Skt. Pratiṣṭhāna, modern Paiṭhan in the Aurangabad district of the Hyderabad State, and we shall soon see that it was for a long time the capital of the imperial Sātavāhanas. It thus follows that Ptolemy's *Siro Polemaios* is without doubt one of those three kings of that dynasty who are called Pulōmāvi or Pulōmā in the Purāṇas, [3] and Puḷumāyi as well as Puḷumāvi in their inscriptions.[4]

[1] R. G. Bhandarkar: Early History of the Dekkan (EHD), Calcutta (1928), pp. 34-35; Vincent Smith: Early History of India (EHI), p. 231; Jouveau-Dubreuil: Ancient History of the Deccan (AHD), p. 45; D. R. Bhandarkar: 'Dekkan of the Sātavāhana period' in 'Indian Antiquary' (IA), XLIX (1920), pp. 31-34; V. S. Bakhle: 'Sātavāhanas and the contemporary Kshatrapas' in JBBRAS IV (1928), pp. 55-58; K. P. Jayaswal: 'Problems of Saka-Sātavāhana History' in JBORS XVI (1930), pp. 267-269; J. Przyluski: 'Hippokoura et Satakarni' in JRAS (April 1929), pp. 273-279, and its English translation by L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar in Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, IV (1930), pp. 49-53; Rapson: Indian Coins (RIC), pp. 23-24.

[2] McCrindle: Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, Calcutta, 1927 (Ptolemy) pp. 152, 155, 175-177.

[3] Pargiter: Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age (Pargiter), pp. 38-43 and 71-72.

[4] Lüders' list, Nos. 1122, 1123, 1124, 1106 etc.; and EI VIII, p. 60, and XIV, p. 115.

From the Girnār (or Junāgadh) inscription [1] of the Śaka *Mahā-kṣatrapa* Rudradāma, we know that he had already succeeded his grand-father Caṣṭana in its year 72 of the Śaka era, i. e. 150-151 A. C., while from the Andhau inscriptions [2] of the year 52 of the same era i. e. 130-131 A. C., we know that Caṣṭana and Rudradāma were ruling conjointly at that time. In an inscription at Kaṇherī [3] we are further told that a queen of (the Sātavāhana king) Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi was the daughter of *Mahā-kṣatrapa* Rudra.. of the race of the Kārddamaka kings, i. e. evidently a race of foreign rulers, and this Rudra.. is, all scholars are agreed, the Śaka ruler Rudradāma, the grandson (and the immediate successor) of Caṣṭana, and this is amply borne out by his own statement in his afore-said Girnār inscription that he was not remotely, and therefore was sufficiently closely, related to Sātkarṇi i. e. Sātavāhana king—सातकर्णेः··· सम्बन्धाविदूरतया···Since Ptolemy however mentions only Caṣṭana, and not Rudradāma too, as king at Ujjayinī, it goes without saying that his reference is to a state of things sometime before 130-131 A. C., say *C.* 125 A. C. or yet earlier, when Rudradāma had not yet been associated with his grand-father in rulership. Consequently Ptolemy's *Sirō Polemaios* would seem to have been the contemporary of the Saka ruler Caṣṭana, and the immediate predecessor as well, in his own line, of a Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi, who was the son-in-law, and therefore for some or several years a contemporary too, of Caṣṭana's successor Rudradāma. Conclusively therefore *Siro Polemaios* is the 2nd king in the above genealogy, viz. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāyi (91-119 A. C.) the elder brother as well as predecessor of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī (Śivaskandha) [4] Śātakarṇi (119-148 A. C.). Ptolemy's work therefore must have been composed before or soon after 119 A. C.

In Ptolemy we are furrther told that in the country inland from the west coast, while *Siro Polemaios*=Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śri Puḷumāyi was ruling in the north at *Baithana*=Paiṭhan, another ruler, whom he calls *Baleokouros* had his royal seat in the south

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1 Epigraphia Indica, (EI), VIII, p. 47.

EI, XVI, pp. 23-25.

3 EI, X, Appendix: Lüders' List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, No. 994.

4 From the Purāṇas (Pargiter, p. 42 line 30) we learn that the personal name of Vāsiṣṭhaputra Śrī Sātakarṇī, was Sivaskandha.

at *Hippokoura.*[1] There is no distinct letter in Greek for our व (*v*), which was therefore invariably represented by the Greek consonant *b*, or the vowel *o*, or the diphthong *ou*, [2] so that as was first pointed out by the late Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and has since been universally accepted, Ptolemy's *Baleokouros* i. e. Baleokoura in its uninflected form, is quite the same as the Viḷivāyakura of the Kolhapur coins,[3] but which of the two Viḷivāyakuras we shall presently see.

Now Ptolemy's *Hippokoura*, which thus lay to the south of Paiṭhan, was situated in the interior, obviously to the west of river which he calls the *Benda* (or *Binda*), and which Yule has identified with the Bhīmā river [4] It further stood between the cities which he calls (1) *Indē* (in the east) and (2) *Banaouasei* (in the west) [5] which are easily and correctly identified with (1) Iṇḍi, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency, and (2) Banavāsi, a town in the Sirsi taluk of the North Kanara district in the same Presidency. In other words *Hippokoura* certainly lay in the Karṇāṭaka country. In my identification of the 10 cities, which Ptolemy mentions as lying between the river *Benda*=the Bhīmā river and *Banaouasei*=Banavāsi, viz. (1) *Nagarouris*, (2) *Tabaso*, (3) *Indē*, (4) *Tiripangalida*, (5) *Hippokoura*, (6) *Soubouttou*, (7) *Sirimalaga*, (8) *Kalligeris*, (9) *Modogoulla* and (10) *Petirgala*, I have shown [6] that all of them lie in Northern Karṇāṭaka and his *Hippokoura* is no other than the present Hipparagi (also called Hūvina Hipparagi) in the Bāgevāḍi taluk of the Bijapur district.

We have just seen that Paiṭhan=Pratiṣṭhāna was the capital of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāyi. Now in the final verse in one of

[1] Ptolemy, pp. 175–76, 178–79 ; EHD p. 43.

[2] e. g. The river *V*itastā=*B*idaspes (Ptolemy, p. 89) ; Āḷu*v*akhēṭa= Olokhoira (Ptloemy, p. 180) ; *V*indhya mountain=*Ov*indion (Ptolemy, p. 77).

[3] EHD, p. 44.

[4] Ptolemy, pp. 178 and 358.

[5] Ibid, pp. 175–76.

[6] My Kannada art. *Ptolemy's Hippokoura* containing the identification of all those 10 cities, has been published in the *Prabuddha Karaṇāṭaka* (Bangalore), XXIII : no. 1 (August 1941) pp. 83–104, and no. 2 (October 1941), pp. 89–92. The English art. will soon follow.

the Mss of the Prākrit poem *Gāthā-Saptaśati*, we are told—[1]

राएण विरइआए कुन्तल जणवअ इणेण हालेण ।

that its reputed author Hāla, who was a king of the Sātavāhana dynasty, and ruled about 100 years before Vāsisthīputra Śrī Pulumāyi (91-119 A.C.), as is evident from the Purāṇas,[2] was the king of Kuntala, and further in its colophon he is spoken of as कुन्तलजनपदेश्वर प्रतिष्ठानपत्तनाधिश शतकर्णोपनामक...हालाद्युपनामक श्रीसातवाहन नरेन्द्र...king of Kuntala and the lord of the city of Pratisṭhāna, which was therefore evidently his capital. A yet earlier king of the same dynasty who ruled some 60-70 years before Hāla, as appears from the Purāṇas,[3] is known by the very significant name Kuntala (Svātikarṇa or) Śātakarṇi, which naturally tends to connect him with the Kuntala country. And perhaps it is yet another Sātavāhana king, who is said to have ordered the exclusive use of the Prākrit language in his harem in the Kuntala country--कुन्तलेषु सातवाहनो नाम राजा तेन प्राकृतभाषात्मकमन्तःपुर एव प्रवर्त्तितो नियमः ।[4] It thus appears that Kuntala was the home province of kingdom of the Sātavāhanas, and Paiṭhan their imperial capital, i. e. the capital of the kings themselves, and not of their heirs-apparent nor of other princes of the royal family, from at least the beginning of the first century B. C. to at least the end of the reign of Vāsisthīputra Śrī Pulumāyi (91-119 A. C.), if not yet later on until the end of their dynasty in *C.* 205 A. C.

From the Nāsik cave inscription of the 19th regnal year of Vāsisthīputra Śrī Pulumāyi[5] i. e. 109-110 A. C., the Sātavāhana empire which he inherited from his father, the great conqueror, Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi, is known to have included (1) Anūpa in the north i. e. the Haihaya country lying to the north of the Narmadā river, (2) the Mahēndra mountain in the east i. e. the Eastern Ghāṭs standing between the rivers Gōdāvarī and Mahā-

[1] Nirṇayasāgar Press Edition (Bombay, 1899), Introd. p. 1.

[2] Pargiter, pp. 41 and 71.

[3] Ibid, p. 40, fn. 61, and p. 71. It is this Sātavāhana king who is mentioned in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (EHD,) p. 69, fn. 7)—कर्तर्या कुन्तलः शातकर्णिः शातवाहनो महादेवीं मलयवतीं [जघान].

[4] Rājaśēkhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 1), p. 50.

[5] EI, VIII, p. 60.

nadI, (3) the Malaya hill in the south i. e. the southern portion of the Western Ghāṭs to the south of the river Kāvērī, and (4) on the west the coastal Aparānta country,[1] so that there is hardly any doubt that the whole of the Karṇāṭaka country was included in the Śātavāhna empire under Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāyi, which thus extended from the river Narmadā in the north to the river Kāvērī in the south, and was bounded by the Eastern Ghāṭs and the Arabian sea on the other two sides. It therefore follows that the city of *Hippokura*, which was the capital of *Baleokouros*, as Ptolemy tells us, was also comprised within Śrī Puḷumāyi's empire, and was evidently the capital of one of its principalities or tributary states, and accordingly *Baleokouros*=Viḷivāyakura, would at once seem to have been a subordinate ruler under Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāyī, or in other words a viceroy of that Sātavāhana king and never himself an independent king as several scholars seem to believe.

Another fact which also tends to the same conclusion, on that while the names of the Sātavāhana kings, whether on their coins or in their inscriptions, have the honorific *Siri* i.e. *Śrī* invariably immediately preceding them,[2] that epithet however is conspicuous by absence in every one of the three names on the Kolhapur coins, and since neither its presence in the former case could be merely customary, nor its absence in the latter purely accidental, it is unavoidable to infer that inasmuch as the later Sātavāhanas were paramount rulers, the *Śrī*=*Siri* preceding their names could not well be simply honorific, but was also indicative of their imperial rank, and as such it was an indispensable part of their designation, and consequently its absence on the Kolhapur coins argues that the Viḷivāyakuras and Sivalakura mentioned on them were undoubtedly just subordinate rulers, and not sovereign kings like the Sātavāhanas. And if at the same time it is remembered that it was invariably the princes of the royal house, such as the sons or brothers or nephews etc. of the reigning king,

1 For the identification of these and other place-names in that inscription, vide IA, XLVIII (1919), pp. 150–51, and Nundalal Dey's Geographical Dictionary of ancient and mediaeval India.

2 Inscriptions—(1) Lüders' list nos. 994, 1024, 1106, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1146, 1147 etc.; (2) EI: VIII, pp. 60 and 71, XVIII, pp. 318–319, and XIV, p. 115. Coins of (1) Śrī Śiva Śātakaraṇi: AHD p. 41, (2) Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi: RIC p. 23, Plate III. 5, and (3) Śrī Caṇḍa Śātakarṇi: AHD p. 42.

who governed under him as his viceroys i. e. as subordinate rulers, both the Viḷivāyakuras and the intermediate Sivalakura would forthwith seem to have been *Kumāras* i. e. (kings') sons or princes,[1] of the imperial family, very likely the sons of perhaps as many contemporary kings of the Sātavāhana dynasty. This is further confirmed by the fact that these princes not only strike coins with their own names but also take on them their respective metronymics exactly as the later Sātavāhanas do in their inscriptions as well as their coins.[2]

Since thus the Viḷivāyakuras and Sivalakura would seem to have been *Kumāras* of the Sātavāhana family, it need hardly be said that every word on the Kolhapur coins is Prākrit, exactly as is the case with the legends on the Sātavāhana coins, and therefore *Viḷivāya-kura* and *Sivala-kura*, which at first sight appear as rather bizarre amid the other undoubted Prākrit words in those coin-legends, are not out-landish but are likewise pure Prākrit designations. A comparison besides of these designations definitely shows that they are compounds of which the common latter part is the word *kura*, and now that we know that *Viḷivāya-kura* and *Sivala-kura* were princes, there can not be any more doubt that *Kura* is only a Prākrit form of the Skt. word *Kumāra*.

Now the Skt. word कुमारि =(king's) daughter, princess, occurs as कुमरि as well as कुअरि in Hāla's *Gatkā-Saptaśatī*--मोहं गआ कुअरि ॥ (III. 98, fn. 11), and the Prākrit form साआइईसु for the Skt. श्यामायितेषु or सामाजिकेषु (VI. 59, fn. 5) in the same poem puts it beyond doubt that कुअरि could not well be less literary than कुमरि. Even if it were not so, we shall do well to remember that the Prākrit which is met with in the inscriptions and coin-legends of the Sātavāhana period, with which we are here concerned, is rather popular than literary, as a comparison with the elegant Prākrit of the *Gāthā-Saptaśatī* will readily testify. We have therefore to think of कुअरि and कुअर rather than कुमरि and कुमर in the present connection, as having been current in the popular usage of those days. And when again the medial अ of (कुमार=) कुअर was further dropped, as such syncopes are quite frequent in common parlance, there only remains कुर =(king's) son, prince.

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[1] *Amarakośa* : युवराजस्तु कुमारो भर्तृदारकः ॥ (I. 7. 12.).

[2] **See foot-note 2 on p. 324 above.**

Or the process of the change from कुमार to कुर may also be otherwise explained. The medial *anunāsika* म is frequently changed into an *anusvāra* in popular language, and कुमार accordingly becomes कुंवर, कुंअर and finally कुंर.[1] The *anusvāra* symbol is moreover invariably omitted, as is borne out by a number of examples in the Sātavāhana inscriptions, e. g. in the aforesaid Nāsik cave inscription of the 19th regnal year of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāyi (EI. VIII, p. 60)--संवत्सर=सविछर (line 1), वंश=वस (l. 6) &c. so that कुमार=कुर.

Accordingly Viḷivāya-kura would be *Viḷivāya-kumāra*, and Sivala-kura similarly *Sivala-kumāra*; and on an analogy with the compound *Rāja-kumāra*=king's son, which has the same word *Kumāra* for its latter part, both of them are readily explained as similar genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds meaning respectively *the son of Viḷivāya* and *the son of Sivala*. And since one of the two Viḷivāyakuras i. e. Ptolemy's *Baleokouros*, was a contemporary of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāyi or Puḷumāvi (for these are merely the two different forms of the same personal name, as we shall presently see), and besides Viḷivāyakura, as we now know, means the son of Viḷivāya, it need hardly be said that *Viḷivāya is merely a variant of Puḷumāy(v)i*, and *Viḷivāyakura therefore means the son of Puḷumāy(v)i.*

The process is perhaps as follows-- (1) प > व—प्रतारयितुम् = वं आरिउं (*Gāthā-Saptaśatī*=GS, III. 86), व्यापार=वावार (Ibid, III. 26, IV. 36), तापी=तावी (III. 39), सोपान=सोवाण (III. 78), प्रदीपित= वलिचिअ (Hēmacandra's *Śabdānuśāsana*=HS, VIII. 1. 100), प्रभूत= वहुत्त (Ibid, VIII. 1, 223) &c., (2) उ>इ—पुरुष=पुरिस (GS, II. 96, III. 14, 27, 55), कुटुम्ब=कुटिम्ब &c , (3) म > व—मन्मथ=वम्मह (HS. VIII. 7, 61), अभिमन्यु=अहिवन्नू (Ibid, VIII. 1. 243), यामल=यावर ; (4) इ>अ—हरिद्रा=हलद्दा, शिथिल=साठिल. साधिल &c ; and (5) व > य-- प्रवर्तते=पयट्टइ, दिवा=दिया, दाव=दाय &c, so that Puḷumāyi, Puḷumāvi =Viḷivāya.

Now there are two different Viḷivāyakuras mentioned on the Kolhapur coins (Nos. 1 and 3), the earlier of whom is a Vāsiṣṭhīputra = son of a queen who as a Vāsiṣṭhī i. e. belonged to the

[1] These forms are still met with in the titles of the scions of the princely houses of northern India.

Vasiṣṭha *gōtra*, and the later a Gautamīputra=son of a queen who was a Gautamī, i. e. belonged to the Gautama *gōtra*. Which of the twain was Ptolemy's *Baleokouros* ? In other words, which of these two princes was the son as we have just seen, and the viceroy as well, of the contemporary Sātavāhana king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāyī ?

All these three Sātavāhana princes bear their respective metronymics, Vāsiṣṭhī–putra, Māḍharī–putra, and Gautamī–putra, exactly as the later Sātavāhana kings from Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi onwards do, and all of them will have therefore to be duly assigned to the period covered by the reigns of the later Sātavāhanas i. e. 60 to *C.* 205 A. C. Now within this period there were only two kings among them who were called Puḷumāyi, viz. (1) Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāyi (91–119 A. C.), and (2) the last king Śrī Puḷumāyī (197–*C.* 205 A. C.). And since the former is called Puḷumāyī in some of his inscriptions and Puḷumāvi in others [1] and these names, as is self-evident, are merely the variants of each other, it need hardly be said that the earlier Viḷivāyakura. viz. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura of the Kolhapur coin No. 1, is the son of the earlier Puḷumāy(v)i, viz. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāy(v)i, and consequently the other Viḷivāyikura, viz Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura of the No. 3 coin is the son of Śrī Puḷumāvi i e. the last of the Sātavāhanas. There is thus hardly any doubt that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura of coin No. 1 is Ptolemy's *Baleokouros*.

We have seen[2] that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāyi was succeeded by his brother Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śivaskandha Śātakarṇi (119–148 A. C), who in his turn was succeeded by his nephew Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śiva Śātakarṇi (148–152 A. C.) son of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāyi. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura, who was the son of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāyi might therefore as well be Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śiva Śātakarṇi as any other son of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāyi, for it is not possible to be more definite about his identity, because he has been mentioned by only his metronymic Vāsiṣṭhī-

[1] *Puḷumāyi* in Lüders' list nos. 1122, 1123 etc., and *Puḷumāvi* in nos. 1106, 1124 etc.

[2] This will be shown in our forthcoming art. on the genealogy and chronology of the later Sātavāhanas.

putra and patronymic Viḷivāyakura i. e. Puḷumāyi-*Kumāra*, and not by his personal name, so that all that can be said with certainty about him, is that he was a son of Vāsisṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāyi. If besides he was the same prince who later on became king as Vāsisṭhīputra Śrī Śiva Śātakarṇi, his Kolhapur coin No. 1 must have been struck when he was yet a prince, *Yuvarāja*, under his father and was ruling as his viceroy during some or several years of his reign.

Next in order of time is prince Māḍharīputra Sivalakura of the Kolhapur coin No. 2, and we have seen Sivala-kura is Sivala-*Kumāra* and means son of Sivala. Who then is Sivala?

It is well-known that the suffix ल is added to proper names without any alteration of sense, or in the sense of endearment, and in Lüders' list of Brāhmī inscriptions there occur several instances of proper names with that suffix, most of which no doubt belong to the later Sātavāhana period; e. g. (1) Kṛṣṇa (Kanha) = Kanhila (No. 833), (2) Nāga = Nāgila (Nos. 338, 470, 569), (3) Drōṇa = Droṇala (No. 1417), (4) Vasu = fem. Vasulā (No. 249), and (5) Śiva (Siva) = fem. Sivalā (Nos. 709, 1268) wherefore masc. Sivala. So Śiva = Sivala, and since there was only one king among the later Sātavāhanas who was called simply Śiva, there is hardly any doubt that Sivala is that king Vāsisṭhīputra Śrī Śiva Sātakarṇi, (148–152 A. C.), and Sivalakura is therefore his son. He also bears the metronymic Māḍharīputra, wherefore the queen who was his mother was a Māḍharī i. e. she belonged to the Māḍhara = Māṭhara *gōtra*. The name of this *gōtra* is met with in the metronymic of Māḍharīputa Siri Vīra Purisadata son of Vāsiṭhīputa Cāntamūla in the pillar inscriptions at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa,[1] and also in that of Maḍhariputa Svāmi Sakasēna in the Kaṇhērī cave inscriptions;[2] and from Hēmacandra we have 'वेदव्यासस्तु माठरः' (*Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, v. 846) and 'माठरो व्यासविप्रयोः' (*Anēkārtha-saṁgraha*, v. 1194), so that Māṭhara *gōtra* would seem to be the *gōtra* of Vēda-vyāsa.

After Vāsisṭhīputra Śrī Śiva Śātakarṇi (148–152 A. C.) the succession which went back to the younger branch, when his

[1] Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1927, pp. 42–43 and 72.
[2] Lüders' list, nos. 1001 and 1002.

uncle's son Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi (152–181 A. C.) ascended the Sātavāhana throne, went on till the last in that junior branch and never again reverted to the senior, so that for one thing it is certain that prince Sivalakura, who was the son of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śiva Śātakarṇi, never ruled as king. So we know him only by his metronymic Māḍharīputra and patronymic Sivalakura : that is all.

The last in point of time is the prince Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura of the Kolhapur coin No. 3, and we have seen that he is the son of Śrī Puḷumāvi (197–*C.* 205 A.C.), the last of the Sātavāhanas, by his queen who belonged to the Gautama *gōtra.* The only other thing we can tell about him surely, is that since the Sātavāhana dynasty itself came to an end with his father Śrī Pulumāvi, this prince too did not rule as king.

A NOTE ON THE MEANING AND USE OF THE WORD JOHĀR

By

A. G. Pawar

The word *Johār*, indicating a form of obeisance, has attained a degree of importance in the history of Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Kingdom, by creating a little problem regarding the influence exercised upon the king by the contemporary saint, Rāmadāsa. Tradition affirms that Rāmadāsa persuaded Shivaji to abandon the usage of saying *johār* and to adopt in its place the practice of *rāmrām*. Various accounts of this supposed change are given in the Bakhars according to one of which a meeting is said to have taken place between the king and the saint in the Śaka year 1573 (i. e. A. D. 1651–52) when the saint asked the king to introduce the said change. " Your kingdom, " the saint is said to have observed to the king, " is a kingdom of the Hindus. It is therefore against (Hindu) religion to observe the custom of doing *johār* as the *Mlenchhas* (Moslems) do. The Hindus should really say *rāmrām* and use the same expression in their writings. Henceforth no Hindu excepting a member of the depressed class should use the word *johār*. " It is said that the king accepted the suggestion and issued orders to the effect that all the caste Hindus should use the expression *rāmrām*, but the Shudras were to stick to *johār*. Since that time the change in the mode of obeisance is said to have come into force. [1]

The assertions made or implied in this account are utterly unhistorical. The question whether Shivaji met Rāmadāsa in the Śaka year 1573, though relevant and important, need not be discussed here, particularly because it can be conclusively proved that, whether this meeting took place or not, the change-over from *johār* to *rāmrām* could not have occurred in the manner suggested. On the strength of purely historical evidence, a detailed study of which is out of place here, two facts can be well established to prove the falsity of the story as given

[1] See Athalye's *Samarthanche Samarthya* pp. 370–71.

in the Bakhars. Firstly, the term *rāmrām* was in vogue even before the times of Shivaji and Rāmadāsa,[1] so that there is no question of the king introducing a new mode of greeting. Secondly, the practice of saying *johār* continued not only throughout Shivaji's reign but at least till the end of the seventeenth century, and what is even more important, the Chhatrapatis themselves used the term in their writings. In a letter which Shivaji wrote only three years before his death, he says *johār* to the addressee[2] (Maloji Ghorpade, the Chief of Mudhol), and the king's son, Rajaram, uses the same expression in the letters he wrote to the chief of Sunda in the year 1690.[3] Had Shivaji ordered the change in accordance with the wishes of Rāmadāsa, he himself would not have been guilty of a lapse, nor his son, Rajaram, would have dared to violate his father's injunctions. The gross absurdity of the story of the Bakhars becomes even more evident when we remember that, according to it, only low-class Hindus were to continue the use of the expression *johār*, but, in fact, the Chhatrapatis themselves freely used it!

The use of the term *rāmrām* even before the times of Shivaji and Rāmadāsa and the currency of the expression *johār* during the reign of the first three Maratha kings negative the suggestion that the former term came into force by a royal decree. *Johār* is quite an ancient word (as is shown below) whereas *rāmrām* came to be freely used since the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is obvious that the subsequent disappearance of the word *johār* among the caste Hindus together with the retention of its use by the lower class, and the prominence which the word *rāmrām* obtained in course of time, led the imaginative writers of the Bakhars, which are but later productions, to weave a story around 'the plot' and make both Shivaji and Rāmadāsa play an important part in it. One can conceive the possibility that Rāmadāsa, being a devotee of Rāma, was interested in the spread of his cult. Naturally the practice of saying *rāmrām* may have

[1] Nāmadeva, a fourteenth century saint-poet, has used it in one of his *abhaṅgas* (see Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal Quarterly Vol. 4, p. 59) and in an official letter written before the beginning of Shivaji's regime the same expression has been used (see, B. I. S. M. Itivratta, Śaka 1838, pp. 6–7).

[2] For this letter, see *Patrasarsangraha* Vol. 2, No. 1901.

[3] See letters Nos. 477–78 of *Shivacharitra–Sahitya* Vol. 3.

obtained enthusiastic support by his followers in the first instance and by many others in the end. Even so, Rāmadāsa was not the first to coin the word, nor did Shivaji give it the royal sanction and support.

The eventual displacement of *johār* by other terms is a fact which must be admitted but cannot be easily explained. If the Bakhar account is to be accepted as an explanation of the change it appears that the objection raised against that word was religous. As quoted above, it is said that it was " against (Hindu) religion to observe the custom of doing *johār* as the Mlenchhas do. " If really an appeal were made to the Hindus on the religious ground it must certainly have evoked a hearty response, because religion was still a living force. The religious argument against *johār*, if it were raised, would be forceful and significant but, as is shown below, utterly baseless. It must be mentioned here that the expression which superseded *johār* was not *rāmrām* alone. Many other terms came to be used from time to time and some of them still hold their ground strongly. Thus, for instance, in a letter written in 1600 the word *daṇḍavata*[1] is used whereas in another letter written fifteen years later the word used is *sāṣṭāṅga namaskāra.*[2] Both of these expressions are pretty old and still very much in use. The addition of *rāmrām* to the modes of greeting, and possibly the prejudice engineered against *johār*, may have led to its subsequent downfall.

Johār is a purely indigenous word unconnected with any custom of the Mlenchhas who, at that time, were synonymous with Moslems. Had the word contained any ingredient suspected of Moslem origin, one would have reasonably expected to meet the word in the *Rajyavyavahārakōsha*, which lexicon, as is well known, was purposely composed by Shivaji's order to give Sanskrit equivalents of mainly Persian words. The *Kosha*, however, does not refer to it.[3] In fact, the word is much older than the

[1] *Shivacharitra-Sahitya*, Vol. 2, letter No. 340.

[2] Idem No. 146.

[3] The stanza which refers to the modes of greeting is as follows :—

शिरसावन्दनं शिज्दा प्रणामस्तीस्लमा भवेत् ।
नमस्कार: सलामः स्यादाशीर्वादो दुवा स्मृतः ॥ 8. 52

In this description, the rendering of सलाम by नमस्कार appears to be literally correct because, whatever physical movements may have accompanied सलाम in its original sense, it was just an equivalent of नमस्कार to the Hindus who

(*continued on the next page*)

contact of the Persian language and Islamic culture with the Hindu society.

A few instances[1] of its earlier use may be given here to show how pure it is in origin, how polite in its meaning, and how wide in its application.

In *Gāthāsaptaśatī*,[2] a work of about 300 A.D., we have न होत्ति देवाण जोक्कारा 'salutations are not offered to the gods' (in this manner). The V. L. quoted by Weber are जोक्कारा नमस्कारा जोहारा इति वा. In Silāṅka's Commentary[3] on Āvaśyaka, we read in a story दिट्ठा जोहारिज्जइ जं जं सोभणइ तं च्च कायव्वं 'a man, who is seen, is greeted with the word *johār* and one should do whatever he tells.' As Silāṅka lived about 870 A. D. the word must have been current in the ninth century. In the Basavapurān of Bhimkavi, a Kannad work of the fourteenth century, the word *johār* and its variant johar (जोहर) are frequently used. Thus we have आतन कंडु जोहारिंदु पोड मडेलु[4] 'seeing him (i. e. the ascetic) he (the prince) said *johār* and lay prostrate at his feet:' जनपनंदनु केळनकै येन्न जोहरव.[5] 'The prince said, why is he not attending to my word johar?' हत्तिगै तंदरडु करगळ नेत्ति जोहारय्य निमगे येनुत्तिरलु[6] 'he came near, lifted both his hands and said "O worshipful sage I bow to you;" जोहर जोहरनुतं पोडमडुत[7] 'saluting with the words johar johar.

It is quite likely that further search might bring to light several other instances of the use of the word *johār* during the many centuries preceding its use at the time of the Marathas. The

(*continued from the previous page*)

had accepted and appropriated the custom. Both Paes and Nuniz, in their description of the court and the courtiers of the Vijayanagar Kings support this view. Says Paes, "The salaam which is the greatest courtesy that exists among them is that they put their hands joined above their head as high as they can." Nuniz says the same thing when he remarks, "each one comes by himself and bows his head and raises his hands. This is what they call the salaam."—*A Forgotten Empire* pp. 250, 372.

1 I am highly obliged to my colleagues Prof. Kundangar and Dr. Ghatage for the troubles they have taken for me in finding out the uses of the word in Kannad and Prakrit languages.

2 Weber ed. 332.

3 Silāṅka cited in Leumann's Āvaśyaka Erzählungen, p. 25.

4 Basava Purān, 46-5.

5 Idem 46-7.

6 Idem 46-8.

7 Idem 46-42.

few instances cited here make some points regarding the use and meaning of the word quite clear. Firstly, it is a purely indigenous term derived from a Prakrit, and possibly from a Sanskrit, word. As already mentioned, Weber gives a quotation which treats जोक्कार, नमस्कार and जोहार as synonyms. He also refers to a Ms. (Ms. X) which derives the word जोक्कार from जयकार. I do not feel competent to discuss the etymology [1] of the word, nor am I able to detect any connection between it and the well known Rajput practice of *jauhar.* [2] It suffices our purpose here to know that etymologically *johār* stood for quite a respectable mode of obeisance.

Secondly, the word indicated a vocal utterance accompanied by some bodily movement in the case of a meeting between persons. The quotations from Basavapurān make this fact quite clear. There we see that salutations were offered with the word *johār* (or its variant) and " both hands were lifted. " Sometimes prostration seems to have accompanied the utterance of the word.

Thirdly, it appears that during all the ages when the word was rightly used, it expressed a mode of greeting which was applicable equally to all the sections of the community. Its use implied no invidious distinction between the person who saluted and him that received the salute. Even princes were using the word freely so that its use by Shivaji and his son was quite in conformity with the age-long practice.

Johār being so impeccable in its use for centuries, its degradation in modern times is as surprising as inexplicable. The continuance of other modes of greeting and the appearance of new ones do not, in themselves, constitute a problem. So the displacement of *johār*, thought too sudden, can yet be understood. But why degradation ? *Johār* now implies a basic lowness of position in the person who offers the salute, and this is the only meaning of the word to day. According to Molesworth, the word is " used by the महार चांभार etc. in saluting their betters or

[1] My learned colleague Dr. Ghatage is of opinion that the word जोहार can with propriety be derived from the Sanskrit word जोषत्कार.

[2] Jauhar also is said to have been derived from a Prakrit word. See Vincent Smith's *Akabar the Great Mogul*, 2nd ed. p. 72 f. n.

each other."[1] The loss of status suffered by *jōhār* is indeed deplorable, and the more so because the cause of it is not known. The question of its relation with any custom of the Mlenchhas, as described in the Bakhars, has been already disposed of. No foreign influence working upon the term nor any royal decree deprived it of its dignity, or belittled its importance. It may, however, be conceded that an ignorant but vigorous propaganda against it by interested and equally ignorant people may have dislodged the word from the high position it held and driven it to the last limits of the social strata. But it shall have to be admitted that when the Mahars or Chambhars say *johār* they are using an expression which even kings and princes used for centuries. !

[1] Molesworth adds a second meaning of the term as a "word of obeisance used to a Raja by his attendants, implying O Warrior!" This sense in general agrees with the original significance of the term but Molesworth's suggestion that जोहार comes from योद्धर is not clear.

SEX-LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA—SOME THOUGHTS

BY

K. R. PISHAROTI

The life of an Indian to whatever caste or creed he might belong is essentially religious; and all his activities are motivated by religious considerations and conditioned by religious conventions. Sex-activity is no exception to this: it works on a religious bias and for a religious purpose.

What is the motive of sex-life? If ancient traditions and legends are any indication in the matter, the main motive of sex-life is the begetting of children for the performance of the funeral obsequies of the parents, so that they might have happiness ensured for them in the life hereafter, which Hindu religion holds out as the *summum bonum* of existence. The stories of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* clearly indicate that the greatest blessing of a married state was the begetting of children; and if marriage failed in this particular respect, married men were prepared to do anything to beget children, not only to abide by the severest rules of religious discipline, as practised by Daśaratha and Dilīpa, but also to cast off all rules and conventions of religious and social life, why even the canons of higher ethics and morality, if such a step would ensure them the birth of an issue, an aspect evidenced by the birth of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu and their children. These national epics of India would, then, have it that the begetting of children to ensure for parents happiness in the life hereafter and to carry forward the family functions was the highest and noblest function of married life.

The idea that sex-life is primarily and fundamentally intended for securing progeny has been so ancient and so deeply instilled that it exists in every one of us in a nascent or active state and shapes all our sex-activities. At the same time it has not failed to evoke the higher aesthetic and emotional attitudes which nature has associated with sex-life and sex-activities. Rightly, therefore, our forefathers have classified sex-life from

three fundamental points of view : *Dharma-śṛṅgāra*, *Artha-śṛṅgāra* and *Kāma-śṛṅgāra* ; and to this we may add also *Mokṣa-śṛṅgāra* Under the first of these varieties come the marriages of the *Ṛṣis* of old who married, because certain religious rites could be performed only in company with their wedded wives; and under the last variety come the divine love of the Gopīs for Lord Kṛṣṇa. Of a more mundane type are the other two varieties : when a king marries for reasons of state, that forms an instance of *Artha-śṛṅgāra*, a typical legendary instance of which we have in the marriage of Udayana with Padmāvatī, which is dramatised in the *Svapna-nāṭaka.* The last variety of *Kāma-śṛṅgāra* is illustrated in the same king's marriage of Vāsavadattā. Practically marriages which are or may be characterised as *Gandharva*, are really instances of *Kāma-śṛṅgāra*, though in modern parlance this term has come to acquire another sense altogether.

This kind of prosaic analysis of the marriage motive which our fore-fathers introduced into the most romantic of life's activities may be characterised as depriving it of the essence of its life, as hurling it down from the heights of sensuous emotionalism to the depths of sordid intellectualism. Such characterisation, we must say, is indeed a mistake. Art does not lose its artistic value and emotion its emotional value, simply because it has been analytically considered. That an artist has some specific motive in executing a work of art does not certainly take away from its value as a work of art. Irrespective, therefore, of the ultimate motives under which a marriage has taken place every Indian marriage can bloom into a romance, in the same way as the most romantic of modern marriages can end in sordid misery. Marriages in India have generally been a far greater success than they have been elsewhere ; and the reason is not far to seek. For, in India the romance of love begins with marriage, whereas in the West it ends with marriage ; it begins in the East where it ends in the West.

Very great importance has, indeed, been attached in the past to this subject—the subject of sex-life. The intricacies of sex-life have attracted the attention of even the eminent seers of old, and sexology has been raised to the position of a *Śāstra*, i. e. a science, and the Indian has granted the title of *Muni* or *Ṛṣi* to Vātsyāyana

the exponent of sexology–the same position which he has assigned to the *Sūtrakāras* in other branches of knowledge. The *Kāmaśāstra* of Vātsyāyana, the last great writer on the subject of sex, is a book of great human interest: it is a book which is equally good for the saintly Brāhman, the politically minded Kṣatriya and the emotion-filled man and woman. And the author of the work, consistently with the exceedingly humanising character of sex-life and sex-activities, has described *Kāma* as the highest of life's ideals to be sought after. Those who go after *Dharma* wish to ensure happiness in the world hereafter, and those who are after Artha wish to ensure it in this world itself. Both these are thus after happiness, but are in active search after the instrument thereof. Those, however, who are after *Kāma* are directly in search of happiness. According to Vātsyāyana, *Kāma*, therefore, is the most important of the threefold objects of mundane existence.

Vātsyāyana has instituted a detailed study of man and woman from the point of view of their sex-worthiness; and this is then utilised for classifying them so as to ensure proper sex-life. The classification has been made from the point of view of physical traits, and since these are but an indication of their psychological content, it is psychological also to some extent. All the same, lest the unwary should be led astray, the author has enunciated the fundamental psychological principle, underlying all sex-activity: it is nothing other than *complete happiness* for the parties concerned, physical, intellectual and emotional. Every sex-activity instinctively craves for complete sex-happiness, and whenever this happiness is wanting in completeness, then the activity is a failure: it is at best only one-sided satisfaction and is, therefore, void of all romance, for it fails to immerse the lovers in ecstatic bliss. Elaborate directions have, therefore, been laid down, regarding the choice of the partner, the place and time of union and last, but not least, the mode of sex-act. The methods to be adopted to win each other's heart and to retain it, when once it is won, the numerous modes of kissing and embracing, the varied modes of sex-act–all these are described in such elaborate details that one would wonder if all that has been said could be practical even. Thus irrespective of the motive underly-

ing a union, irrespective of the temperamental differences inherent in the parties themselves, every sex-act could yield the full bliss arising from sex-activity.

The *Kāma-śāstra* of Vātsyāyana attests to the fact that the Indian never forgot the fundamental fact that sex-activity is intensely human. In spite of the healthy religious discipline, in spite of the numerous social and religious taboos which beset the life of the average Indian, the fundamental fact that man is an animal, possessed of animal passions and of a longing to satiate these passions, has never been ignored; and this explains the presence in India of the professional loose woman, well-known under the familiar title *dancing girl.* If man or woman leads a loose life, it is an indication that he or she does not get sex-satisfaction at home, if, indeed, we take no cognisance of those who are forced to sell their bodies to keep their body and soul together. It is, therefore, desirable that for the sake of such unfortunates who are sex misfits and hence out of tune in their own home, society should devise some outlet, lest they should develop a morbid mentality and be a continued menace to the society they live in. This appears to be main basis of the organisation of the class, known as dancing girls in India. These have in later days degraded themselves, and man has in no small measure helped them in the process of their downfall; but it deserves not to be forgotten that in ancient days at least they formed an honoured part of society and were the custodians of art and culture, as evidenced by the terms Gaṇikā, Nāgarikā etc.

Irrespective, then, of the motives with which or the circumstances under which a marriage was contracted, the human aspect of sex-life, namely the enjoyment of the supreme bliss of love, requires that birth should be controlled; for too many offsprings constitute a serious handicap to enjoyment. Our *Paurāṇika* traditions would show that the elite of the land always suffered from a lack, rather than a superfluity, of issue. The dancing girl has always successfully controlled birth; for she has to maintain her charms for the success of her *trade*, since to this position she has degraded herself and her ancient art. These considerations would show that our forefathers consciously

practised birth control. Following the traditional Indian outlook on the question, we find Vātsyāyana giving detailed directions in his work as to how one may control the birth of children. The most practical of the methods he has elaborated is the regulation of the sex-act with due regard to the periods of the women and the variation in the modes of sex-act. His attitude towards abortion is equally clear; he condemns it as a heinous sin, as a dreadful crime. Life in every form has always been sacred, and the life of the embryo in the womb is no exception.

Quite consistently with the author's attitude towards birth-control, he would have it that sex-education is a necessary part of general education, both for boys and girls. To ensure the bond of union between a couple, it is highly necessary that each should give the other the maximum amount of sex-pleasure: and this, be it noted, is not possible, unless one knows fully the whole complexities of sex and sex-life. In the case of man, our author would have it that this education should come off immediately after his general education and before his getting married. In the case of girls, it may come off either before or after marriage according as convenience for such study is available. If this study should come after marriage, she must take the previous permission of her husband, lest he should misunderstand the object of such a study. The unmarried girl should study the theory of sex-life from one in whom she would have implicit faith, such for instance as her nurse or faithful friend. Vātsyāyana lays it down as a fundamental axiom that ignorance of sex-life is the primary cause of all unhappy marriages.

Whatever might be the ulterior aim of sex-life, its immediate aim is complete happiness or the realisation of the bliss of love in its fullest and richest measure. Hence Vātsyāyana would go further and insist that the mere satisfaction of sex-appetite does not constitute sex-life. He has, therefore, detailed all the accessories of sex-life, and under this head he has included all those things and activities which give pleasure to the varied sensory organs. According to him, studied effort should be made, with due deference to the likes and dislikes of the partners, to make oneself as pleasing to the other as nature and art together are capable of making one-by dress, by cosmetics, by speech, by

words, by thoughts, by conduct and by general attiude. There should be nothing which would in any way jar upon the partner, why even the place itself must have an atmosphere of happiness and romance. In other words, one should completely adapt oneself, for the time being at least, to the aesthetic needs of the other, if one would have complete happiness.

This outlook nesessarily raises another very important aspect which Vātsyāyana has stressed-the attitude of the mind of the lovers in every sex-act. The lovers must conduct themselves like *lovers* enjoying the fruits of love for the first time. *The woman must be wooed and won every time a sex-act is done.* The husband has no right to except condescension from his wife, simply for the reason that she is his partner in life. This is psychologically a very correct attiude, for it ensures even for the married couples novelty and romance during the whole period of their existence. As a wife, a woman certainly has certain duties to perform ; but the satisfaction of the sex-appetite of her husband does not form part of her duty. The husband must court her like a lover again and again, and together they should enjoy sex-bliss. Hence Vātsyāyana does not make any distinction between a Gaṇikā and a wedded wife, so far as their sex-activities are concerned. In actual sex-act there is no difference between woman and woman, man and man and between man and woman. This is an important practical direction that he would give all married couples as well as all lovers and prospective couples about to be joined in wedlock. The non-realisation of this aspect of sex-life is the main cause of the failure of so many marriages that we meet with in the world at large.

SUKHAPRAKĀŚA—HIS IDENTITY AND WORKS

BY

E. P. RADHAKRISHNAN

In the history of the post-Śaṁkara advaita dialectical literature, three authors stand out as pre-eminent. They are Śrī Harṣa, Citsukha and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. The object of the dialectical works of these authors is to show the untenability of the multiplicity of concepts accepted in other schools of philosophy on their own so-called logical grounds and thus show that Brahman is the only one absolute reality, unshakable by logic. The lines of approach of these scholars differ, though the aim is one. Śrī Harṣa and Madhusūdana quite uncompromisingly took up the destructive attitude while refuting the counter theories; but in Citsukha we have a happy harmony of the two aspects of advaita dialectics, constructive as well as destructive. So much so a comprehensive understanding of the *Tattvapradīpikā* has come to be considered as a necessary introduction of advaita dialectics.

Citsukhī is a difficult work and the commentary of Pratyagrūpa, printed in the Nirnaya Sagar edition of *Citsukhī*, is of immense help to clearly grasp many points. Many of the previous views and authorities refuted in *Citsukhī* are traced to their original sources in the *Nayanaprasādinī*. I have collected all these and shall try to publish them with pertinent remarks in a separate paper in future. The date of Pratyagrūpa is not clearly known. MM. Gopinath Kaviraj [1] gives his date as about 1400 A. D., but the grounds are not stated.

Now, we know that Sukhaprakāśa was a disciple of Citsukha. He has written a commentary on his teacher's work, *Citsukhī*, and a manuscript of this commentary is available in the Madras Govt. Oriental Library (R. No. 5203). On a perusal of this commentary I found that many passages found in Pratyagrūpa's

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[1] Introduction to Des. Cat. of Pūr. Mīm. Mss. in Sarasvati Bhavan Library, Benares, Vol. I, p. iv.

commentary are identical here, so that the conclusion is that Pratyagrūpa, it is doubtless, seems to have made use of this commentary also. In this paper it is not possible to enter into a comparison of the two commentaries; but I shall discuss generally about the date, identity, and works of the earlier commentator, Sukhaprakāśa.

Date:

Regarding the date of Sukhaprakāśa we have not to seek far. Being the direct disciple of Citsukha, he should have flourished early in the 13th century A. D.

The assumption of some scholars that he is the teacher of the famous Ānandagiri does not seem to be correct. Obviously such an assumption is founded on an equation of the two names Sukhaprakāśa and Śuddhānanda on a formal similarity, for which there is not only no necessity, but such identification will lead to *ativyāpti* in many similar instances. Hence Sukhaprakāśa has to be held as a different author from Śuddhānanda. From Amalānanda's reference, we know that Śukhaprakāśa was his vidyāguru.

Works:

The following works are found ascribed to him by Aufrecht. (C. Catalogorum I, p. 723b).

(1) *Tattvaprakriyāvyākhyā*, (2) *Nyāyadīpāvalīṭīkā*, (3) *Nyāyamakarandavivecanī*, (4) *Pratyaktattvapradīpikāṭīkā* and (5) *Bhāvadyotanikā*. I shall discuss these one by one presently.

1 *Tattvaprakriyāvyākhyā.* Aufrecht notices one manuscript of this work. (Bühler's Guj. Report IV, 54). This copy is incomplete. Nothing more about this work was known to him.

An advaitic work of the name *Tattvaprakriyā* is noticed in Burnell's Tanjore Library Catalogue, p. 94b (the corresponding No. in the New set of Tanjore Des. Catalogue being 7546). From the introductory verses:

सर्ववेदान्तसिद्धान्तसंप्रदायानुसारतः ।
नमस्कृत्य गुरून् वक्ष्ये प्रक्रियां तत्त्वसंश्रयाम् ॥
यच्छ्रीमद्रामतीर्थेभ्यः संप्रदायसमागतम् ।
श्रुतं सत्तर्कसाचिवं विविच्य तदिहोच्यते ॥

it would appear that the author was a disciple of Rāmatīrtha.

There is also a commentary on this *Tattvaprakriyā.* It is by Anantadeva, son of Āpadeva. It is called *Sampradāyanirūpaṇa.* It begins:

वेदान्तनयसिद्धान्तपरीक्षणविचक्षणान् ।
नमामि तातचरणान् श्रीमद्गोविन्दविग्रहान् ॥
श्रीरामतीर्थचरणस्मरणस्य प्रसादतः ।
प्रस्थानत्रयसिद्धान्तसंप्रदायः प्रदर्श्यते ॥

This commentary attributed to Anantadeva, son of Āpadeva in the Tanjore Ms. (No. 7547) calls for an examination here. It is called *Sampradāyanirūpaṇa*, for, as the second verse in the beginning says, the commentary explains the views of three *prasthānas* or sampradāyas:

प्रस्थानत्रयसिद्धान्तसंप्रदायः प्रदर्श्यते ।

See also later where he seems to say that by Prasthānatraya, he means the interpretation of Śaṁkara's Brahmasūtrabhāṣya, by Vivaraṇācārya, Vārtikakāra and others:

विवरणाचार्यवार्तिककारादिकृतनिरूपणादिभेदेन अनेकविधत्वमापन्नस्य क्वापि वेदान्तसिद्धान्तो निरूप्यत इत्यर्थः ।

The fact that by prasthānatraya we should take three lines of interpretation of Śaṁkara's bhāṣya has been set forth by me on a previous occasion (see on Sarvadarśana Literature to be published in the Annals of B. O. R. I.).

On an examination of the Tanjore Ms. No. 7546 described in the recent catalogue under the caption, *Tattvaprakriyā*, I find that the text is exactly identical with what is printed as *Siddhāntatattva* of Anantadeva in the Pandit 22. So much so the *Tattvaprakriyā* is only another name for the *Siddhāntatattva* of Anantadeva. Again since in both the *Tattvaprakriyā* and the commentary thereon, there is a reference to the author's teacher, Rāmatīrtha, there is every reason to believe that Anantadeva himself wrote the commentary also on his *Siddhāntatattva* (*Tattvaprakriyā*).

This Anantadeva calls himself as the son of Āpadeva. He has, however, to be differentiated from Anantadeva II, his grandson, who also is the son of Āpadeva and who commented on the

Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa of his father. Anantadeva I (c. 1575 A. D.) was the son of Āpadeva I, and father of Āpadeva II (author of the *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa*) and grandfather of Anantadeva II (author of the *Smṛtikaustubha*, *Bhāṭṭālaṁkāra* etc.). His teacher, Rāmatīrtha, is the same as the commentator on the *Upadeśasāhasrī* and the *Saṁkṣepaśārīraka.* However, he had also another guru, by name Nārāyaṇa, of the Bhaṭṭa family of Benares, who was born about 1513 A. D. and whom he mentions in his *Manonurañjananāṭaka* (Sar. Bhavan Texts 76). He composed the following works:

1. *Kṛṣṇakrīḍākutūhalāryāḥ* (Ms. BORI. 152 of 1902–07).
2. *Kṛṣṇabhakticandrikānāṭaka* (Ms. BORI. 152 of 1902–07).
3. *Bhaktibhāgavatasaṁgraha*, being a collection of choice verses from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (Ms. RASB. Cat. No. V, 3671).
4. *Bhaktiśata* (Ms. India Office Cat. No. 2521).
5. *Bhagavadbhaktinirṇaya* or *Viveka* (Ms. Adyar Cat. II, p. 195b). This is printed in the Sar. Bh. Texts 72. This work is clearly referred to as his grandfather's work by Anantadeva II in his *Mathurāsetu* (See Ind. Office Cat. I. p. 1402a).
6. *Bhagavannāmakaumudīvyākhyā* (Ms. BBRAS. 1152, Madras Govt. Library, R Nos. 1424b and 1748).
7. *Manonurañjananāṭaka* (Sar. Bh. Edn. 76).
8. *Siddhāntatattva* or *Tattvaprakriyā* with commentary.

This information regarding Anantadeva is only by the way. It is thus clear that the author of the commentary on the *Tattvaprakriyā* is none other than Anantadeva, disciple of Rāmatīrtha. Thus Rāmatīrtha could not have lived prior to the 16th century A. D. so that Sukhaprakāśa, Citsukha's disciple thus could not have commented on the *Tattvaprakriyā.* Bühler's reference perhaps refers to Sukhaprakāśa's commentary on the *Tattvapradīpikā* of Citsukha, *Tattvaprakriyā* being a mistaken reading for *Tattvapradīpikā.*

2. *Nyāyadīpāvalīvyākhyā.*

Aufrecht gives two references for this work (Hall p. 206 and 557). He attributes the commentary to Sukhaprakāśa. But on examining the Bikaner Manuscript, this ascription was found

to be a mistake. Really the commentary is by Anubhūtisvarūpa, who wrote commentaries on all the known works of Ānandabodha. The colophon in the Bikaner manuscript reads :

इति श्रीमदनुभूतिस्वरूपाचार्यकृतायां न्यायदीपावलीटीकायां द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ।

3. *Nyāyamakarandavivecanī.*

Aufrecht gives two references (Hall p. 155 and Burnell's Tanjore Catalogue p. 94b). The latter catalogue has been revised by Prof. P. P. S. Sastri in whose new set of descriptive catalogues there are four manuscripts (Nos. 7465–68). The first three are complete while the last one is incomplete. The commentary begins :

कन्दर्पदर्पभिदुरं छिदुरं प्ररूढ-
मोहान्धकारसुतनोर्विदुरं यथावत् ।
सर्वस्य सङ्गतमुपा ... ...
... ... ॥
... ... परिचर्याचिकस्वरन् ।
मदीयं मानसं न्यायमकरन्दे प्रसीदतु ॥
सुखप्रकाशमुनिना प्रसन्नोक्तिरविस्तरा ।
टीकेयं क्रियते न्यायमकरन्दविवेचनी ॥

प्रारिप्सितस्य ग्रन्थस्याविघ्नेन परिसमाप्तिप्रचयगमनकाम(ः) शिष्टाचारपरिप्रापितया कृतामिष्टदेवतानमस्कारमाचरन् शिष्यशिक्षार्थं ग्रन्थतः प्रतिपादयन् प्रकरणस्यार्थादिभिधेयप्रयोजनसंबन्धानि दर्शयति — यज्ञासेत्यादिना । etc.

It ends :— केषां किंप्रयोजनतायां ग्रन्थो विहित इत्यत आह—आनन्दहेतुरिति । अकलङ्कधियां संदेहविपर्यासासूयादिरहितबुद्धीनां भृङ्गायमाणानां आनन्दहेतुरित्यवगन्तव्यम् । लोके मकरन्दस्य भ्रमरानन्दहेतुत्वात् । अकलङ्कधियामानन्दहेतुदर्शनेन च ग्रन्थस्यादुष्टता प्रतिपादितेति मन्तव्यम् । दुष्टस्य तदानन्दहेतुत्वाभावात् ।

Colophon reads : इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीचित्सुखपूज्यपादशिष्यश्रीसुखप्रकाशमुनिविरचिता न्यायमकरन्दविवेचनी समाप्ता ।

Prof. P. P. S. Sastri in his remarks adds : " This author has also written a commentary on his guru's (Citsukha's) *Tattvapradīpikā.*

He lived during the middle of the 17th century (?). This author seems to have written a commentary on Ānandabodha's *Pramāṇamālā* also." The date of Sukhaprakāśa as the middle of the 17th century is surprising. The further information that he wrote a commentary on Ānandabodha's *Pramāṇamālā* also is purely a muddle. Prof. P. P. S. Sastri seems to have mistaken Citsukha's *Pramāṇamālāvyākhyā* (Madras Ms. R. 3273) for Sukhaprakāśa's work.

Comparing the above extracts from the Nyāyamakarandavivecanī of Sukhaprakāśa with the text of the commentary on the *Nyāyamakaranda*, printed in the Chowkhamba edition, which is attributed to Citsukha, we find that the texts are identical, with the exception that in the printed version the *maṅgalaślokas* are missing. The very absence of the *maṅgalaśloka* in the beginning itself is a ground for doubting the attribution of the commentary to Citsukha. All the four manuscripts in the Tanjore Palace Library have the colophon mentioning Sukhaprakāśa as the author of the commentary. The colophon in a manuscript in possession of Mr. Damodaran Nambudiripad of Peruvanattumana near Shoranur, Cochin State, also explicitly mentions Sukhaprakāśa as the author.

इति श्रीपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमच्चित्सुखमुनिपूज्यपादशिष्यश्रीमत्-सुखप्रकाशमुनिविरचिता न्यायमकरन्दविवेचनी समाप्ता ।

Again one of the verses in the beginning of the Tanjore Ms. clearly mentions Sukhaprakāśa as the author.

सुखप्रकाशमुनिना प्रसन्नोक्तिरविस्तरा ।
टीकेयं क्रियते न्यायमकरन्दविवेचनी ॥

In the light of these evidences it should be admitted that the real author of the commentary is Sukhaprakāśa and its attribution to Citsukha is a mistake ; and if out of *vinigamanāviraha*, one argues the other way that the real author is Citsukha and that the teacher's work is in some manuscripts wrongly ascribed to his pupil, Sukhaprakāśa, the following additional evidence may serve as an answer. In the *Citsukhīvyākhyā* of Sukhaprakāśa (which will be shortly described) the second *maṅgalaśloka* is the same as the first verse in the *Nyāyamakarandavivecanī*. The identity of this verse clearly proves the identity of authors.

It now ramains to explain how the colophon of the *Nyāya-makarandavyākhyā* printed in the Chowk. edition mentions Citsukha as the author. Further some manuscripts also have the colophon giving Citsukha as the author. Reference may be made to the following Mss., all of them recorded in the Cat. Catalogorum (India Office Cat. Nos. 2373–74; Mitra Notices No. 1682; Stein's Cat. p. 124 and Extr. p. 328). We cannot find any reasonable explanation for this except that this colophon is a mistake. The fact that all these manuscripts have no *maṅgalaśloka* is of special significance for this conclusion, for it is not the characteristic way of Citsukha to open his commentary without a *maṅgala*.

Such jumbling of authorship is not also very uncommon. For in the case of the *Īśāvāsyabhāṣyaṭippaṇa* attributed to Ānandagiri in the Ānandāśrama edition, different manuscripts have different colophons, though the entire text is the same. In some Mss. the author is mentioned as Narendrapurī, in some others the colophons give Śivānanda as the author, while in the Ānandāśrama edition it is attributed to Ānandagiri. This confusion does not seem to admit of an easy solution at the present state of our insufficient material. I have examined this problem in some detail in a paper in the Poona Orientalist. Thus what I wish to stress is that from the mere colophon we should not hasten to determine the authorship of a work unless it is confirmed by other evidences as well.

4. *Tattvapradīpikāvyākhyā.*

Aufrecht refers to Burnell's Cat. p. 92b. In the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library also there is a Ms. of this commentary to which I shall come shortly.

5. *Bhāvadyotanikā.* Regarding this work as noted in Aufrecht as a separate work of Sukhaprakāśa (Cat. Cat. I, p. 407) I wish to say that it is a mistake. The work is identical with item (4) above for Sukhaprakāśa's commentary on the *Citsukhī* is called *Bhāvadyotanikā.*

Thus altogether the number of works written by Sukhaprakāśa reduces to two, commentaries on the *Nyāyamakaranda* and

on the *Tattvapradīpikā.* Besides these, he also wrote one *Adhikaraṇaratnamālā* (Madras Ms. R. 2902).

In the following I give only very few remarks about these works.

Citsukhīvyākhyā-Bhāvadyotanikā. A complete manuscript of this work is available in the Madras Library (R. No. 5203). It is very scrappy with many omissions in the middle. However it is interesting to append here the extracts from the beginning etc. It begins:

स्वात्मावबोधविभवद्रुतमोहनिद्रं
त्रिद्राविताद्वयकथं वितथादपेतम् ।
[सच्चित्सुखोर्मिघनमक्षरमीक्षितारो
यं योगिनो] नरहरिं तमिमं नमामः ॥
कन्दर्पदर्पभिदुरं छिदुरं प्ररूढ-
मोहान्धकारसुतनोर्विदुरं यथावत् ।
सर्वस्य सङ्ग ....
... मनिशं गिरिशं नताः स्मः ॥
दूषणश ... निवारणा ... तत्त्वप्रदीपिकाख्यायाः ।
भावद्योतानिकेयं क्रियते मुनिना सुखप्रकाशेन ॥

(The portion within brackets in the first verse has been filled up from the *Adhikaraṇaratnamālā.* See later on).

The second verse is identical with the *maṅgalaśloka* in his *Nyāyamakarandavivecanī,* which proves the identity of authorship. In many places this commentary is brief; but still it is helpful in tracing the views expressed by Citsukha, as it comes from the author's own disciple. A comparative study of the commentaries on *Citsukhī* by Sukhaprakāśa and Pratyagrūpa shows that the latter had made use of Sukhaprakāśa's work. In many places Pratyagrūpa quotes verbatim Sukhaprakāśa's expressions. Of course, there are many points of difference also between the two; but within the limited scope of this short paper it is not possible to give a comparative statement. Here I shall give a list of the chief authorities cited in Sukhaprakāśa's commentary.

Gaṅgāpurī, Gaṅgāpurīyāḥ and *Gaṅgāpurīyamata*, pp. 5. 7. 38. 43. 51. 53. 55. 59. 71. 77. 78. 79. 80. 87. 87. 244.

Bhaṭṭa Vārtika, pp. 8. 62.

Udayana, pp. 9. 56. 81. 84. 87. 91. 129-30.

Līlāvatīkāra, pp. 9. 163. 164. 180. 182. 189. 204. 221.

Vārtikakāra, pp. 12. 57. 92. 105. 113. 145. 248.

Mānamanohara, pp. 15. 27. 35. 53. 110.

Śālikānātha, pp. 32. 46.

Murāri, pp. 32. 46.

Nyāyakalpataru, p. 50.

Tātparyapariśuddhi, pp. 52. 221.

Akṣapāda, pp. 63. 155.

Vācaspati Miśra, pp. 83. 129. 130. 137. 150.

Kiraṇāvalī, p. 85.

Brahmasiddhi, p. 103.

Khaṇḍanakāra, p. 123.

Bhaṭṭapādāḥ, p. 129.

Sureśvaravārtika, p. 214.

Iṣṭasiddhikāra, pp. 241. 243.

Pañcapādikā, p. 243.

Sāṁkhyasaptati, p. 247.

Adhikaraṇaratnamālā. This is a work of Sukhaprakāśa. A Ms. of this is available in the Madras Ori. Library (R. No. 2902). This is perhaps designed after his teacher's two works of the same nature, namely *Adhikaraṇamañjarī* (R. 3305e) and *Adhikaraṇasaṅgati* (R. 3305d). Later on Bhāratītīrtha wrote the *Vaiyāsikādhikaraṇamālā* on this model. Sukhaprakāśa's work begins:

स्वात्मावबोधविभवद्रुतमोहनिद्रं
विद्राविततद्द्वयकथं वितथादपेतम् ।
सच्चित्सुखोर्मिघनमक्षरमीक्षितारो
यं योगिनो नरहरिं तमिमं नताः स्मः ॥

वादिगन्धकरिदर्पमर्दनप्रस्फुरन्नयकरोरुहावलिम् ।
आगमस्मृतिनिजारुणेक्षणं चित्सुखाख्यनखरायुधं नुमः ॥
भाष्याम्भोनिधिमध्यात्
उद्धृत्य न्यायरत्नसंभारम् ।
अधिकरणरत्नमाला
क्रियते मुनिना सुखप्रकाशेन ॥

The first verse is the same as the verse in the beginning of his Bhāvadyotanikā (see above). In this as well as in the second he refers to his guru, Citsukha, and in the third he says that the *Adhikaraṇaratnamālā* is strung out of gems of arguments collected from the ocean of Śāṁkara Bhāṣya.

To recapitulate the results: We know that Sukhaprakāśa was the disciple of Citsukha and as such must have lived early in the 13th century A. D. He was the teacher of Amalānanda (Kalpatarukāra) and he has to be differentiated from Śuddhānanda, the teacher of Ānandagiri. His works so far known are (1) *Citsukhīvyākhyā–Bhāvadyotanikā*, (2) *Nyāyamakarandavyākhyā–Vivecanī* and (3) *Adhikaraṇaratnamālā*. Except the second the other two have not yet seen the light of day. It is highly desirable that some effort is made to publish these works also at an early date.

ANUBHUTISVARUPĀCĀRYA—AUTHOR OF THE PRAKAṬĀRTHAVIVARAṆA, IṢṬASIDDHI-VIVARAṆA ETC.

By

V. Raghavan

The name of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya has long been known in connection with the Sārasvata school of grammar of which he wrote the Sārasvata prākriyā and according to some, the Sārasvata sūtras also. In the history of Advaita literature, he has also been known as the preceptor of one Janārdana who wrote the Tattvāloka. Aufrecht adds that Anubhūtisvarūpācārya wrote a gloss on Ānandabodha's Pramāṇamālā CC. I. p. 17a.[1] Mr. T. M. Tripathi, in his introduction to the GOS edition of the Tarkasaṁgraha, drew our attention to three more works of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya: the Saṁgraha[2] on the Nyāyamakaranda of Ānandabodha, the Candrikā[3] on Ānandabodha's Nyāyadīpāvali and a gloss[4] on the Gauḍapādīyabhāṣya of Śaṁkara. Mr. Tripathi recorded also an interesting anecdote about the origin of the Sārasvata sūtras (p. x) and considered that Anubhūtisvarūpācārya wrote both the Sūtras and the Prakriyā of the Sārasvata grammar. Besides, in the Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Oudh Province for 1872, p. 24, there is entered a work called Jñānapatha by Anubhūtisvarūpācārya, of which nothing more is known.

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[1] Aufrecht records the reference L. 2869 (inc). The following other manuscripts of it are known now: Madras Trien. Cat. R. 3268; one in Naḍuvailmaṭham, Cochin; one in the Mutt at Śṛṅgeri; and one described in the Trivandrum Curator's Catalogue, II, 310 A.

[2] Tekkemaṭham, Cochin.

[3] Dec. Coll. 766 of 1891–95; besides the Dec. Coll. manuscript of this work, we know of other manuscripts: Bikaner Library; Madras Des. Cat. 15306, wrongly ascribed to Narendrapurī and Tri. Cur. Cat. 298 (entered anon).

[4] Tekkemaṭham; besides that we now know of two other Mss., Mad. Trien. Cat. 2911 and Adyar I App. ii b.

We are now in a position to know in a greater degree the important place which Anubhūtisvarūpācārya occupies in the history of Advaita, and some more Advaita works of his which are of greater importance than those already noted.

His Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍa Khādya Vyākhyā

Anubhūtisvarūpācārya wrote a commentary on Śrī Harṣa's Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya called Śiṣyahitaiṣiṇī and there is a manuscript of it in the Big Bhandar at Jesalmere, noticed on p. 26 of the Catalogue of the Mss. in the Jain Bhandar at Jesalmere by Dalal (GOS. XXI 1923). The commentary is entered here anonymously, though the concluding verse clearly mentions the author.

येनोच्चैः परमात्मबोधतरणेः पन्थानमातन्वता
तुङ्गं मोहगिरिं निरुध्य चुलुकीचक्रे भवैकार्णवः ।
सच्चेतःपयसां प्रसत्तिकृदसौ चक्रे पदं खण्डने
व्योम्नीवानुभवस्वरूपभगवानव्याजकुम्भोद्भवः ॥

This seems to be a complete manuscript; another manuscript of this commentary, an incomplete one, is available in the Sangha Bhandara of Pattan (No. III) and is described on pp. 372–3 of the Des. Cat. of Mss. in Jain Bhandar at Pattan, Vol. I, Palm-leaves, GOS, 1937. The description in this catalogue extracts all the three concluding verses; the last verse is on the commentator and is identical with the verse given above from the Jesalmere Catalogue; the first verse is on Śrī Harṣa, and the second one on God Hayagrīva.

... ...तुरङ्गाननः
सोऽयं मानसपङ्कजेषु भवतां कुर्याद्धरिः संनिधिम् ॥

At the beginning or at the end, Anubhūtisvarūpācārya salutes Hayagrīva in most of the works.[1] The form of the author's name occurring in the last verse of this work, *Anubhavasvarūpa*, need not make us hesitate in taking him as Anubhūtisvarūpa; Prajñānānanda, author of the gloss on the Tattvāloka of Janārdana

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1 See end of Sārasvataprakriyā; both beginning and end of Pramāṇamālā nibandhana, Mad. Trien. Cat. R. No. 3268 and beginning of Nyāyadīpāvali Candrikā, BORI, 776 of 1891–95, and Mad. Des. Cat. 15306.

who was Anubhūtisvarūpa's pupil, mentions Anubhūtisvarūpa as Anubhavasvarūpa.

तं वन्देऽनुभवस्वरूपयमिनं स्मृत्याखिलाभीष्टदम् ।

Bom. Br. R. A. S. Cat. II, p. 320.

The Report in English on the Search for Mss. in the Pattan Jain Bhandara, appearing as an Introduction to the GOS Catalogue of the Pattan Mss. Vol. I, seems to confuse this commentary by Anubhūtisvarūpa with that of Vidyāsāgara Ānandapūrṇa (pp. 44-45).

The same Pattan manuscript was also described with extracts by Peterson in his Fifth Report (see extracts on pp. 29-30). Peterson makes a remark that the author of the commentary was a pupil of Śrī Harṣa ; this is just a surmise.

The Gītābhāṣya ṭippaṇa of Anubhūtisvarūpa

Another important work of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya is his Ṭippaṇa on Śaṁkara's Bhagavadgītābhāṣya. This is a brief gloss available in four manuscripts, one in the Adyar Library (Catalogue I, p. 138b), another in the Mysore Library (Cat. I. p. 442), a third in the office of the Curator, Trivandrum (Des. Cat. II, 324), and a fourth in the new collection of the University, Trivandrum.

In the Des. Cat. of the Curator's Library, Trivandrum, Vol. II, p. 714, we find a note that " the commentary on chapters 14-17 is missing. " The fact, however, is that Anubhūtisvarūpācārya himself did not offer any comments on these chapters. As I said above, the Ṭippaṇa is very brief and has some discussions only in a few places ; there are some chapters on which the author has only very little to say. After finishing ch. 13 he expressly says,

चतुर्दशादयोऽध्यायाः स्पष्टार्थाः । अष्टादशे किञ्चिदुच्यते ।

Adyar Ms. leaf 33.

At the beginning of the gloss on ch. 2, Anubhūtisvarūpācārya criticises Bhāskara and his Jñāna-karma samuccaya. In this connection Anubhūtisvarūpa refers to another writer on Advaita, an Ācārya, as having cited Bhāskara's text and criticsed it in detail ; unfortunately, in none of the manuscripts is the name of that Ācārya clear.

अत एव भास्करशेदनम्— यत्तु निवृत्तस्य निवृत्त्युपदेशकं शास्त्रमित्यादि तदुक्ताभिप्रायापरिज्ञानप्रसूतमित्युपेक्ष्यते । यच्च तस्य समुच्चयाभिप्रायः, सोऽनन्तरमेव निरूप्यमाणन्यायबलादेव अपेतो भविष्यति । पराचक्रमिरे प्रत्येकं तदीयग्रन्थानुभाषणदूषणयोः गयावलाभार्याः(?) इत्युपरम्यतेऽस्माभिः मन्दमतिव्युत्पादनाय ग्रन्थमात्रविवेचनपरैः ।

Adyar Ms. leaf 4a.

The Mysore manuscript [1] has भास्करचोदनम् and गयापता (or ला)-चार्याः Of the two manuscripts in Trivandrum [2], one in the old Curator's Office reads भास्करनोदनम् and गयालाभार्याः and the other newly acquired Trivandrum manuscript reads भास्कररोदनम् and गयापालाचार्याः

There are passages which Ānandagiri reproduces from this Gītābhāṣya ṭippaṇa, in his own commentary on the Gītābhāṣya.

An important work of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya, which Mr. Tripathi had already mentioned, is the Gauḍapādīya bhāṣya ṭippaṇa of which the manuscript in the Tekkemaṭham in the Cochin State had come to Mr. Tripathi's knowledge. There are two manuscripts in the above Maṭham, and the Madras and Adyar Libraries, each contains a manuscript. Mad. Trien. Cat. R. No. 2911 and Ad. Cat. I. App. iib. It is a perusal of this work which led to the discovery of two other important works of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya.

The Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya

On pp. 59-60 (Madras Ms.) of his above-mentioned gloss on the Gauḍapādīya bhāṣya of Śaṁkara, Anubhūtisvarūpācārya criticises the Ekajīvavāda and briefly clarifies his view of the relative plurality of Jīvas and of the impossibility of release for all when one gets released (Ekamuktau Sarvamuktiḥ). In this context, Anubhūtisvarūpācārya says that he has criticised these views of Ekajīva and Sarvamukti in the Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa.

ये तु एकस्य ब्रह्मण एव एकेनैव उपाधिना अवच्छेदाद् एकजीवतामाहुः, न कल्पितो व्यवच्छेदोऽस्ति × × × × विस्तरतश्चायं

[1] I am thankful to Mr. M. S. Basavalingayya, Curator, Mysore, for sending me the relevant extract from the Mysore Ms.

[2] I am thankful to Dr. L. A. Ravi Varma, Hony. Director, Ori. Mss. Library, Trivandrum, for the relevant extracts from the two Trivandurm Mss.

मार्गोऽपाकारि इष्टसिद्धिविवरणे । तस्माद्व्यावहारिकदृष्ट्या अवच्छेदभेदवर्णनम् । तत्त्वदृष्ट्या न विरोध इति न्याय्यम् । दृष्टिद्वयबाहिष्कृतस्त्वयमेकसंसारिवादः त्रैपुरसालग्रामाद्यर्चनपरैः ब्रह्मविद्यापराङ्मुखैः उत्प्रेक्षित इत्युपेक्षणीयम् ।

pp. 59-60, Mad. Ms. R, 2911.

Now, this Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa may be anybody's but, in fact, turns out to be Anubhūtisvarūpa's own, in the light of which fact, the reference gains in point. What is more fortunate is that this commentary of Anubhūtisvarūpa on Vimuktātman's Iṣṭasiddhi is available. In the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library there is a manuscript of an anonymous Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa described in the Trien. Catalogues under R. No. 4384. In the general Alphabetical Index of the Madras Library, this is wrongly entered as another manuscript of Jñānottama's commentary on the Iṣṭasiddhi and misled by this, I had postponed its examination for some time, though my attention was on it from 1936. Two more manuscripts of this Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa are also available in Trivandrum, one in the Palace Library and another in the Curator's Library, but there again in the Descriptive Catalogues of those Libraries, it has been assumed without examination that the commentary is Jñānottama's (See Des. Cat. of the Palace Lib. No. 599 ; Cur. Lib. No. 268). When I examined this Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa (Madras ms. R. 4384), I found that its author was identical with the author of the above-noticed Gauḍapādīyabhāṣya ṭippaṇa, and that the Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa referred to there is the same as this. The matter, for which Anubhūtisvarūpa in his Gauḍapādīya bhāṣya ṭippaṇa refers us to the Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa, is found in this manuscript.

On. pp. 329-333 (Mad. Ms. R. 4384) of this Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa we find an elaborate statement by the author of his position regarding Māyā, Jīva, Īśvara, Bandha and Mukti.

इदमत्र रहस्यम् — चिन्मात्रतन्त्रा अनादिरनिर्वाच्या महदादिप्रकृतिर्माया, तस्यां चित्प्रतिबिम्बः ईश्वरः, तत्परिणामैरेव सर्वज्ञत्वादि(मान्) । 'मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनं तु महेश्वरम्' इति श्रुतेः । बिम्बकल्पं तु निर्विकल्पं ब्रह्म कैवल्यालम्बनम् । 'अक्षरात्परतः पर' इति श्रुतेः । तस्या एव मायायाः परिच्छिन्नानन्तप्रदेशेष्वावरणविक्षेपशक्तिमत्सु अज्ञानाभिधानेषु प्रतिबिम्बितं तदेव

चैतन्यमनन्तजीवव्यवहारास्पदं बोभवीति। न चैकस्यामूर्तस्य युगपत्कार्त्स्न्येन अनेकप्रतिबिम्बभावो विरुध्यते। तार्किकाणां लौकिकानां वा अमूर्ततया संमतस्य नभसोऽनेकोपाधिषु युगपदनेकप्रतिबिम्बभावदर्शनाद्, जानुदघ्नेऽपि नीरेऽतिगंभीरतायाः साक्षिसिद्धत्वात् ... ... श्रुतिश्च 'रूपं रूपं प्रतिरूपो बभूव' 'यथा ह्ययं ज्योतिरात्मा विवस्वान् अपो भिन्ना बहुधैकोऽनुगच्छन्'। ... ... यस्त्वितरो मायाविवर्तः प्रपञ्चः स विद्यमानोऽपि निरिन्द्रियेणैव रूपेण अनुभूयत इति ... ... मिथ्यात्वेऽपि अनादित्ववद् अनुच्छेदस्यापि संभवात्। अन्यथा सदेशि(हिं)-त्वादिव्याघातापातात्। ग्रामो दग्ध इति तन्मायैकदेशाविद्याया जीवगतसकल-संसारहेतोः निवृत्तिः विवक्षिता। तस्माद् यद्यप्येकैव चित्तन्त्रानिर्वाच्यं चैकमेव, तथाप्यवान्तराविभागात् सर्वव्यवस्थासिद्धिरिति।

केचित्पुनः उक्तरहस्यानभिज्ञाः प्राहुः,— इष्टसिद्धिकृत एको जीवोऽभीष्टः इतरे जीवाभासाः अद्यापि कस्यापि मोक्षो न बभूव, पश्चाद् भविष्यतीति[1]। तत्तेषामिष्टसिद्धिग्रन्थमात्रदर्शित्वमपि नास्तीति ख्यापयति। यत इष्टसिद्धिकृता आद्यश्लोक एव तावद्गुरोः जीवविशेषस्य दैवतैक्यं प्रादर्शि द्वितीयश्लोके च तन्मां नत्वेति स्वस्य जीवन्मुक्तत्वख्यापनाय। सिद्धान्तश्लोके च जीवन्मुक्ति-रसाधि। × × × × × **तस्मात् त्रैपुर-मातृकादिमन्त्राभ्यासादिसक्तानां ब्रह्मविद्यापराङ्मुखानां प्रलापे मुमुक्षुभिः नैव प्रश्वासितव्यमिति।**

The identity especially of the closing lines in the portions extracted above from the Gauḍapādīya bhāṣya ṭippaṇa and the Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa is clinching.

The identification of the author of this Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa as Anubhūtisvarūpa is borne out by another evidence also. On p. x of his Introduction to the Tarkasaṁgraha, Mr. Tripathi refers to an anecdote relating to a variant form of the locative singular

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[1] We do not know which Advaitic writer it is whom Anubhūtisvarūpa accuses here as not having had even a sight of the Iṣṭasiddhi for his mistake of attributing to the Iṣṭasiddhi the Ekajīvavāda. At the end of his criticism, Anubhūtisvarūpa refers to that writer as an Upāsaka of Traipura-sālagrāma and as one not exactly interested in Advaita as such.

Pratyaksvarūpa, in his commentary on the Tattvapradīpikā of Citsukha, ascribes the Ekajīvavāda to the Iṣṭasiddhi; p. 376. Nayanaprasādinī, NS edn. एकजीववादिभिरप्ययमङ्गीक्रियत इत्याह–इष्टसिद्धीति। and the reference seems to imply that Citsukha's view also was the same as that of his commentator.

of the word Pums, viz., Puṅkṣu (पुङ्क्षु) and to the composition of the system of Sārasvata Grammar; in a footnote to this anecdote Mr. Tripathi draws attention to a passage in the Sārasvata dīpikā of Satyabodha which explains the form Puṅkṣu and cites its occurrence in a verse in the Iṣṭasiddhi of Vimuktātman.

वेदान्तैकवेद्यस्य आत्मनो बहुत्वासंभवे वाच्ये सति पुंसूशब्दस्य कगागमो भवति ... ... पुंक्षु । न चायमप्रयोग इति शंकनीयम्, शिष्टपरिगृहीतेष्टसिद्धौ प्रयोगदर्शनात् । तथा हि—

उच्यते तत्त्वेनास्मान् (उच्यते दोषतो नास्मान्) मुक्तिः पुंक्षु बहुष्वपि ।
इष्टेष्वैकात्म्यमेवातो न्याय्यत्वादभ्युपेयताम् ॥

In the Sārasvata sūtras and Prakriyā of Anubhūtisvarūpa (p. 153 Pūrvārddha, Haridas Skt. Series), we find in the section on Hasantapuṁliṅga Śabdas, the following bearing out the observation of Satyabodha quoted by Mr. Tripathi.

असंभवे पुंसः कक्सौ । असम्भवेऽर्थे पुंसशब्दस्य कगागमो भवति, सुपि परे । ककारः कित्कार्यार्थः । अकार उच्चारणार्थः etc.

Anubhūtisvārūpa says that in the case of the Puṁs śabda, a condemnatory 'Kagāgama' occurs before the termination to show that plurality is impossible as regards Pumān, i. e. Puruṣa or Ātman.[1] It is in support of this Prakriyā and Rūpa that Satyabodha cites the occurrence of Puṅkṣu in the Iṣṭasiddhi.

Now, what do we find in the Iṣṭasiddhi? The verse cited by Satyabodha, with a difference in the first pāda, occurs as verse 12 in ch. vii, p. 342, GOS edn. of the Iṣṭasiddhi of Prof. M. Hiriyanna. Prof. Hiriyanna's note to this verse says that three manuscripts of the text and the commentator Jñānottama have the reading Puṅkṣu and that only Ānandānubhava says in his commentary that we have to read it as Puṁsu; Prof. Hiriyanna here refers also to the tradition mentioned by Mr. Tripathi. If we turn to the Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa identified by me as Anubhūtisvarūpa's, we find that that commentator also reads it as Puṅkṣu

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[1] If 'Asambhave Puṁsaḥ Kaksau' is a Sūtra, it would be one of the proofs to show that Anubhūtisvarūpa himself composed the Sūtras also; but the number of the Sārasvata Sūtras in Mss and commentaries is not uniform and in Rāmāśrama's Siddhānta Candrikā, a gloss directly on the Sūtras, 'Asambhave puṁsaḥ kaksau' is absent. It would then mean that it is a 'Vaktavya' introduced by Prakriyākāra.

and what is more, gives the same explanation as is offered in his Sārasvata prakriyā.

सिद्धान्तमुपक्रमते— उच्यत इति । पुंक्षु इत्यसंभवद्योतनार्थ आगमः । बहुषु पुंसु असंभाव्यमानेषु अङ्गीकृतेष्वपि अस्मत्तर्कासहिष्णुव्यवस्थानुपपत्ति-लक्षणाद्दोषात्तव मुक्तिर्नास्ति ।

Before I go to the identification of yet another work of Anubhūtisvarūpa and the data which this Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa gives in that connection, let me draw attention to some noteworthy points in the Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa.

1 p. 2 Anubhūtisvarūpa refers here to the Ṭīkākāra ; this is Vimuktātman himself, the Ṭīkā meant being the Vṛttigrantha itself.

2 pp. 36–37. Here Anubhūtisvarūpācārya refers and replies to the sarcastic view of a Nyāya writer who said, while explaining and illustrating jātis, that further varieties of futile respondences, Jātyuttaras, can be had in the Iṣṭasiddhi.

यश्च तार्किकाणां कोलाहलः— अन्यानि जात्यन्तराणि (जात्युत्तराणि) इष्टसिद्धौ द्रष्टव्यानीति, स नेष्टसिद्धिमाविलयितुमलम् etc. [1]

3 pp. 228–9 Anubhūtisvarūpācārya evidently refers to a Nyāya writer again who seems to have remarked that the Iṣṭasiddhi suffers from Punarukti. Anubhūtisvarūpa explains how this is an unjustifiable jibe.

किञ्चात्र सप्तशत्यां[2] नोत्तरग्रन्थपौनरुक्त्यम्, तस्याः[3]सकलप्रकरणसङ्ग्राहक-आद्यश्लोकाविवरणपरत्वात् । सिद्धान्तश्लोकाविवरणेन च उत्तरग्रन्थपौनरुक्त्यं स्वयमेवाचार्यः पर्यहार्षीत्[4] । उत्तरग्रन्थेष्वेव यत्पौनरुक्त्यं भाति तद्वादिभेदेन, तत्त्वे च परमगंभीरे शिष्याणामनुसन्धानसिद्ध्यर्थत्वेन प्रसिद्धं दूषणमनूद्य अप्रसिद्धदोषविधानार्थत्वेन च परिहर्तव्यमिति नेष्टसिद्धौ क्वापि पौनरुक्त्यम् ।

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[1] See below for full quotation of the whole section. This entire section extending to two pages in Anubhūtisvarūpa's Iṣṭasiddhivivarṇa is absent from Jñānottama's gloss on the Iṣṭasiddhi, Mad. Ms. R. 3350 pp. 48–49.

[2] This passage is retained by Jñānottama in his gloss, see Mad. Ms. R. 3350 pp. 4–5, where the word 'Saptaśatyām' reads 'Saptadaśatyā'; and see also Prof. Hiriyanna's GOS edn. of the Iṣṭasiddhi, extracts from Jñānottama's commentary, p. 587 where the reading 'Saptaśatyām' is accepted. See also Prof. Hiriyanna's Note on this passage on p. 668 of his edn.

[3] Prof. Hiriyanna has 'तस्य' instead of तस्याः ।.

[4] This refers to Vimuktātma's own remarks on p. 123, end of the first paragraph.

The discovery of Anubhūtisvarūpa's Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa takes away the reputation of Jñānottama of Maṅgala in Coladeśa who now appears to be a secondhand writer. His Iṣṭasiddhivyākhyā is practically a reproduction of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya's. In section IV of his Introduction to his edition of the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi of Sureśvara with Jñānottama's Candrikā in the Bombay Sanskrit Series, Prof. M. Hiriyanna notes the fact that Jñānottama's commentary on the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi and Citsukha's commentary on the same work are practically identical except for some extra passages in the former. Prof. M. Hiriyanna considers Jñānottama more likely to have been the earlier of the two and hence the original writer. But when one reflects on this circumstance after what we have known from the relationship of Anubhūtisvarūpa's and Jñānottama's commentaries on the Iṣṭasiddhi, one would be disposed to view Jñānottama as the later writer who was indebted to Anubhūtisvarūpa and Citsukha.

Regarding the relationship between the commentaries on the Iṣṭasiddhi by Jñānottama and Ānandānubhava, Prof. Hiriyanna says (p. vii, his preface) that the latter seems to presuppose Jñānottama. Besides the two places pointed out by Prof. Hiriyanna, there is a third place, where again passages are common in these commentaries ; compare pp. 85-86 of the Adyar Ms. of Ānandānubhava's Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa where Ānandānubhava replies to the Naiyāyika who pointed out Prasaṅgasamā Jāti in the Advaitin's argument, and the corresponding portion of Jñānottama's gloss in manuscript ; (p. 407 GOS edn. extracts from Jñānottama's gloss here are not full). There are about eight lines taken by *Jñānottama from Ānandānubhava.* From these passages it is clear that Jñānottama used Anubhūtisvarūpa's gloss in the main and in a few places, used Ānandānubhava's gloss also.

The Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa a work of Anubhūtisvarūpa

Students of Advaita Literature are indebted to Dr. T. R. Chintamani for his edition (Madras University Sanskrit Series, 9, Part I, 1935, Part II, 1939) of the valuable commentary on the Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya of Śaṁkara, called the Prakaṭārtha, long known to scholars only through references like the one in the Tattvāloka of Janārdana. When the distinctive views of the author of this commentary on Śaṁkara's Sūtra bhāṣya were referred to by writers they always mentioned its author as Pra-

kaṭārthakāra only. It is clear that his identity was forgotten. His Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa has also been handed down anonymously. The first clue to the identification of the Prakaṭārthakāra struck me as early as the time of the publication of the first volume of the Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa in 1938. I took up the question after the publication of the second part and tried to push the investigation to a conclusion towards the end of 1940. And owing to the more pressing day-to-day work of the New Catalogus Catalogorum, I could publish my results only now. A close study of the works of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya already dealt with, such as the Bhagavadgītābhāṣya ṭippaṇa, Gauḍapādīyabhāṣya ṭippaṇa and the Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa, together with the Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa, has convinced me that the author of the "Śārīrakamahābhāṣya Prakaṭārthanibandhana (or Vivaraṇa)" is none else than Anubhūtisvarūpācārya.

A. i. One of the two opening verses of the Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa is:

ज्ञात्वापि यस्य बहुकालमचिन्तनेन
व्याख्यातुमक्षमतया परितापि चेतः ।
तस्योपतापहरणाय मयेह भाष्ये
प्रारभ्यते विवरणं प्रकटार्थमेतत् ॥

This is a characteristic verse, either at the opening or end of the works, of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya. If he does not pay obeisance to his deity Hayagrīva, he usually starts with affirming his being the Brahman; and then he gives a verse which contains some dark allusion to some personal detail referring to himself or a student of his; this second verse contains a statement of somebody's long neglect of the works, Vyākhyā-asāmarthya, and consequent Saṁtāpa and his own effort to compose the commentary on hand for the removal of that Saṁtāpa. Now, see this verse or idea occurring in the other works of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya:

After an Anuṣṭubh, as in the Prakaṭārtha, affirming the author's identity with the Brahman, the Iṣṭasidhivivaraṇa has the second verse which is nearly identical with that in the Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa:

i. In the foregone portion of this paper, while identifying the Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa as a work of Anubhūtisvarūpa, I quoted two passages from the author's Gauḍapādīya bhāṣya ṭippaṇa and Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa, the former one making a reference to the latter. In the latter is to be found an elaborate statement of the author's view on Māyā, Īśvara, Jīvas, the relative plurality of Jīvas and the impossibility of release for all when one gets release. The whole thing occurs in the Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa, except the reference to the 'Traipura Sālagrama Upāsaka.' Since the passage from the Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa has been quoted above, I quote here only the corresponding portion from the Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa,

Pra. vi., Pt. i. pp. 3-4.

तदयं संक्षेपः— एका तावदनिर्वाच्या भूतप्रकृतिश्चिन्मात्रसम्बन्धिनी माया, तस्यां चित्प्रतिबिम्ब ईश्वरः, तत्परिणामैरेव सर्वज्ञत्वादिमान्। बिम्बकल्पं तु निर्विकल्पं ब्रह्म कैवल्यावलम्बनम्। तस्या एव परिच्छिन्नानिर्वाच्यानन्तप्रदेशेष्वज्ञानाभिधानेषु आवरणविक्षेपशक्तिमत्सु प्रतिबिम्बितं तदेव चैतन्यम् अनन्तजीवव्यवहारास्पदम्। × × × न च निरंशस्यैकस्य कृत्स्नस्य अनन्तप्रतिबिम्बभावो विरुध्येत, 'रूपं रूपं प्रतिरूपो बभूव' इत्यादि श्रुतेः, नभसि दर्शनाच्च। × × × यस्तु मायाविवर्तः महाभूत(तादिः) प्रपञ्चः स विद्यमानोऽपि निरिन्द्रियेणेव रूपं नानुबोभूयते। 'भूयश्चान्ते विश्वमायानिवृत्तिः' इत्यत्र मायाशब्देन मायैकदेशाविद्याभिधानादागामि(क) सकलसंसारकारणाविद्यानिवृत्तिः, न स्वरूपेण मायायाः, सदेहित्वादिव्याघातान्, मिथ्यात्वेऽपि अनादित्ववदनुच्छेदसंभवात्।

This can be closely compared with the passage quoted previously from Anubhūtisvarūpa's Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa. The ideas here are also briefly given in the Gauḍapādīya bhāṣya ṭippaṇa of Anubhūtisvarūpa, Mad. Ms. pp. 4-5 and 14.

प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्म। तस्यांशव इवांशवो जीवाः। चिन्मात्रं तत्र अनाद्यनिर्वाच्याज्ञानेष्वावरणविक्षेपशक्तिमत्सु मायाव्यष्टिषु प्रतिबिंबितं तदेव चैतन्यम् अनन्तजीवव्यवहारास्पदम्—।

p. 12 अत्रेयं प्रक्रिया—चिन्मात्रतन्त्रा अनाद्यनिर्वाच्या भूतप्रकृतिः माया अव्याकृतादिशब्दवाच्या। तस्यां प्रतिबिम्बितं तदेव चैतन्यम् × × सर्वज्ञत्वादिधर्मकमीश्वरसंज्ञाकं भवति × ×।

ii. Pra. vi., Part I. p. 6.

न हि घटावष्टब्धे भूतले निर्घटं भूतलमिति जाघटीति । किञ्च विमतमज्ञानं नाभावः उपादानत्वात्, मृद्वत्; etc. ।

This can be compared with the following from Anubhūtisvarūpa's Gītābhāṣya ṭippaṇa, Adyar Ms. leaf 11b.

विमतमज्ञानं नाभावः, उपादानत्वात्, मृद्वद् इति भावः ।

ii. Pra. vi., Part I. p. 17.

यौक्तिकविवेकस्य अपरोक्षभ्रमाविरोधात् × × पण्डितव्यवहारोऽपि अध्यासमूल एवेत्यर्थः ।

This is found thus in the Gītābhāṣyaṭippaṇa of Anubhūtisvarūpa, Adyar Ms. leaf 82a.

यौक्तिकविवेकज्ञानस्य अपरोक्षभ्रमानिवर्तकत्वात् पण्डिता अपि भ्रान्ता इत्याह ।

ii. Pra. vi., Part I, p. 34.

प्रकाशनशक्तिमत् सत्त्वप्रधानं मनः अदृष्टादिसहकृतं दीर्घप्रभाकारेण स्वकर्मदेशं सरीसार्ति । तत्संसृष्टे विषये चैतन्यं प्रतिबिम्बते तद्विषयसंवेदनम् ।

Compare this with the following from Anubhūtisvarūpa's Gauḍapādīyabhāṣya ṭippaṇa, Mad. Ms. R. 2911, p. 5.

जागरिते हि अदृष्टेन्द्रियादिसहकृतं मनः दीर्घप्रभाकारेण गवाक्षनिस्सृतप्रदीपप्रभावद् विषयपर्यन्तं सञ्चरन् तान् व्याप्नोति ।

And also the following from his Gītābhāṣya ṭippaṇa, Adyar Ms. leaf. 10a.

अदृष्टेन्द्रियादिसहकृतमन्तःकरणं गवाक्षनिस्सृतप्रदीपप्रभावद् दीर्घप्रभाकारेण विषयपर्यन्तं परिणमते, सा बुद्धिवृत्तिरित्युच्यते ।

5. I have already referred to the context in the Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya where he replies to a Naiyāyika-critic who had a fling at the Iṣṭasiddhi as a store-house of Jātyuttaras. Let me reproduce here the entire paragraph from the Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa, for, except for an initial omission, the paragraph occurs in the Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa also.

Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa, Mad. Ms. R. 4384, pp. 36-37.

यश्च तार्किकाणां कोलाहलः अन्यानि जात्यन्त(त्युत्त)राणि इष्टसिद्धौ द्रष्टव्यानीति, स नेष्टसिद्धिमाविलयितुमलम्। तथा हि लौकिकसिद्धां वादिसिद्धां वा व्याप्तिमुपजीव्य इष्टसिद्धिः प्रावर्तिष्ट। तथात्वेऽपि जातित्वे सकलमपि तर्कतन्त्रं जातिस्स्यात्। अथ यथा भेदाभेदादिविकल्पेन परपक्षः प्रतिषिध्यते, तथा प्रतिषेधोऽपि न सेत्स्यते। न हि प्रतिषेधस्य प्रतिषेध्याद् भिन्नत्वेऽभिन्नत्वे च तत्प्रतिषेधत्वमुपपनीपद्यते। ततः स्वपक्षव्याघातकरत्वाज्जातिरिति? न, स्वमतव्याघातानुपपत्तेः। यस्य हि ब्रह्मातिरिक्तं न किञ्चिदपि निरूपणसहमिति मतम्, कथंकारं तस्य प्रतिषेधस्य निरूपणासहत्वे स्वमतहानिः स्यात्। प्रत्युत स्वस्त्ययनमेव। न च प्रतिषेधस्य तर्कबाधितत्वे जयादिव्यवहारासंभवः, स्वप्ने जयादिदर्शनाच्च। स्वप्नवदेव च न प्रतिषेधमिथ्यात्वेऽपि प्रतिषेध्यसत्यतापातः। किञ्चैतत्तार्किकपशूनां सङ्केतमात्रम्, प्रमाणाभावात्। अथास्ति व्यतिरेकी स्वपक्षव्याघातकरमुत्तरं जातिः, स्वपक्षव्याघातकरवचनत्वाद्, न यदेवं न तदेवं, यथा प्रमाणवचनमिति, न, अनैकान्तिकादिवचने व्यभिचाराद्, अनुकूलतर्कविरहाद्, अनैकान्तिकाभिधानवद् अजातित्वसाधनप्रसंगाच्च। ×

× × × × ×

यच्च लक्षणान्तरं 'प्रयुक्ते हेतौ समीकरणाभिप्रायेण प्रसङ्गो जातिरिति, तद्विपक्षव्यापकम्, तस्य अनाग्निमत्वेऽधूमवत्त्वप्रसंगो गङ्गातरङ्गदेशवदिति प्रतिदृष्टान्तसमीकरणाभिप्रायेण अभिधानात्। किञ्च जातिवचनादपि प्रमा जायते वा, न वा? आद्ये प्रमाणमेव, द्वितीये कुत इति वाच्यम्। मानान्तरविरोधादिति चेत्, तर्हि तदेव दूषणम्। किं नाम जात्युत्तरम्? विमलकलेवरस्य वचनमात्रेण अव्यामोहादित्यलम्।

Now in the Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa, part I, under II, ii, 41, there is a long refutation of the categories of the Nyāya beginning from p. 562. The refutation of Jāti found here on pp. 572-3 is practically the same as found in the passage given above from the Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa of Anubhūtisvarūpa.

यच्च जातिलक्षणं 'प्रयुक्ते हेतौ समीकरणाभिप्रायेण जातिरिति तदतिव्याप्तिग्रस्तम्। × × वह्निमत्वाभावेऽधूमवत्त्वप्रसङ्गो गङ्गातरङ्गदेशवद् इत्ययं बाधकस्तर्कः। प्रतिदृष्टान्तसमीकरणाभिप्रायेण प्रसङ्गो भवतीति अतिव्याप्तिः।' ... ... किमनेन अकिञ्चित्करेण साधर्म्यसमादिपरिभाषाकरणेन। नो खलु विमलकलेवर(रा)णां[1] वाङ्मात्रेण

[1] Dr. Chintamani's edition has 'विमलकलेवरणाम्' with a query. The correct reading is 'विमलकलेवराणाम्' and it means 'Pāśupata', who is also, in

(continued on the next page)

व्यामोहः संभवतीति । यच्चावोचत् स्वपक्षव्याघातकरमुत्तरं जातिः, येन प्रकारेण परपक्षः प्रतिषिध्यते प्रतिषेधोऽपि तेनैव प्रकारेण न सिद्ध्यतीति । तत्र किम् ... ... प्रथमे नाद्वैतवादिनः किमपि जात्युत्तरं तावत् प्रसरीसर्ति, तस्य नाद्वितातिरिक्तं तत्त्वमिति मतम् । ततः प्रतिषेधस्यापि दुर्निरूपत्वं न स्वपक्षव्याघातकरम् । व्यवहारस्तु स्वप्नवद् भविष्यति । स्वप्नवदेव च प्रतिषेधस्य अतात्त्विकत्वेऽपि न प्रतिषेध्यस्य सत्यत्वापातः । पूर्ववदेव चात्रापि प्रमाणाभावो वेदितव्यः । किञ्च अनुकूलतर्काभावाद् अप्रयोजकत्वशंकोत्तरेऽतिव्याप्तिः ।

vi. Pra. vi., Part II. p. 746 : the etymology of the word Māyā and the discussion on the presence of the word in the synonymous of Prajñā in the Nirukta. In the same discussion occurring in Anubhūtisvarūpa's Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa, (under I. S., I 35) on p. 159 of the Madras Manuscript and in his Gauḍapādīyabhāṣya ṭippaṇa, p. 75 of the Madras Manuscript, we find identical words and phrases.

मायादर्शितहस्त्यश्वादिषु 'मायेयं मायेयम्' इत्यनुगतप्रत्ययादनुगतामिथ्यात्वे मायापदस्य व्युत्पत्तिः वृद्धव्यवहारे लाघवाद्गृह्यते ... ... 'मीयतेऽर्थोऽनया' इति व्युत्पत्त्या मायाशब्दो बुद्धिवाचकः प्रज्ञानामसु स्यात् ।

Iṣṭ. vi., p. 159. Cf. Pra. vi., Part II. p. 746.

The Tattvāloka of Janārdana is a compilation made out of the Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa. Janārdana says both at the beginning and end of his work :

प्रकटार्थनिबन्धाब्धेरुद्धृतन्यायरत्नकैः ।
वितनोति तमोध्वस्त्यै तत्त्वालोकं जनार्दनः ॥
शारीरकमहाभाष्यप्रकटार्थनिबन्धनम् ।
जनार्दनो निरीक्ष्येमं तत्त्वालोकं विनिर्ममे ॥

And in the colophon to this work, Janārdana describes himself as a pupil of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya :

इति श्रीमदनुभूतिस्वरूपाचार्यशिष्येण......जनार्दनेन विनिर्मिते
तत्त्वालोके द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

(*continued from the previous page*)

the height of his Siddhi, a 'Nagna', and refers as such to the Naiyāyikas. It would indeed be of greatest value to identify this particular Naiyāyika critic of the Iṣṭasiddhi, for that would give an early lower limit to Vimuktātman's date.

Don't we see that there is an implicit relation between the preceptor mentioned in the colophon and the work mentioned as source in the two verses? And now that from other evidence, we gather that the author of the Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa is none else than Anubhūtisvarūpācārya, do not these two verses and the colophon of Janārdana disclose to us clearly that relation between Janārdana's Mūlagrantha and Ācārya?[1]

[1] While this paper was under preparation, I had a personal discussion with Prof. M. Hiriyanna, M.A., who accepted the evidences and conclusions of this paper.

After the preparation of this paper, Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.) was kind enough to scrutinise it and send me the following remarks: "It is a very valuable contribution to the history of Advaita Literature." "………The identifications there are all right and I accept all of them………I am exceedingly glad that you have succeeded in establishing the identity of the *Prakaṭārthakāra*."

I may add that Dr. T R. Chintamani also has expressed his agreement with my conclusions.

THE HERO IN THE MĀLAVIKĀGNIMITRA

(A Character Study)

BY

C. KUNHAN RAJA

The character of King Agnimitra, the Hero in Kālidāsa's drama Mālavikāgnimitra is one of the examples of misjudgment in Sanskrit Literature. Few scholars have done justice to this character. Most of the critics condemn him as an irresponsible and voluptuous king who spent his whole time in the harem in the comany of women, enjoying all the luxuries there and leaving the affairs of state to his ministers. Many people have been able to see only one commendable feature in him—namely that he had able and trustworthy ministers and that he had confidence in them.

One must in this connection recognise that in art it is not the details or isolated incidents that matter. The total impression is the chief thing in art. Even what is supposed to be bad in physical life becomes beautiful when handled by an artist. It is this truth that Kālidāsa enunciates in the verse :

" Whatever may not be good (in physical reality) can be made otherwise in a picture. " We shall not condemn a character in a drama simply because he is much older than the heroine whom he loves or because he tries to embrace her [2] before he marries her. It is also unfair to condemn Agnimitra on the ground that he fell in love with his queen's maid-in-waiting. We have to judge the character not from details but from the way in which the details are put together and presented as art.

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[1] Śākuntala, Act. VI. verse 14. I have given a translation in my own way, which is different from the traditional one, but which is the correct one.

[2] Mālavikāgnimitra. Act IV

Let us see what the first impression is that we get about Agnimitra when we start reading the play or start seeing the play on the stage. He is introduced for the first time as a resolute king, firm in his decision, brave in his outlook. He is first seen not in the harem but in his private office, surrounded not by women but by his minister and engaged not in flattering the beautiful damsels and attempting to secure their favour but in attending to serious matters of state.[1] The situation is that he had sent a messenger to the Vidarbha King directing him to set Mādhavasena free and the minister had the reply in his hand. When Agnimitra asks his minister what the demand was,[2] the minister says that it was the ruin of the Vidarbha King.[3] Thus we are first introduced to a king who is so terrible that opposition to him meant nothing but ruin.

Then the king asks the minister to read out the reply.[4] The reply was that there are certain conventions in mutual transactions between equals, that there must be some mutual consideration and that Mādhavasena can be released only in return for the release of Mauryasaciva who was imprisoned by Agnimitra.[5]

This reply enrages the king[6] that the Vidarbha king should think of negotiating with him instead of obeying his directions.[7] The question of words comes to an end and he orders action being

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1 ततः प्रविशत्येकान्तस्थितपरिजनो मन्त्रिणा लेखहस्तेनान्वास्यमानो राजा ।

2 वाहतक किं प्रतिपद्यते वैदर्भः ।

3 देव आत्मविनाशम् ।

4 निदेशमिदानीं श्रोतुमिच्छामि ।

5 पूज्येनाहमादिष्टः– भवतः पितृव्यपुत्रः कुमारो माधवसेनः प्रतिश्रुतसंबन्धो ममोपान्तिकमागच्छन्नन्तरा त्वदीयेनान्तपालेनावस्कन्द्य गृहीतः । स त्वया मदपेक्षया सकलत्रसोदर्यो मोचयितव्यः– इति । तन्न वो न विदितं यत्तुल्याभिजनेषु भूमिहरेषु राज्ञां प्रवृत्तिरीदृक् । अतोऽत्र मध्यस्थः पूज्यो भवितुमर्हति । ... ... श्रूयतामभिसन्धिः—

मौर्यसचिवं विमुञ्चति यदि पूज्यः संयतं मम स्यालम् ।
मोक्ता माधवसेनं ततोऽहमपि बन्धनात् सद्यः ॥ Act. I. verse 7.

6 सकोपम् ।

7 कथं कार्यविनिमयेन मयि व्यवहरत्यनात्मज्ञः ।

taken against him.[1] The minister has only to carry out the orders.[2] The minister dares to say a word, to express an opinion about the king's decision, only when he was asked to say what he thought of it.[3] The minister simply says that his decision is in accordance with the principles of political science.[4] Thus we start with a very good impression of the greatness of the Hero.

And how is the Heroine introduced with whom the Hero falls in love? Is she introduced as a servant in the harem? She is introduced to us in a conversation between two maid-servants[5] in the harem. From the conversation it is found that the Heroine Mālavikā is a great favourite of Agnimitra's Queen Dhāriṇī, that the queen placed her under a dancing master named Gaṇadāsa, that there was another queen named Irāvatī who was an expert in dancing and who had received instructions under another dancing master named Haradatta and that Dhāriṇī's ambition was to see Mālavikā excel the rival queen in the art of dancing.[6] Dhāriṇī was making daily enquiries through the maid-servant regarding the progress which Mālavikā was making in her studies.[7] The teacher Gaṇadāsa was very proud of his new disciple.[8] There is no mention of Mālavikā being a maid-servant in the harem.

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1 यातव्यपक्षे स्थितस्य पूर्वं संकल्पितमुन्मूलनाय वीरसेनप्रमुखं दण्डचक्रमाज्ञापय ।

2 यदाज्ञापयति देवः ।

3 अथवा किं भवान् मन्यते ।

4 शास्त्रदृष्टमाह देवः । कुतः –

अचिराधिष्ठितराज्यः शत्रुः प्रकृतिष्वरूढमूलत्वात् ।
नवसंरोहणशिथिलस्तरुरिव सुकरः समुद्धर्तुम् ॥ Act. I. verse 8.

5 बकुलावलिका and कौमुदिका.

6 इरावतीमतिक्रामन्तीमिव पश्यामि ।

7 आज्ञप्तास्मि देव्या धारिण्या – अचिरप्रयुक्तोपदेशं चलितं नाम नाट्यमन्तरेण कीदृशी मालविका – इति नाट्याचार्यमार्यगणदासं प्रष्टुम् ।

8 विज्ञाप्यतां देवी परं निपुणा मेधाविनी चेति । किं बहुना—

यद्यत् प्रयोगविषये भाविकमुपदिश्यते मया तस्यै ।
तत्तद्विशेषकरणात् प्रत्युपदिशतीव मे बाला ॥ Act. I. verse 5.

From the conversation we also understand how Agnimitra first came to know of the presence of Mālavikā in the court. The queen had got a new painting of hers finished. In that painting there was one lady attendant who was unusually close to Dhāriṇī and this roused the king's curiosity. The king asks Dhariṇī who that lady was in whom she was showing such marked partiality [1] but the queen was silent. The princess tells the king that it was Mālavikā. [2]

The maid-servants are not concealed from the king. They attend on him freely and there is absolutely no hint in the whole drama of the king having entertained any improper feeling towards them. Why should Dhāriṇī conceal one particular person? Usually the maid-servants keep at a respectable distance from the queen. Why should one person be introduced in the painting as standing particularly close to the queen? These are unmistakable hints that Mālavikā was not one among the usual attendants in the harem and that the king was not wrong in beginning to entertain a feeling of attachment to her. What is wrong in the king beginning to love a lady of noble position in the Court?

Does this compare unfavourably by the side of Duṣyanta falling in love with a young lady in a hermit's penance grove? In the Śākuutala, the king understands that Kaṇva was not in the hermitage and that a young girl named Śakuntalā was there in charge to entertain guests. This information encourages him to visit the place rather than deters him. From the moment he enters the penance grove, he has only one thought--how to win Śakuntalā. Why should we condemn Agnimitra for his love towards a girl, for whom love on his part is not illegitimate while we admire Duṣyanta for his love towards a girl in a hermit's penance grove?

How did Mālavikā come to the Court of Agnimitra? She was sent to the queen Dhāriṇī by the queen's half-brother who was in command of the royal army. He sent her to the queen so that

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1 देवि अपूर्वेयं दारिका आसन्ना लिखिता किन्नामधेया ।

2 यावद्देवी न कथयति तावत् कुमार्या वसुलक्ष्म्या आख्यातम्- आवुत्त एषा मालविका —इति ।

the queen may employ her as keeper of jewels.[1] As soon as Dhāriṇī saw her, she instinctively found her as deserving something far higher and took her up under her protection.

There is nothing in the king, so far as the first impression goes, that is unfavourable in his character. As the story proceeds the very favourable initial impression continues. The king naturally desires to meet Mālavikā. Dhāriṇī studiously keeps her away from his sight.[2] As is ever the case, there is the Vidūṣaka to render him the needed assistance.[3] A plan is evolved whereby the king should have a chance of meeting Mālavikā. A feigned quarrel between the two dancing masters in the court, their request that the king should judge between them, a proposal that their respective disciples should exhibit their proficiency before the king—this is the plan meant to outwit Dhāriṇī. The whole plan was conceived and worked up by others. The king stands aloof ; he simply approves.

And who are the people that are involved in it? Both the dancing masters are implicated in it. The Buddhist Saṁnyāsinī, Ārya Kauśikī, is also in it. What more is wanted to keep the plan safe from any taint of being unworthy of decent people ?

In the third act, we find that the maid-servants in the harem come forward with help in bringing the Hero and the Heroine together.[4] When the king meets Mālavikā in the third Act, there occurs nothing that calls for blame. The feelings are exactly what we find in the other noble heroes of Kālidāsa—namely Duṣyanta and Purūravas.

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[1] अस्ति देव्या वर्णावरो भ्राता वीरसेनो नाम। स भर्त्रा अन्तपालदुर्गे नर्मदाकुले स्थापितः। तेन शिल्पाधिकारे इयं योग्या दारिकेति भगिन्यै उपायनं प्रेषिता।

[2] सांप्रतं मालविका सविशेषं भर्तुर्दर्शनपथाद्रक्ष्यते।

[3] राजा—वयस्य कच्चिदुपेयोपायदर्शने व्यापृतं ते प्रज्ञाचक्षुः।

विदूषकः— प्रयोगसिद्धिं पृच्छ

[4] The maid servant's words:— विज्ञापय भर्तारम्—अनुगृहीतास्मि अनेन नियोगेन। किंतु सा तपस्विनी देव्या अधिकारं रक्ष्यमाणा नागरक्षित इव निधिर्न सुखं समासादयितव्या भविष्यति। तथापि घटयिष्यामि—इति।

Mālavīkā naturally knew who she was; and she was compelled to keep her identity a secret. Ārya Kauśikī too knew her identity; but she too had to abstain from disclosing it. All the people in the court—the queen Dhāriṇī, the dancing master Gaṇadāsa and the maid-servants were impressed by her look and instinctively knew that she belonged to a very high position. The queen showed extraordinary partiality for her in undertaking to arrange for her lessons in dancing, in permitting her to move on very intimate terms,[1] in directing the other maid-servants to attend on her[2], in engaging her as proxy for placing her decorated feet on the Aśoka tree so that it may blossom,[3] in allowing her to adorn her own ornaments[4] and in various other ways.

Through the help of the maid-servants, Agnimitra meets Mālavikā. Irāvatī, another queen of Agnimitra, sees this meeting and reports the matter to Dhāriṇī who orders Mālavikā's imprisonment in a dungeon along with the maid-servant who helped her in her impudent conduct. Here again the Vidūṣaka along with some other responsible people in the court contrives a plan to set Mālavikā free and to enable the king to meet her again. It is at this meeting that the king tries to embrace Mālavīkā.[5]

Critics have made much of this incident. But the ideal hero Duṣyanta is guilty of a far worse breach of the rules of modesty in trying to kiss Śakuntalā who was not married to him at that time even under Gāndharva rules.[6] He had only just then

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1 As seen in the picture, see note 1 on p. 372 above.

2 वकुलावलिका adorns her feet as a servant.

3 In the third Act, त्वं तावत् तपनीयाशोकस्य दोहदं निर्वर्तय ।

4 अन्यथा कथं देवी स्वयं धारितं नूपुरयुगलं परिजनस्यानुज्ञास्यति ।

5 राजा— दाक्षिण्यं नाम बिम्बोष्ठि वैम्बिकानां कुलव्रतम् ।
तन्मे दीर्घाक्षि ये प्राणास्ते त्वदाशानिबन्धनाः ॥ Act IV. verse 14.

तदयमनुगृह्यतां चिरानुरक्तो जनः (इति संश्लेषमभिनयति । मालविका परिहरति)

6 शकुन्तला— मुञ्च तावन्माम् । भूयोऽपि सखीजनमनुमानयिष्ये ।
राजा— भवतु मोक्ष्यामि ।
शकुन्तला— कदा
राजा— अपरिक्षतकोमलस्य यावत्
कुसुमस्यव नवस्य षट्पदेन ।
अधरस्य पिपासता मया ते
सदयं सुन्दरि गृह्यते रसोऽस्य ॥ Act III. verse 21.

(इति मुखमस्याः समुन्नमयितुमिच्छति । शकुन्तला परिहरति)

suggested the Gāndharva method as fit for kings.[1] This incident is in a penance grove—a far more inappropriate place for such conduct than the garden attached to the palace of a king. The physical passion began to pinch the heart of Duṣyanta even on his approach to the penance grove.[2] In the penance grove every incident appealed to him as a specimen of the play of physical passion. In the bee he could see only a viṭa.[3] Agnimitra was not moving in a penance grove. He was in the royal garden.

Agnimitra's passion for Mālavfkā was not a temporary outburst of physical passion. He did not merely want an opportunity to satisfy his carnal feeling. He had a sort of instinctive conviction that his heart fell on a lady who deserved to be his queen. He desired her to be one of his queens. There is nothing to show that he wanted to have any illegitimate association with her prior to their marriage.

In his longing to meet Mālavikā and to be united to her and in his anxiety for the feelings of Dhāriṇī he is on a par with Purūravas who longed to meet Urvaśī and be united to her and who at the same time was anxious about the feelings of his queen and was afraid of incurring her displeasure.

In the fifth Act, Mālavikā's identity is disclosed. She is found out to be the very princess of Vidarbha, the sister of Mādhavasena, whom he had arranged to marry. Mādhavasena was on his way to Vidiśā with his sister.[4]

Thus from the very beginning it is found that Agnimitra had arranged for a new marriage. In the end it is found that the girl whom he loved was that very person whom he had thought of marrying.

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1 गान्धर्वेण विवाहेन बह्वयो राजर्षिकन्यकाः ।
श्रूयन्ते परिणीताश्च पितृभिश्चानुमोदिताः ॥ Act III. verse 20.

2 शान्तमिदमाश्रमपदं स्फुरति च बाहुः कुतः फलमिहास्य ।
अथवा भवितव्यानां द्वाराणि भवन्ति सर्वत्र ॥ Act I. verse 14.

3 चलापाङ्गां दृष्टिं स्पृशसि बहुशो वेपथुमतीं
रहस्याख्यायीव स्वनसि मृदु कर्णान्तिकचरः ।
करौ व्याधुन्वत्याः पिबसि रतिसर्वस्वमधरं
वयं तत्त्वान्वेषान्मधुकर हतास्त्वं खलु कृती ॥ Act I. verse 20.

कुमारो माधवसेनः प्रतिश्रुतसंबन्धो ममोपान्तिकमागच्छन् ।

In the whole drama there is only one passage which indicates something unfavourable in his character. When Dhāriṇī finds herself caught in the intrigue set up against her by the Vidūṣaka and his accomplices, she rebukes the king saying that it would have been much happier if such ingenuity could be shown in state affairs too.[1] But this is not a well thought out judgment. She makes the statement at a moment of awkward despondency and she meant it more to console her wounded pride than to rebuke the king. But there are indications to show that Dhāriṇī was fully alive to the king's high sense of duty in state affairs. In the fourth Act, the king was by the side of Dhāriṇī who was confined to her bed. The Vidūṣaka wanted to get him out. Dhāriṇī had to be convinced of the reason for the king leaving her at that stage and he was summoned to attend to state matters.[2] This is only an excuse. The real purpose was to take the king to the place where Mālavikā was, after her release from imprisonment.

If Agnimitra was devoid of any scruples, he had enough opportunities and occasions to satisfy his base passions. But we find in Kālidāsa's hero no trace of the meanness characteristic of Agnivarṇa described in the nineteenth canto of the Raghuvaṁśa. There Agnivarṇa throws away all sense of duty to his state.[3] He led the most detestable life, having illicit relations with the maid-servants.[4] But Agnimitra's life was throughout absolutely above rebuke.

In all the works of Kālidāsa we see a harmony worked out between what are normally supposed to be inreconcilable factors

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1 यदि राजकार्येष्वपीदृश्युपायनिपुणतार्यपुत्रस्य तदा शोभनं भवेत् ।

2 एष पुनरमात्यो वाहतको विज्ञापयति— राजकार्यं बहु मन्त्रयितव्यम् । तद्दर्शनेनानुग्रहमिच्छामि— इति ।

3 इन्द्रियार्थपरिशून्यमक्षमः सोढुमेकमपि स क्षणान्तरम् ।
अन्तरेव विहरन् दिवानिशं न व्यपेक्षत समुत्सुकाः प्रजाः ॥
गौरवाद्यदपि जातु मन्त्रिणां दर्शनं प्रकृतिकाङ्क्षितं ददौ ।
तद्गवाक्षविवरावलम्बिना केवलेन चरणेन कल्पितम् ॥ verses 6 & 7.

4 कुसुमपुष्पशयनाँल्लतागृहानेत्य दूतिकृतमार्गदर्शनः ।
अन्वभूत् परिजनाङ्गनारतं सोऽवरोधभयवेपथूत्तरम् ॥ verse 23.

in this world. The eternally celebate Kaṇva is presented as a fond parent. The highest god Śiva is presented as a lover and a bridegroom. Similarly the great warriors Purūravas and Agnimitra are presented as victims of love and as very pliant and obedient husbands in the harem. A hero is a hero only where heroism is appropriate. There are aspects even in the life of a hero where he has to be a normal human being. Submission to the people in the harem in the private life detracts nothing from the greatness of a hero in his public life.

I have tried to show elsewhere that Kālidāsa was a contemporary of Agnimitra.[1] Agnimitra was Kālīdāsa's ideal hero. He is to Kālidāsa what Henry V is to Shakespeare. Shakespeare portrays King Henry V in his drama Henry IV as leading a low life and at the same time he gives enough indications of his inner greatness. Later, in his drama Henry V, he portrays his hero as the ideal king.

Similarly in the Mālavikāgnimitra Kālidāsa portrays his ideal hero Agnimitra in his relation to his queens and his love for Mālavikā. At the same time, it is made quite explicit that he was quite alive to his sense of duty to state affairs and that he was a very firm ruler and a brave warrior. First he is described as a human being in the Mālavikāgnimitra; later in his two epics—the Kumārasambhava and the Raghuvaṁśa—he allegorically portrays his hero as the saviour of India from foreign domination and as the consolidator of the Indian Empire. Both the Kumārasambhava and the Raghuvaṃśa are political allegories. Some sin committed against the Divine (the Supreme God in the one and Kāmadhenu in the other), its expiation (in the penance of Pārvatī in the one and the propitiation of Nandinī in the other) and the consequent birth of a national hero—these form the basic theme in both epics.

The great empire of Candragupta Maurya, the corruption in the life of the kings, the decadence of national life and the downfall of Hinduism in the later Mauryan period, the revival of Hinduism, the purification of the life of the kings, the revival of

[1] My paper in the Annals of Oriental Research of the University of Madras vol. vi. pt. 1—1941. The Bharatavākya in the Mālavikāgnimitra.

the national life, all brought about by the efforts of the virtuous Pusyamitra, the birth of Agnimitra, the re-conquest of the lost portions of the shattered empire and its consolidation, the establishment of a new royal dynasty—these are the historical facts which are allegorically represented in both the epics. In Kumāra and in Raghu, Kālidāsa was really portraying Agnimitra. In my two Papers (1) Allusions to Agnimitra in the works of Kālidāsa[1] and (2) The Historical background of the works of Kalidāsa[2] I have tried to present the parallelism between Agnimitra on one side and the heroes of the two epics on the other side.

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1 Annals of Oriental Research of the University of Madras vol. vi. pt. 1—1941.

2 Indian Histrical Quarterly, Calcutta 1942.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MADHVA DVAITA VEDĀNTA

BY

NAGRAJ RAO

Śrīman-madhvamate hariḥ paratarah satyam jagat tattvataḥ
Bhinnā jīvagaṇā hareranucarā nīcoccabhāvam gatāḥ ।
Muktirnaijasukhānubhūtiramalā bhaktiśca tatsādhanam
Hyakṣāditritayam pramāṇamakhilāmnāyaikavedyo hariḥ ॥

—*Vyāsarāja*

The most powerful philosophic attack on the monism of Śaṁkara is from Madhva. Madhva's Dvaita Vedānta is a pluralistic, theistic and realistic system. He derives most of his philosophical doctrines from the triple texts (the Gītā, Vedānta-sūtras and the Upaniṣads). He openly declares in many of his works that he is the chosen prophet of Lord Viṣṇu commissioned to interpret correctly the sacred texts and refute the misinterpretations foisted thereon by other commentators. Tradition holds the view that Madhva is the third incarnation of Vāyu, and that Vāyu appeared as Hanūman and Bhīma in his first two incarnations. Throughout his works Madhva speaks after the manner of a Messiah with a mission.

Like all other traditional ācāryas Madhva has commented on the triple texts. He wrote two commentaries on the Vedānta-sūtras as well as the Gītā. One of the commentaries on the Vedānta-sūtras is in verse i. e. *Anuvyākhyāna.* Besides the commentaries on the triple texts, he has ten small independent tracts (prakaraṇas) explaining the different tenets of his system.[1] Madhva has written a great deal besides these works. He has on the whole thirty-seven works to his credit some of them being devotional hymns. The works include a summary account of the Mahābhārata and a commentary on the Bhāgavata. It is claim-

[1] Dr. R. Nagaraja Sarma's book '*Reign of Realism*' is a running exposition of the ten prakaraṇas of Madhva.

ed that he wrote his bhāṣya after an interview with and at the direction and command of Bādarāyaṇa. Hence it is asserted as authoritative.

The most prominent post–Madhva thinkers are Jayatīrtha, Vyāsarāja and Rāghavendra. Jayatīrtha's contribution to Dvaita is unique. He has commented on all the works of Madhva excepting a few easy works. He is called the *ṭīkācārya* (the commentator) of Dvaita Vedānta. His masterpiece is his *Nyāyasudhā*, a detailed running commentary on Madhva's *Anuvyākhyāna*. It is over six hundred pages in length. It is a mistake to call it a commentary. It is the best work on Madhva's philosophy. There is no aspect of Madhva's doctrine that this classic does not discuss. He renounced the world at a very young age and within a period of thirty years raised Dvaita Vedānta to a level of śāstraic equality with Advaita. As a dialectician, his powers are most astounding " for beauty of language, brilliance of style, keenness of argument, fairness in reasoning, for refreshing boldness, originality of treatment and fineness of critical acumen, he has few equals. " He belongs to the group of great philosophical prose–writers which includes Śaṁkara, Śabara and Vācaspati.

Vyāsarāja was the great logician of Dvaita Vedānta. He fought the scholastic battle with the Advaitin with great vigour. In his famous Nyāyāmṛta he has examined all the possible arguments put forward in favour of Advaita by post–Śaṁkara thinkers, and has refuted them in detail. The whole work teems with logical skill. Besides this he has to his credit the polemical treatise on the dialectics of difference entiled *Bhedojjīvana*. Though he trusted logic as an instrument to demolish rival systems, he did not spare the *Nyāya* school. In his *Tarkatāṇḍava* he has refuted in detail many a doctrine of the Nyāya system. Besides he wrote a brilliant commentary on Madhva's *sūtrabhāṣya*, called Tātparyacandrikā. This commentary covers the first two chapters of the Vedānta–sūtrās.

II

Like all other systems Dvaita Vedānta also has certain epistemological pre–suppositions. Knowledge for Madhva is a relation between a knower and a known object. There is no

cognition of an non-existent thing. His theory of truth is akin to the correspondence theory of the Nyāya school. That Jñāna, which cognises the attributes of an object as it is, is truth. That cognition, which cognises the object other than as it is, is error. Even in error there is a presentative counterpart to it in the external world. The deluded individual mistakes one thing for another. In twilight the shell is mistaken for silver. What is shell is taken as silver. This doctrine of error is called *abhinavā anyathā khyāti* (taking one thing as another). The absolutely non-existent silver is said to be cognised by the deluded individual. The radical realism of Madhva goes to the extent of affirming the existence of the cognition of the absolute non-existence (atyantāsat-pratīti).[1] The Nyāya school held the view that the silver cognised in the shell was present in the shop and was indirectly cognised by the perceiver. But Madhva goes a step further and holds that the absolute non-existence of silver itself is cognised in the shell. It is the rigour of his realism that is responsible for his theory of error. For Madhva the test of truth is the cognition of a thing as it is (yathārtham pramāṇam).[2] He admits three pramāṇas, perception, inference and verbal testimony and subsumes the rest under the three. Perception is held in great regard. It is held to be a *upajīvya pramāṇa* i. e. the support of other pramāṇas. Perception is a primary means of knowledge and the other two, inference and verbal testimony, are based on this. Inference involves the knowledge of *vyāpti* and *vyāpti* being a relation between two invariable things has to be cognised.[3] The relation between word and its sense can only be known after cognising the word. Hence perception is held to be a very important pramāṇa in Dvaita Vedānta.

As for verbal testimony the Vedas (śruti) are held to be impersonal and eternal. Madhva's belief in Vedas is so great that he denies validity even to Lord's words if and when it contradicts the spirit of the Vedas. That is why Madhva rejects the Nyāya argument that the Vedas are written by God. Revelation

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1 See author's article on '*Error, doubt, and dream*', Journal of Oriental research, Vol. XI, parts III and IV.

2 See author's article on '*Pramāṇa in Madhva's epistemology*', Indian Culture—Jan. 1937.

3 See author's article on '*Inference in Dvaita Vedānta*', New Indian Antiquary—Vol. I, No. 8.

is the ultimate source in respect of Brahman. Besides the four Vedas, Madhva accepts the authority of some purāṇas, Pāñcarātra āgamas, Mūla Rāmāyaṇa and the epic Mahābhārata. Madhva says as a rule those texts, that are in accord with the prime purport of the Vedas, are valid and those, that are opposed to it, are invalid.

Madhva adopts the six strict traditional marks of interpretation and derives the doctrines of his system from the Vedas. He leaves out no portion of the Veda as non-authoritative. He takes the entire Veda as implying a single system of thought. The central purport of the scripture is that Viṣṇu i. e. Nārāyaṇa is the supreme Lord of the Universe. He is not an attributeless and homogeneous stuff of consciousness. He is the abode of infinite auspicious attributes. He is a *divya maṅgala vigraha* (the most auspicious form). He is the supreme entity and has none above him. He is the sustainer, destroyer, and creator of this universe. There is nothing beyond this saguṇa Brahman. The nirguṇa Brahman of Advaita is nothing more than a void. Those scriptural texts, which speak of the Brahman as incomprehensible, are to be understood to mean as referring to the inexhaustible glory of the Lord, and not his unknowability. When the Lord is referred to as being devoid of attributes, it means that he is devoid of inauspicious (or prākṛta) guṇas. He is the very embodiment of bliss and jñāna.

Next to him in rank is Lakṣmī. She is also classified under the head of the dependents, but she has no taint and no birth like other souls. She is also all-pervasive as the Lord. Next to her in rank is Vāyu whose third incarnation is Madhva. Vāyu is the mediator between the Lord and other souls. All the souls are to reach the Lord only through the worship and mediation of Vāyu. The Lord says, ' I take nothing that is not offered through Vāyu '. After Vāyu the rest of the gods and their wives are arranged in an hierarchy. This is technically called the *tāra-tamya-krama*. We are exhorted to worship the Lord not merely as superior to us, but as the ruler of all the gods. The other gods are to be worshipped according to their ranks as the retinue of the Lord. Worship of a superior deity as an inferior one is said to be frought with danger.

The existence of the Lord is established through the help of

the authority of the scriptures. The scriptures refer to him as the creator, sustainer etc., of the universe. Hence the universe is held to be real. The universe of souls and matter (jaḍa-jīva-prapañca) are as real as Brahman. If it is contended that the whole universe is unreal, the creator of such a universe would be no master-mind, but would be a mere juggler. The unreality of the universe militates against the omnipotence of the Lord. So Madhva is keen on establishing the reality of the universe. It is his infinite faith in an all-powerful Lord that makes him undertake the dialectical warfare against the Advaitin's doctrine of *māyā.*

He examines in great detail the position of Advaita and points out that the doctrine of adhyāsa (super-imposition) is not demonstrable in terms of any pramāṇa. Madhva holds that there is no authority whatsoever for the establishment of the doctrine of the illusoriness of the universe. He holds that what the pramāṇas cannot guarantee is not true.

As against the contention that Advaita ascribed a relative type of reality to the universe, Madhva argues that such an ascription assumes what it has not proved. The argument would hold water, after the establishment of the two degrees of reality by the Advaitin and not prior to it. On such grounds, Madhva establishes the ultimate reality of the universe of souls and matter.

III

Once this is granted, we are led to the famous doctrine of 'difference' in Dvaita Vedānta. The things of the world are said to be entirely different from one another; not only are the things of the world different but their attributes too. Difference is foundational to reality. If the ultimate reality of the category of difference is proved, the pluralistic realism of Madhva is automatically established. A scheme of *five-fold difference* is set forth by Madhva. They are (1) The difference between jīva and Īśvara, (2) between jīva and jīva, (3) jaḍa (matter) and jaḍa, (4) jaḍa and jīva and (5) Īśvara and jaḍa. Most of the post-Madhva philosophers have attempted to prove the ultimate reality of the category of difference through the

dialectical method with the help of inferences. According to Madhva difference is of the very nature of the thing (svarūpa).

The individual souls are held as being eternally different and dependent on the Lord. Identity of the individual soul with Brahman is not the purport of the Vedas as Advaita holds. The souls are all dependent on the Lord for their salvation. Salvation means the removal from the soul of the sheath of ignorance which covers it. Besides this cover there is another cover, which hides the soul from the perception of the Lord. The grace of the Lord dawns on the spiritual aspirant and at the moment the two covers are removed and the soul comes to have a perception of its real *svarūpa*. The realisation of one's own *svarūpa* is called liberation (mokṣa).

Salvation or mokṣa is not for one and all. Madhva does not believe in the Advaita doctrine of *sarvamukti* (universal salvation). Many are called, but few are chosen. Those whom it pleases the Lord to save are saved. We are not saved only because we have merits. Salvation involves two factors, the grace of the Lord and the merit of the soul. On the part of the soul he has to strive hard and achieve the jñāna that Lord Viṣṇu is the supreme god and that salvation lies through the path which Madhva has indicated. Performance of scripture-ordained duties and intense devotion to the Lord are prescribed. But this devotion is not emotional *bhakti*. It is the result of detachment to the things of the world and attachment to god. Bhakti is defined as that kind of attachment to the Lord based on a complete understanding of the Lord, which transcends the love of one's own self and possessions and which remains unshaken in death and in difficulty. [1]

Such a devotion is not born out of ignorance. It is born through detachment and jñāna.

The practice of bhakti saves only a few select individuals. All the human souls of the world are broadly divided under three heads (a) *Mukti-yogya*, (b) *Nitya-saṁsārin* and (c) *Tamo-yogya*. The classification of the souls is based on the intrinsic nature of the souls. The sāttvika souls are of good nature and they are destined to attain mokṣa i. e., the feet of the Lord. They have true knowledge of the nature of the Lord and reach him

[1] See Jayatīrtha's *Nyāya sudhā*.

through their bhakti. The Nityasaṁsārins are of mixed nature, and they dangle between heaven and earth. To them there is no permanent place of stay. According to one section there is a place reserved for them too where they have a sort of experience which is a mixture of pain and pleasure. Others hold that there is no such place. The Tamoyogyas are destined to eternal damnation. Their future is in a hell called *Andhatamas*, from which there is no return for them.

Madhva holds the dogmatic view that the Tamoyogya souls are never saved at all. The intrinsic nature of the souls are unalterable. Moral effort and education can never alter the svarūpa of the soul. The Tamoyogya can never be changed into a sāttvika jīva. This doctrine is not calculated to egg on individuals to moral enterprise. Madhva sets a limit to the abilities of the soul. But it must be borne in mind that the svarūpa of the soul is not known till the time of release. It is in order to make each soul perceive its nature that the Lord is said to bring the souls into life. God helps each soul to work according to its svarūpa.

Even in mokṣa the individual souls that are released are not all identical in respect of the enjoyment of their bliss. They are all free from sorrow and births.

The contention of the Dvaitin against the Advaitin can be set forth thus: (a) The Advaitin's Brahman is non-different from the *śūnya* of the Buddhist, (b) the world of matter and souls is ultimately real, (c) the individual soul is absolutely and eternally different from and dependent on Brahman, (d) the Brahman of the śrutis is not attributeless (nirguṇa) but is the abode of the auspicious attributes, and (e) the import of śruti is not in tune with Advaita.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE LOKĀYATAS

BY

B. A. SALETORE

In the vast field of Indian philosophy and culture, the Lokāyatas occupy a prominent place. Two divergent views have been advocated concerning them. According to Macdonell and others, they were atheists given to sensuality, materialistic in outlook, outside the pale of Hinduism, and on the whole, a sort of a secret society of nihilists.[1] Macdonell maintains that they may "have had many secret followers in India down to the present day," and that Bṛhaspati was the "mythical founder of their school."[2] As opposed to this view is that of Benoy Kumr Sarkar, who would classify the Lokāyatas not among atheists but among philosophical materialists.[3]

The latter view seems more probable than the former, although it has to be admitted that the Lokāyatas have always had a very strong touch of atheism about them. Atheism may be traced to the Vedic times.[4] Macdonell opines that unbelief in the Vedas was common to the Dasyus.[5] It is not unlikely that this unbelief may have been in turn responsible for the questioning spirit of the later times, especially when a large body of the non-Aryans became aryanised in thought and culture. The age of the Upaniṣads is characterised by a sense of enquiry centring round the divine principle. This spirit of enquiry was not atheism itself,[6] although it certainly served as a source of

[1] Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 405–407.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 406. Cf. Amulyacaran Sen, *Schools and Sects in Jaina literature*, pp. 22–23. (Calcutta, 1931).

[3] B. K. Sarkar, *Creative India*, pp. 55–60. (Lahore, 1937).

[4] "They ask, Where is He? Or verily they say of him, He is not." Ṛgveda, II, 12, 5. (Trans. Griffith). Cf. Weber, *A Literary History of India*, p. 128.

[5] Macdonell, *Ibid*, p. 153.

[6] As Dr. H. C. Ray, maintains in the *Indian Culture*, VI. No. 2, p. 243. Why the authors of Upaniṣads give the impression of being atheistic in

(*continued on the next page*)

pessimism for later Indian philosophers.[1] This is sepcially noticeable when we come to the later Upaniṣads, the most prominent of which *Maitrāyaṇīya* (otherwise called *Maitrāyaṇa*) *Upaniṣad* contains references to anti-Vedic heretical schools.[2] But the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad*, which belongs to the school of the Black Yajur Veda, seems to have been composed in an age which was nearer to the classical Sanskrit literature than to the Vedas, and was decidedly a post-Buddhist work.[3]

The sixth century B. C. which produced the great teachers Buddha and Mahāvīra, was essentially an era of spiritual speculation, doubt, and controversy.[4] Since the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* contains distinct allusions to the Buddhists as heretics,[5] and since it is silent as regards the Lokāyatas as a powerful group of pessimistic thinkers, it may not be too much to presume

(*continued from the previous page*)

nature is due, perhaps, to the fact that the Upaniṣads embody the teachings of various authors of different periods. *Winternitz, History of Sanskrit Literature*, I, pp. 245–246. This was also the opinion of the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 1. (Strassburg, 1913).

1 *Winternitz, ibid*, I. p. 264. Dr. H. C. Ray maintains that atheism appears for the first time in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, III, 17, 4. *Ind. Cult.*, *op. cit.* But, as already pointed out by Winternitz, there is merely the differentiation between the true and the false *Ātman* mentioned in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VII. 7, 12, and *passim*. In that *Upaniṣad* as well as in the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*, IV, and in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, II, i, the philosophers "endeavoured to fathom the divine principle." Winternitz, *ibid*, I, pp. 245, 252–255.

2 Macdonell, *ibid*, p. 230.

3 *Winternitz, op. cit.*, p. 264.

4 In a later Jaina work styled *Nandisūtra*, 9, 10, 22, Mahāvīra is praised as the moon who always vanquished the Rāhu of *Akriya-vāda* and as the destroyer of the lustre of other schools. According to Dr. R. S. Shama Sastry, the *Nandisūtra* was "composed somewhere about the first century A.D." (*Mysore Archaeological Report for 1927*, p. 27). It is doubtful whether Devardhigaṇi *alias* Devavācaka, the author of *Nandisūtra*, can be placed in the first century A. D. Could not the school of *Akriyavāda* mentioned in that work be the Jaina heretical schools themselves which seem to have sprung up in great numbers even in Mahāvīra's time? Read Sen, *op. cit.*, *passim*, for quite a number of such schools.

5 Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 264, and note (1).

either that Cārvāka, the famous champion of the Lokāyata school is to be placed immediately after the age to which the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* is to be ascribed, or that he had just emerged into the limelight in the sixth century B. C. itself. In any case, there is little ground to assert that the Lokāyatas were earlier than the sixth century B. C.

When we come to the age of Kauṭilya, however, we find that they had already acquired sufficient celebrity. For he refers to them and to the school of the famous Bṛhaspati seven times in the course of his *Arthaśāstra.*[1] That is to say, by the fourth century B. C. to which age we have to ascribe the *Arthaśāstra,*[2] the school of Bṛhaspati was an acknowledged school of Hindu political thought.[3] We may, therefore, assume that the devolpment of the Lokāyata school took place after the sixth century B. C. and before the fourth century B. C.

For an account of the doctrines of the Lokāyatas we cannot look to Bṛhaspati's *nītisāra* for guidance, since of his manual on polity only an incomplete account has been fouud.[4] Modern scholars, therefore, cite the famous Mādhavācārya Vidyāraṇya's *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* (SDS)[5] as the only source of information

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[1] Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 5, 28. 62, 201, 217, 403. (Shama Shastry's ed. Mysore, 1929, 3rd ed.).

[2] Winternitz's date third or fourth century A. D. for the *Arthaśāstra*, (Winternitz, *ibid*, p. 519, n. 3.) is inadmissible. I intend to discuss this point in a subsequent paper.

[3] We have, therefore, to modify Dr. Benoy Kumar's statement that the mediaeval Sukra authors were the earliest to give a place of honour to the Lokāyata school. *Creative India*, pp. 55, 56. Likewise we have to dispense with the assertion of Macdonell that Bṛhaspati was the mythical founder of the Lokāyata School, and that there was "a touch of irony in that name." Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

[4] Edited and translated by Dr. F. W. Thomas and Pandit B. Dutt, *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra*. Panjab Oriental Series, no. 1, That there must have been a complete *nītisāra* of Bṛhaspati is evident, as has been pointed out by Winternitz, (*op. cit.*, I, p. 425), from the didactic passages in the *Mahābhārata* (Books III, V, VI, XI, and XIV). Winternitz would place the law-books of Bṛhaspati "Centuries later than the Gautama Dharmaśāstras." *Ibid*, p. 519, n. (1).

[5] Edited by Pandit T. Tarkavācaspati (Calcutta, 1872), and translated by Cowell and Gough, London, 1894. (2nd ed.). According to Sarkar, the Italian scholar Pizaggalli traces the word *nāstika* to the *Maitr. Up. Creative India*, p. 56.

pertaining to the doctrines of the Lokāyata school. Sarkar has attempted to connect the Bṛhaspati school with the Vidyāraṇya philosophy. But two points which still remain to be answered are the following :— (a) Why does Madhvācārya mention in such detail the Lokāyata school, and (b) Whether he wrote about an imaginary school of materialists.

The historical notices of the Lokāyatas, which we are going to enumerate presently, will help us to answer these two queries. The remarks made herein are based on literary notices and the evidence of contemporary epigraphs. From both the sources we learn that the Lokāyatas were more common in western India, especially in the region of Karnāṭaka proper, than elsewhere; that they possessed five well-known centres in Karnāṭaka from where they radiated their influence; and that they were very vigorous from the tenth till the fifteenth century A. D.

In other parts of southern India, as, for instance, in the Tamil land, the Lokāyatas were practically unknown.[1] But in Karnāṭaka they had five centres of learning. These were Guṇḍeri Begūru, Balligāmve, Somanāthapura, and Nāgarakhaṇḍa. Epigraphs discovered in these five places give us quite a number of interesting details about the Lokāyatas. In addition to these direct references to the Lokāyatas, we learn many details about their activities from the epigraphs of other centres, which deal with the Jains and the Hindus, some of whose great teachers are described as scoring victories over the champions of the *Lokā-yata-mata.*

Of the five famous centres of learning which are associated with the Lokāyatas, the earliest is Guṇḍeri, Hoḷalkere tāluka, Chitaldroog district, Mysore State. A stone inscription found midway between the village of Guṇḍeri and that of Maḷēnahalli, and dated A. D. 968, relates the following interesting information: —That the suzerain was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Akāla-varṣa, Kannaradeva (Kṛṣṇa III), under whom the *Mahāsāmanta* Śūdrakayya was governing the Kadambaḷige Thousand Province. This viceroy on the specified date made grants of land (given in

[1] Read C. V. Narayana Ayyar, *Śaivism in South India*, p. 215. While other heretics are met with in classical Tamil Literature, the Lokāyatas do not figure at all in the works of the Śaṅgham age.

detail) in the Lokāyata city of Guṇḍeri within the limits of Kuravāḍi 300, and of lands in other places, to the priest named Divya-liṅgi-bhaḷāra (*bhaṭṭāraka*) after rubbing and washing the latter's feet. That the Lokāyata city of Guṇḍeri (*Lokāyata-voḷalam-Guṇḍeriyoḷ*) was a Hindu city is proved from the statements made in the same epigraph. We are told that the gift was made by Śūdrakayya for the god Siḍilēśvara of the temple of that name in Guṇḍeri itself. This temple had been constructed by one Siḍilanka Kāma. The grant thus made by the Kadamba viceroy Śūdrakayya was enhanced by a Sinda prince named Kerasinga Nanniya Singa, who granted the *nelavāra-samaya* (a kind of a tax pertaining to land) of Lokāyata-voḷal and of some other specified lands to the same priest of Guṇḍeri by name Divyaliṅgi-bhaḷāra. And so that no one might cause any damage to the gift, the Sinda prince had the following post-script inscribed :—" This *dharma* of the Sindas, whosoever is of the Sinda-vamsa should maintain. " [1]

In the middle of the tenth century A. D. therefore the Lokāyatas could boast of a city which was all their own-a city of which the patrons were the Kadamba viceroy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch and the prince of the Sinda royal house. The fact that some of the most important citizens like Kākambāla Kambayya, the *Prabhus* (lords) of the (Kadambaḷige) Thousand Province, and the representatives of the fifty-eight *agrahāras* (Brahman endowment-villages) were witnesses to the grant thus made by the provincial governor Śūdrakayya, prove beyond doubt that the Lokāyata city of Guṇḍeri was of great consequence in the middle of the tenth century A. D. Further, the fact of the grant having been made to the god Siḍileśvara (now called Īśvara) of the same city shows that the Lokāyatas, far from being considered as a sect outside the orthodox Hindu circles, were definitely within the Hindu fold.

The next prominent centre of the Lokāyatas war Begūru, Shikarpura taluka, Shimoga district, Mysore State. This was essentially a Brahman centre (*agrahāra*). In the last quarter of the eleventh century A. D. it was noted for its liberal outlook. Two stone inscriptions found near the Mallikārjuna temple of

[1] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, XI, Hl. 23, p.

Begūru itself, are of peculiar interest in this connection. The earlier of them is dated A. D. 1085. It relates that in the reign of the Western Cālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Deva (*i. e.* the great Vikramāṅka or Vikramāditya), there lived the Brahman named Appaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the son of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, and the grandson of Soviyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. He was the manager of the Brahman village of Koḷḷagara. In that year (A. D. 1085) he presented the Brahmans of Begūru with fifty *matta* of land in a specified area. The recipients of this gift were altogether 3,000 in number. They are highly praised in the record for their austerities, and among the many qualifications which marked them was the following -they were "established in the practices of the Māheśvaras, Vaiṣṇavas and other creeds; acquainted with the tenets of the Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Lokāyata, Sāṁkhya, Bauddha, Mīmāṁsā, and other systems of logic," and worshippers of the god Mallikārjuna.[1]

Four years later (A. D. 1089), in the reign of the same distinguished Western Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya, another citizen named Caṭṭagosi, the son of Kāḷa Cāmuṇḍa of Amba, made another gift of twenty-five *kamma* of land in a specified area, also to the same learned company of Brahmans numbering altogether three thousand. And once again they are praised as having been "skilled in the Mīmāṁsā, Lokāyata, Bauddha, Sāṁkhya, Vaiśeṣika, and other śāstras."[2] Evidently in the eleventh century A. D. the Brahmans of Begūru, and along with them, we may suppose, the rest of the Hindu world, did not think it un-Hindu like to study the Lokāyata doctrines in the orthodox circles of their famous *agrahāras*.

We pass on now to the third centre-Baḷḷigāmve, also in the same Shikarpura taluka of the Mysore State. Baḷḷigāmve (mod. Balgami) was a celebrated Brahman centre, with a great tradition of learning behind it. There were five well known *maṭhas* in that city. We are however concerned only with one of these that belonging to the *Saktipariṣe* in the *Mūvara-koṇeya-saṁtati*, a Lākulīśa *maṭha*. Someśvara Paṇḍita was the *guru* of that *maṭha*

[1] *Ep. Car.*, VII. Sk. 16, p. 42.

[2] *Ibid*, Sk. 14, p. 41.

in A. D. 1103. The inscription dated in that year relates the following :--That he was the *caitra* (or spring ; season to the mango tree Akalaṅka, a moon to the ocean Lokāyata, a regent, elephant to the earth Sāṁkhya, a pearl ornament for the conch-like neck of the lady Mīmāṁsā, a son to the lotus Sugata-such was the fame won by the logician Someśvara-sūri, the leader of the Naiyāyikas. [1]

The Lokāyatas continued to be powerful in the thirteenth century A. D. Their centre now was on the banks of the Kāverī itself. This was " the mine of learning " Somanāthapura called in the inscription dated A. D. 1268 Somanāthanagarī, which " shone as an ornament in the world. " The foundation of this *agrahāra* is attributed in the same record to General Somanātha. Its praise is thus sung in the same record :-- " Even the parrots there being in some places filled with *nyāya* and nourished upon *mīmāṁsā*, in some places assembled together arguing in the severest terms of logic, in some places discussing grammar, sacrifices and logic. "

In this learned city lived the councillor to General Somanātha, by name Gaṅgādhararyya, " an abode of splendour. " He is priased in these terms-" A sun to the darkness the prevailing Cārvāka and Bauddha doctrines, in logic an independent authority, an embodiment of Agastya in ability to swallow up the shining Jaina ocean. " [2]

To the list of the four famous centres of the Lokāyatas mentioned above must be added another well-known name that of Nāgarakhaṇḍa in the Shimoga district of the Mysore State. The best known city in Nāgarakhaṇḍa was Bhāraṅgi, where lived in A. D. 1415 the learned Jaina teacher Abhaya Siddhāntadeva, " fully versed in *siddhānta*. " The inscription dated in that year relates that " his mind was bent on shutting up the Bauddha speakers. " His senior disciple was Bullappa Gauḍa, about whom the same epigraph relates the following :-Having overcome the Sāṁkhyas, Yaugas, Cārvākas, Bauddhas, Bhāṭṭas, and Prābhākaras, who other speakers can withstand him ? " This

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[1] *Ibid*, Sk. 98, p. 64.

[2] *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 36, p, 45.

learned *bhavya* or Jaina, we may note in passing, died in A. D. 1465, according to the orthodox Jaina method of *samādhi.* [1]

From the above inscriptions it is clear that during the five centuries ranging from the tenth to the fifteenth century A. D. the influence of the Lokāyatas was widespread and continuous, especially because they could boast of five centres which cherished the study of the doctrines of Bṛhaspati. We have now to prove our assertion that the Lokāyatas were, indeed, powerful by citing references to them in the records of disputants who belonged to the rival Hindu or Jaina faiths. These epigraphs range from the middle of the tenth century A. D. to the days of the great Vidyāraṇya Mādhavācārya himself.

In the middle of the tenth century A. D. we have a renowned Jaina disputant named Vādighaṅgala Bhaṭṭa whose achievements I have already enumerated elsewhere. He is said to have been a great logician, having mastered the three schools of logic and the Lokāyata, Sāṁkhya, and the Bauddha systems of philosophy. Since the epigraph which is dated A. D. 974, relates that he was the *guru* of the Gaṅga king Marasiṁha, who reigned from A. D. 961 till A. D. 974, we have to assign the Jaina teacher Vādighaṅgaḷa Bhaṭṭa also to the same period. [2]

In the first quarter of the eleventh century A. D. another celebrated teacher but of the Lakuḷīśa order, by name Vādi Rudragaṇa, is described thus in a record dated A. D. 1036. " A saw for cutting down the Lokāyata great tree. " That this praise which was bestowed upon Vādi Rudragaṇa Paṇḍita was well deserved is further proved in another stone inscription dated A. D. 1042, which relates that this head of the Parvatāvaḷi Kāḷāmukha ascetics was " in the Kaṇāda, Kaṇabhuk ; in the Bṛhaspati creed, Vācaspati ; in the Kapila doctrine, Kapila himself ; in the Sugata *śāstra*, the *guru* of the Sugatas ; in the knowledge of the Mīmāṁsā, Jaimini-muni ; in Nyāya, Akṣapāda ; in the brilliant groups of grammar, a manifest Īśvara ; in Śaiva śāstra, present Śiva, " etc. [3]

It was not only teachers of particular creeds who are thus

1 *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 329, 330, pp. 58–59.

2 Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, pp. 26–28.

3 *Ep. Carn.*, VIII. Sa. 108 (bis), p. 113.

described as having been proficient in the doctrines of the Lokāyatas; we have evidence of secular rulers as well, who were well versed in the teachings of Bṛhaspati. An example of such a ruler is that of the Pāṇḍya prince Vīra Pāṇḍya about whom in a record dated A. D. 1148 we have the following--That he was possessed of many titles one of which was thus--*Lokāyata-mata-vicāra-catura-devatācārya.* We may note by the way that this scion of the Ucchani Pāṇḍya royal house was well known both for his military prowess and his liberality, [1]

The distinction of meeting the Lokāyatas in disputation, however, seems to have been more the privilege of the Jaina teachers than of the rest of the teachers and princes of the land. It is because of this that we find quite a number of Jaina sages still proficient in the Lokāyata doctrines and still determined at confuting the Cārvākas. Thus the great Jaina teacher Gopanandi is reputed to have overcome the Cārvākas in a record dated A. D. 1094. [2] Guru Gopanandi was like an infuriated elephant to the Sāṁkhya, Bhautika, Bauddha, Vaiṣṇava, and Cārvāka professors. Indeed, this remarkable Jaina teacher's success as a disputant seems to have become very popular. It is probably this which made the scribe of the record dated A. D. 1100 sing his praise in the following interesting manner.

" This lord of ascetics, Gopanandi, attained celebrity being priased by the people with joy as a bee at the lotus feet of Jina, as the destroyer of the pride of Cupid, as the eradicator of *karma*, as dear to the heart of Sarasvatī, as a thunderbolt to the mountain, the crowd of disputants, as a beautiful receptacle of (the praise of) learned men, as the celestial gem to the blessed, as proficient in all sciences, and as a Brahmā in poetry. O Sāṁkhya, do not oppose, but be silent ; O Bhautika, do not become inflated with pride ; O wise Bauddha, do not show your head, be off, be off; O Vaiṣṇava, coneal yourself, conceal yourself; O sweet-tongued Cārvāka, give up the pride of the power of your speech ; will the intoxicated elephant Gopanandi, the chief of sages, tolerate your arrogance ? Ah ! the scent-elephant Gopanandi, res-

1 *Ibid*, XI, Dg. 41, text, p. 119.

2 Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

plendent like the elephants of the regions, chased away (opponents) in the paths of the six schools of logic, so that Jaimini was stunned, the Vaiśeṣika tripped and fled, Sugata stopped and stamped the seal, Akṣapāda eagerly put on the bangles, the Lokāyata lost his pride, and the Sāṁkhya took refuge." [1]

Another Jaina *guru* who won victories over the Cārvākas was Guṇacandradeva, whose exploits are thus sung in a record dated A. D. 1115 :—" Give up your titles, Oh Sāṁkhya ; trust not in your power of speech, crouch down and be quiet, Chārbbāka (Cārvāka); Naiyāyika, raise not your head, keep low ; lo! here he comes and will simply disgrace you–Guṇacandradeva, without fault, a lion to the elephants opponent speakers. " [2]

It was, indeed, an age of great Jaina *gurus*. Soon after came another remarkable Jaina sage Gaṇḍavimuktasiddhānta-deva. As a record dated A. D. 1129 says, " the world renowned Gaṇḍavimukta Siddhāntadeva " was a " sun who was an enemy of the darkness, ignorance ; an enemy to the waterlilies, the Śākyas (or Bauddhas); the cause of destruction of the moonlight, ihe Cārvākas, " etc. [3]

An equally powerful opponent of the Cārvākas was the Jaina *guru* Divākaranandi, who as we are told in a record dated A. D. 1163, was " a submarine fire to the ocean the maintainers of the Cārvāka system. " [4]

About the same time in A. D. 1167–8 there was in northern India a Brahman named Somarāja, who was " an eye of the teaching of Akṣapāda and the Cārvākaviśālamalana. " This was during the reign of the Haihaya king Jājalladeva II of the United and Central Provinces. [5]

But the Lokāyatas were more common in southern India, where the Jaina teachers were still engaged in defeating them. Thus in A. D. 1176 " the celebrated Dāmanandi Traividya Muniśvara, " was well-versed in logic, grammar, philosophy, literature, and other sciences. The same record describes him thus.–

1 *Ep. Car.*, II. p. 34.
2 *Ibid*, VII. Sh. 57, p. 22.
3 *Ibid*, VI. Mg. 22, p. 63.
4 *Ibid*, II. no. 63, p. 15.
5 H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, I. p. 812, n. (2).

" A sun to the lotus-plant the Jaina religion ; a gale to the cloud the Naiyāyikas; a terrible thunderbolt to the mountain the Cārvākas ; an Agastya to the ocean the Bauddhas ; a lion in breaking open the head of the scent-elephant the Mīmāṁsakas." [1]

In A. D. 1200 the Jaina teacher Śrīddharadeva Traividya-cakreśvara is praised thus in a record of that date : That he was an elephant to the lotuses that were Mīṁāśākas ; a lion to the elephants that were the Cārvāka disputants ; a Garuḍa to to serpents that were Sāṁkhyas, and a stormy wind to the clouds that were the learned Bauddhas. " [2]

A formidable opponent to the Cārvākas in the last quarter of the fourteenth century appeared in the person of the Jaina *guru* Cārukīrti Paṇḍita. A record dated A. D. 1398 informs us that when Cārukīrti Paṇḍita started on his disputations, his rivals fled. " O Cārvāka, forsake your pride ; O Sāṁkhya, give up the row of your titles before hand ; O Bhāṭṭa, you are beaten by (his) innumerable brilliant resources ; O Kaṇāda, abandon speedily and for ever your high conceit ; the cause of your grief ; for the renowned Siṁhaṇārya (*i. e.* Cārukīrti Paṇḍita) comes striking down other disputants. " [3]

The above examples refer mostly to Jaina sages from the tenth century A. D. to the end of the fourteenth century A. D. We have yet to explain how the Lokāyatas came to be associated with the Advaita philosophers of the pontificate of which Vidyāraṇya Mādhavācārya was the head. That is to say, we have to explain why and how this great Advaita teacher came to write a detailed account of the Lokāyatas in his SDS. Śṛṅgerī, the famous seat of Śaṁkarācārya, was fortunate in having over it three remarkable teachers in quick succession. These were Vidyātīrtha, Bhāratītīrtha, and Vidyāraṇya Mādhavācārya. Of the second Bhāratītīrtha, whom Dr. M.H. Krishna makes the younger brother of Vidyāraṇya before taking *saṁnyāsa*, [4] we have the following praise in a *kadita* dated A. D. 1381 :—" Worship the

[1] *Ep. Car.*, II, no. 66, p. 23.

[2] K. G. Kundangar, *Inscriptions in Northern Karnataka and the Kolhapur State*, p. 166.

[3] *Ep. Car.*, II, no. 254, p. 114.

[4] *Mysore Archaeological Report for 1933*, p. 228. Of course this is based upon the work called *Guruvaṁśakāvya.*

great asectic named Bhāratītīrtha, who breaks the doctrine of Bhāṭṭa (Kumārila) who makes the logicians (followers of the Tarka school) skilled in eloquent discourses faint, who tosses up the Bauddhas, who reduces to power in no time the teachings of the Kṣapaṇakas (*i. e.* the Jainas), who demolishes in assemblies the powerful doctrines of Guru (*i. e.* of the Prabhākara school), who cuts short the Cārvākas, and who establishes the Advaita school. " [1]

The above helps us to explain why Vidyāraṇya came to notice the Lokāyata doctrines in such detail in his SDS. I have already shown elsewhere that Vidyātīrtha Śrīpāda was the head of Śṛṅgerī *maṭha* till June the 14th 1375, and that Vidyāraṇya Mādhvācārya came to Śṛṅgerī only in October 1375 as the head of that pointificate. [2] For about five months Bhāratītīrtha seems to have been the *guru* of the Sṛṅgerī *maṭha*. It was from him that Vidyāraṇya must have learned a great deal about the Lokāyatas, who, as is amply proved from the many details we have cited above, were native to the soil of Karnāṭaka for more than five centuries. Their continual and powerful influence had given them an assured place among the philosophers of the land ; and Vidyāraṇya seems merely to have reflected the esteem in which the Lokāyatas at least in Karnāṭaka were held, when he opened his work styled SDS with a chapter on their doctrines. It seems certain that, far from being a secret society of profane thinkers, the Lokāyatas were a most vigorous body of philosophers, whose presence was acknowledged with respect both by the Hindus and the Jainas for more than five centuries.

1 *Ibid*, p. 219. See also *MAR for 1916*, p. 56

2 Saletoro, *Journal of the Andhra Historical Society*, IX, Part 4, pp. 41-42.

THE SŪTRAS OF BĀDARĀYAṆA

BY

B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma

The Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa are the earliest aphoristic manual of a ' system ' of Vedānta, that has come down to us. Internal evidence shows that there had been other attempts to reduce the conflicting speculative utterances of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads to some order and evolve a single system of thought out of them. Jaimini, Bādari, Āśmarathya, etc., are some of the names which occur in the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa; but we cannot say if any or all of them had traversed the entire field of metaphysical system-building or had contented themselves merely with partial aspects thereof. The work of Bādarāyaṇa seems, however, to have eclipsed others of its kind.

As a full-fledged Darśana, this work has its two sides of constructive exposition (स्वपक्षस्थापन) and dialectical refutation of those systems (परपक्षनिराकृति) whose tenets are likely to challenge its exclusive claims to metaphysical satisfyingness.

ii

The date of the Vedānta Sūtras is uncertain. The problem of successive interpolations into the original nucleus of the Sūtras, raised by some scholars, would complicate matters still further. In their present form the Sūtras are clearly post-Buddhistic, [1] and seem to be acquainted with a number of orthodox and heretical schools. [2] That they were cast in the mould of Brahmanical orthodoxy is clear from the ban on the study of the Vedas by the Śūdras [3] and their attitude of quiet approval to Vedic sacrifices, [4] which deserve to be contrasted with the Buddhist and Sāṁkhya [5] aversion to the same. They may ten-

[1] ii, 2, 26–32.

[2] ii, 2.

[3] i, 3, 36–38.

[4] iii. 1, 27.

[5] दृष्टवदानुश्रविकः सह्यविशुद्धिक्षयातिशययुक्तः ॥ (Sāṁkhya Kārikā, 2).

tatively be assigned to the first two centuries of the Christian era.

iii

Despite their annoying brevity the Sūtras disclose a firm theistic background not only in their scheme of contents but in their wording and drift of argument. They are arranged into four chapters, Samanvaya, Avirodha, Sādhana and Phala, of four quarters (pāda) each. The first chapter opens by enjoining a metaphysical quest of Brahman (for the attainment of Mokṣa). The second sūtra defines Brahman as the Being from whom the creation, preservation and dissolution of the Universe proceed. The third shows a partiality for revealed religion when it affirms that God can be known only through Scripture. The objection that Scripture speaks not only of the Brahman but of several other principles as well, such as Pradhāna, Ākāśa, Vaiśvānara, as responsible for world-creation is set aside by the fourth sūtra which provides for the attunement of such opposing texts in Brahman by means of an elaborate process of textual synthesis called Samanvaya in the course of practically the rest of the first chapter, which therefore takes the name of Samanvayādhyāya. The second chapter meets objections brought against the thesis of God's authorship of the Universe and refutes a good many anti-theistic theories in an indirect attempt at strengthening the central position of the Sūtrakāra. It also gives an account of the nature of the world's dependence on God. From ii, 3, 35 onwards there are interesting discussions about the nature of the soul, its attributes, and its relation to God. The third chapter expounds the ways and means (sādhana) of realisation. The last deals with the fruits of Brahma-jijñāsā, gives an elaborate account of the two ways of exit, the Devayāna and the Pitṛyāna, the intricacies of the theological problem of Laya (Absorption), the benefits of lordliness accruing to the released, and the scope and extent of such sovereignty.

In all this there is hardly any room for a Monistic philosophy. The second sūtra defines the Brahman as the author of the Universe, not surely an unreal one. Dialectical quibblings apart, the thesis of Brahman's knowability through scripture alone (i, 1, 3) is opposed to the Advaitic theory of the self-luminosity of Bra-

hman (same as unknowability) which is defined as "अवेद्यत्वे सति अपरोक्षव्यवहार योग्यत्वम्" (Citsukha, *Tattvapradīpikā*, Bombay, 1915, p. 9). The arduous task of "Samanvaya" can hardly have a meaning if the Brahman were really and absolutely beyond the pale of words (avācya).

The kind of Samanvaya projected and carried out by the Sūtrakāra in annexing the numerous texts that associate other agencies like Vaiśvānara, Ākāśa......to the sphere of the Brahman, to the exclusion of the other principles, is a clear proof that he cannot at all be supporting a ब्रह्मपरिणामवाद. If the Universe with everything in it were the modification of Brahman, there is no point in the restriction of texts to Brahman and the elimination of Vaiśvānara, Ākāśa etc. from the sphere of inquiry.

iv

The Sūtrakāra takes great pains to refute Buddhistic Idealism which regards the world as a mental projection and the Śūnyavāda which looks upon it as a void, thus affirming an intensely realistic attitude.[1] Under the sūtra: वैधर्म्याच्च न स्वप्नादिवत् (ii, 2, 29), even a confirmed Monist like Śaṁkara, is forced to forget his own mental reservations and observe that the "objects of the waking state are *not* similarly stultified *at any stage.*"[2]

v

The Sūtrakāra is of opinion that man is a real and free agent though not altogether an independent one: कर्ता शास्त्रार्थवत्त्वात्; परात्तु तच्छ्रुतेः (ii, 3, 33; 41). The Supreme and the Individual dwell in one and the same body but the former is not subject to the evils and imperfections of life. There lies *His superiority*: संभोगप्राप्ति-

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[1] "The author of the sūtras could not have refuted the Sāṁkhya and discussed the theories of creation so seriously, if he had held that the world was an appearance in which case its creatorship is out of the question." S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, ii, p. 443.

[2] नैवं जागरितोपलब्धं वस्तु कस्यांचिदप्यवस्थायां बाध्यते। In the second volume of his *History of I. Phil.*, Prof. Das Gupta makes clear how on many occasions Śaṁkara "tries to wriggle out of the sūtras by introducing parenthetical remarks which are often inconsistent with the general drift of his own commentary and the context of the sūtras as well as their purpose and meaning so far as it can be made out from such a context". ii. p. 44. See also the same Professor's remarks on pp. 42, 43. op. cit.

रिति चेन्न वैशेष्यात्, (i, 2, 8). He deals out punishments and rewards according to one's deserts (कर्मसापेक्ष) and cannot, therefore, be deemed guilty of partiality or pitilessness, in having ordered the world as we see it (ii, 1, 35). Man's higher nature lies hidden on account of his neglect of God. When he wakes up from this estrangement and turns to God for succour, he is freed : पराभिध्यानात्तु तिरोहितं ततो ह्यस्य बन्धविपर्ययौ (iii, 2, 5).

vi

The majesty of God is unutterable, inconceivable : विवक्षितगुणोपपत्तेश्च ; सर्वधर्मोपपत्तेश्च ; आत्मनि चैवं विचित्राश्च हि ; सुखविशिष्टाभिधानादेव च (i, 2, 2 ; ii, 1, 37 ; ii, 1, 28 ; and i, 2, 15). The attributes of God are *both* negative and positive : अदृश्यत्वादिगुणको धर्मोक्तेः (i, 2, 15). He can be both the subject and object of His own cognition : ईक्षतिकर्मव्यपदेशात् सः । (i, 3, 13). The author of the Sūtras seems inclined to interpret texts which declare the individual to be a "part" (aṁśa) of the Supreme, in a dualistic sense : अंशो नानाव्यपदेशात् (ii, 3, 43), अत एव चोपमा सूर्यकादिवत् (iii, 2, 18). From the wording of the sūtra, 'नाना' appears to be synonymous with 'अंश'. नानाव्यपदेश is the same as नानात्वव्यपदेश which then is equivalent to भेदव्यपदेश—not merely because of the earlier sūtra, भेदव्यपदेशाच्चान्यः, but even as interpreted by Śaṁkara :— कस्मात्पुनः स एव न भवति ? नानाव्यपदेशात् । 'सोऽन्वेष्टव्यः' 'एतमेव विदित्वा मुनिर्भवति,' 'य आत्मनि तिष्ठन्'......इत्येवंजातीयको भेदनिर्देशः नासति भेदे युज्यते ॥ He also seems to think that the individual on release passes on with the best part of his self-hood intact : संपद्याविर्भावः[1] स्वेन शब्दात् (iv, 4, 1). The merger of the human soul in God is not countenanced by him.

vii

The Upaniṣads hold diverse views on the nature of Brahman's causality of the Universe. The author of the Sūtras has therefore been obliged to discuss some of them and pronounce final opinion. He rejects the doctrine of creation from nothing : असद्व्यपदेशान्नेति चेन्न...(ii, 1, 17). The definition of the Brahman in the second sūtra, if it is to rule out the Sāṁkhya Prakṛti,

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[1] Śaṁkara reads : आविर्भावः. The epithet स्वेन रूपेण (*sic* न तु अन्यरूपेण = परमात्मभावादिना) (Chān. 8, 12, 3) " in his own form ", is however significant.

must certainly point to an efficient cause and Intelligent Creator: ईक्षतेर्नाशब्दम् ; गौणश्चेन्नात्मशब्दात् (i, 1, 5-6 as interpreted by Śaṁkara). But it is not so easily apparent if he did also regard the Brahman as the material cause (उपादानकारण) of the world. Some commentators have doubtless found support for this doctrine in the "Prakṛtyadhikaraṇa" i, 4, 24, seq. Yet at least one among the professedly Brahmopādānavādin-commentators, Rāmānuja, has been forced to concede, under this very sūtra, the separate existence of a material principle other than the Brahman which provides the stuff of which the material world is made. The provision for the enjoyment of unalloyed bliss to the released and the denial of right to them to participate in the cosmic functions (jagadvyāpāra) of the Supreme, in the last chapter, make it impossible that the Sūtrakāra could have held the doctrine of Brahmopādānakāraṇatva, in any real sense. The strongest objection to interpreting the "Prakṛtyadhikaraṇa" in terms of the Upādāna (cum *nimitta*) kāraṇatva of the Brahman is that the adhikaraṇa in question occurs within the Samanvayādhyāya, which merely undertakes a Samanvaya or attunement of various names and epithets associated with other principles, in Brahman. The adhikaraṇa cannot therefore be viewed as anything more than an attempt to secure the attunement of such (feminine) names as Prakṛti, Yoni etc., in Brahman. It would thus be illegitimate to stretch the adhikaraṇa beyond its natural scope and purpose, and read the idea of Brahmopādānatva in it.

viii

The nature of ultimate release set forth in the closing section of the Sūtras, also points in the direction of a Theism as the final philosophy of Bādarāyaṇa. The released souls, though in the enjoyment of ineffable bliss (iv, 4, 22), are yet under certain irrevocable limitations as regards their powers and lordliness. For one thing they are emphatically debarred from participating in the cosmic functions of God: जगद्व्यापारवर्जम् (iv, 4, 17). This sūtra speaks for itself. To all attempts at explaining away this sūtra, Thibaut has an effective reply which scarcely admits of improvement: "It is as impossible that the sūtras should open with a definition of the Lower Principle as it is unlikely that they

should close with a description of the state of those who know the Lower Brahman only and are thus debarred from obtaining true release."[1] Theism is thus writ large upon the Sūtras.[2]

We cannot say that there is any overwhelming support in the Sūtras for the identity of the Jīva and Brahman. Apart from the many sūtras which have been interpreted by Śaṁkara himself in a dualistic sense, monistic commentators themselves have openly admitted that the language and thought of the Sūtras are plainly dualistic.[3] Here and there one meets with a suggestion that the utterances of the Sūtrakāra should be taken *cum grano salis* or hears a protest that there need be no doubt of the Sūtrakāra's undying faith in Monism. On their own showing, there are not more than a couple of Sūtras,[4] which can be said to be unquestionably monistic in tenor. These are (1) **आत्मेति तूपगच्छन्ति ग्राहयन्ति च** (iv, 1, 3) and **शास्त्रदृष्ट्या तूपदेशो वामदेववत** (i, 1, 30). The first is ambiguously worded. The term Ātman may no doubt denote the individual soul ; but that it is neither its only sense, nor even its primary one, is admitted by Śaṁkara himself[5] under i, 3, 1. The purport of the sūtra, then, may very

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1 Tr. Śaṁkara's c. on B. S., Introd. p. xcii.

2 "I am myself inclined to believe that the dualistic interpretations were probably more faithful to the sūtras than those of Śaṁkara." Das Gupta, *Hist. Ind. Phil.* i, p. 421.

"There is strong support for the view that Bādarāyaṇa looks upon the difference between the Brahman and the soul as ultimate, something which persists even when the soul is released." S. Radhakrishan, *Ind. Phil.*, ii, p. 440.

3 अत्र सूत्रकृता सत्यभेद उक्त इति भ्रान्तिनिरासाय, ईक्षत्यधिकरणनिरस्तमपि चोद्यमुद्राव्य निरस्यति (*Ratnaprabhā* 1. 2. 6); "भेदेने "तिसूत्रात् तात्त्विकभेद इति भ्रान्तिं निरसितुं शङ्कते- (*op. cit.*, 1. 2. 20); तात्त्विकभेदशङ्कां निरसितुं शङ्कते (*Ānandagiri*, 1. 2. 20).

4 ब्रह्मैवाविद्यया संसरति न ततोऽन्यो जीव इति शारीरकार्थ इति । तर्हि सूत्रकृत् किमिति भेदं ब्रूते ? तत्राह ...... सूत्रेष्वभेदो नोक्त इति भ्रान्तिं निरस्यति—'प्रतिपाद्यं त्वि'ति । (*Ratnaprabhā* on B. S. 1. 1. 30).

ननु **जीवब्रह्मणोरभेदं न क्वापि सूत्रकारो मुखतो वदति** किंतु, सर्वत्र भेदमेव । अतो नैक्यमिष्टम् । तत्राह–'प्रतिपाद्यं तु ' इति । आदिपदेन आत्मेत्यादि संग्रहार्थम् ।। (*Ānandagiri*, i. 3. 19).

5 Cf. also: आत्मत्वं तावन्मुख्यया वृत्त्या परमेश्वर उपपद्यते–स **आत्मा** तत्त्वमसीति ।। (**B. S. B. i, 2. 13**).

well be that the Supreme Being is taught and realised as one's Inner Ruler (आत्मा or अन्तर्यामी). This meaning of "Atman" is assumed in "एष ते आत्मा अन्तर्याम्यमृतः" (Bṛh. Up. iii. 7. 3).

The other sūtra is even more elusively worded. One cannot make much of that sūtra unless one knows what exactly the Śāstra-dṛṣṭi or point of view of the Śāstras is, according to the Sūtrakāra! It is evidently the same as अध्यात्मसंबन्धभूमा (i, 1, 29), on which Indra's claim to be Prāṇa is sought to be justified. But the words संबन्ध, भूमा and अस्मिन् would be superfluous if 'identity' were meant to be conveyed. "Sambandha" is not bound to be, except when so stated, तादात्म्य, (identity). It is moreover "dvi-niṣṭha" and would require at least *two terms* to be related. But in the present case, the conditioned self of Indra *as Indra* would have ceased to *be*, the moment it realised its identity with the All-Soul and could not be putting forth specific claims of identity with X or Z. 'Fulness of Divine Presence' is, therefore, the nearest approach to अध्यात्मसंबन्धभूमा. That would very probably mean that it was the voice of the Antaryāmin or Possessor Behind, that spoke through Indra. Similar statements of identity elsewhere would have to be explained according to the Sūtrakāra, in the same way.[1] There is thus hardly any justification to believe that the Sūtrakāra had any leaning to a Monism of the type of Śaṁkara's. The doctrine of the "Svatantrādvaita"[2] was probably uppermost in his mind when he wrote : शास्त्रदृष्ट्या तूपदेशो वामदेववत्. Vedānta Deśika nearly throws out such a hint when he writes : जीवेश्वरैक्यश्रुतीनां च निर्वाहक्रमं 'अवस्थितेरिति काशकृत्स्न' इत्यसूत्रयत् । and quotes from the *Mbh.* (xii, 323, 56) in support :

"अन्यश्च राजन् स परः तथान्यः पञ्चविंशकः ।
तत्स्थत्वादनुपश्यन्ति ह्येक एवेति साधवः ॥"

(*Śatadūṣaṇī*, Śāstramuktāvali Series, no. 36, p. 131).

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[1] Cf. "सर्वगत्वादनन्तस्य स एवाहमवस्थितः ।
मत्तः सर्वमहं सर्वं मयि सर्वं सनातने" ॥ (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, i, 19, 85).

Also : "When Indra says 'Worship me' he means 'Worship the God that I worship.' On a similar principle Vāmadeva's declaration that he is Manu, and Sūrya, is explained."

(S. Radhakrishnan, *Ind. Phil.*, i, p. 521).

[2] For its full philosophical implication and ideology, see my paper on *The Philosophical Bases of the Theistic Realism of Madhva*, AUJ.

GLEANINGS FROM THE COMMENTARIES ON THE VĀKYAPADĪYA

BY

K. M. SARMA

I

By the name Vākyapadīya what has been known is a work in the form of Kārikās divided into three Books called the Brahmakāṇḍa, the Padakāṇḍa and the Prakīrṇakāṇḍa. The work has been published from Benares some years ago with the commentary of Puṇyarāja for the first two Books and that of Helārāja for the last.

It is the following quotation from the Vākyapadīya found in Mammaṭa's Kāvyaprakāśa under verse II–2 and also in his Śabdavyāpāravicāra (Nirnaya Sagar ed. with Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā, p. 1) that first raised the doubt regarding the nature of the Vākyapadīya.

उक्तं हि वाक्यपदीये—गौः स्वरूपेण न गौः । नाप्यगौः । गोत्वाभिसंबन्धात्तु गौः । इति ॥

This is not a Kārikā but prose. The only two alternatives are that the Vākyapadīya is not entirely in the form of Kārikās or that Mammaṭa was making a mistake. The latter is the less likely alternative.

My revered Professor, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja of the Madras University, contributed a very learned paper to the Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyyangar Commemoration Volume (1936) with the title " I-tsing and Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya. " Here he has for the first time pointed out that the commentary on the first Kāṇḍa (Brahmakāṇḍa) published from Benares is the Vṛtti on the Kārikās by Bhartṛhari himself and not the commentary by Puṇyarāja and that what is really Vākyapadīya is the Kārikās along with the Vṛtti. Dr. Raja has made his position quite clear by noting the colophon in the printed edition and also in the various Mss.

There is a Ms. of the Vṛtti of Bhartṛhari on his own Kārikās in the Government Or. Mss. Library, Madras (No. R. 5543) of which there is a transcript in the Adyar Library (No. 28. 9. 3). With some lacunae in the middle it is complete for the first Kāṇḍa and contains the Vṛtti for a good portion in the second Kāṇḍa. There is a commentary on this Vākyapadīya (Kārikā and Vṛtti) of Bhartṛhari by Vṛṣabhadeva of which there is a copy in the Government Or. Mss. Library, Madras (No. R.2789) and a transcript of it in the Adyar Library (No. 39. F. 3). The Adyar Library contains also an independent palm-leaf Ms. (No. 23. L. 2). In this commentary Vṛṣabhadeva considers the Vākyapadīya as containing both Kārikās and prose Vṛtti on them by Bhartṛhari.

In this paper I propose to give further evidences to prove that the Vākyapadīya contains not only Kārikās but also prose Vṛtti on them by Bhartṛhari and that the Vṛtti available in the Benares edition for the first Kāṇḍa is by Bhartṛhari and not by Puṇyarāja.

In the Laghusiddhāntamañjūṣā (Chowkhamba Sans. Series, p. 50) Nāgeśa says that the following is quoted in Harigrantha, i. e. in the work of Bhartṛhari (एते श्रुतिभारते हरिग्रन्थे स्पष्टे):

सूक्ष्मामर्थेनाप्रविभक्ततत्त्वामेकां वाचमभिष्यन्दमानाम् ।
तामन्ये विदुरन्यामिव च नानारूपामात्मनि संनिविष्टाम् ॥
इति ... ...
[1]प्राणायामान्तरे देवी वाग्वै नित्यं स्म तिष्ठति ।
स्थानेषु विवृते वायौ कृतवर्णपरिग्रहा ॥
वैखरी वाक्प्रयोक्तृणां प्राणवृत्तिनिबन्धनी ॥
केवलं बुद्ध्युपादाना क्रमरूपानुपातिनी ।
प्राणवृत्तिमनुक्रम्य मध्यमा वाक्प्रवर्तते ।
अविभागा तु पश्यन्ती सर्वतः संहृतक्रमा ।
स्वरूपज्योतिरेवान्तः परा वागनपायिनी ।

[1] In my paper 'Vāk Before Bhartṛhari' which I read at the XVI Indian Philosophical Congress, Adyar, and which is in the course of publication in the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, I have relied upon another text in the Mahābhārata which recognizes only two states of Vāk. The quotation here, however, recognizes the three states of Vaikharī, Madhyamā and Paśyantī.

These verses are found quoted in the commentary published from Benares, the former on p. 1 and the latter on p. 57. It must be noted that Nāgeśa refers to the commentary as Harigrantha. Again, in the section on बौद्धार्थस्य वाच्यत्वनिरूपणम् in the same work, p. 312, Nāgeśa says:

'अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म' इत्याद्यश्लोके हरिग्रन्थेऽपि स्पष्टमेतत्— 'तत्त्वाद्प्रच्युतस्य वस्तुनो भेदानुकारिणासत्याविभक्तान्यरूपोपग्राहिता विवर्तः स्वप्नविषयप्रतिभासवत्' इत्यादिना ॥

This also is found in the same commentary on the first verse of the Brahmakāṇḍa. We have thus the authority of no less a grammarian than Nāgeśa to accept the commentary as Bhartṛhari's besides the evidence which Dr. Raja has already adduced.

Another important fact to which Dr. Raja has drawn attention in the same paper is that the commentary for the second Kāṇḍa which is available in the Ms. of the Govt. Or. Mss. Library, Madras, is by Bhartṛhari himself. He observes: "I am inclined to believe that the commentaries on the two Kāṇḍas found in the Madras manuscript is by the same author" (p. 290). There is definite evidence that Bhartṛhari wrote his own commentary on the second Kāṇḍa also. In his commentary on the first verse of the second Kāṇḍa (Benares ed., p. 64) Puṇyarāja refers to Bhartṛhari's Vṛtti on this as follows:

यत्पुनरनेन वृत्तावुक्तमुदाहरणमात्रमेतदन्यानि वाक्यलक्षणानि दर्शयिष्यतीति तद्वार्तिककारीयवाक्यलक्षणादेरन्तर्भावमनपेक्ष्येति मन्तव्यम् ।

Again, in his commentary on II. 79–85 Puṇyarāja says:

अथैषां निदर्शनार्थं लेशतः स्वरूपसहितान्युदाहरणानि टीकाकारेण प्रदर्शितानि । एषा च टीकाकृता स्ववृत्तौ सा च तुल्यबलेष्वसंभवादित्यादिना बहुप्रकारा दर्शिता यस्मादुक्तं सेयमपरिमाणविकल्पा बाधा विस्तरेण बाधासमुद्देशे समर्थयिष्यत इति ।

Bādhāsamuddeśa appears to have been lost to us now. The identity of this Ṭīkākāra with Bhartṛhari is made indisputable by Puṇyarāja's Avataraṇikā to II. 86. It runs as follows:

इदानीं षड्द्वादशचतुर्विंशतिव्यतिरिक्ता अप्यमी बहुप्रकारा न्यायाः पदार्थनिश्चयहेतवः सन्तीति प्रौढिवादतया टीकाकारः प्रदर्शयितुमाह ।

Compare also his statement on II. 79–85 (p. 103):

यद्यपि परेषां चोदनैव प्रमाणं प्रसिद्धं तथापीह टीकाकारो न्यायमात्रस्य प्रमाणत्वमङ्गीकरोति ।

Also see his remarks on II. 259 and 263. A Vṛttikāra referred to by him is, however, different from the Ṭīkākāra, i. e. Bhartṛhari. Compare his Prakāśa on II. 200 (p. 164):

एवं कर्मण्येव शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी कारकान्तरे त्वेकैवेति वृत्तिकारः । तेषां मते गुणैः स्मरणं न तु गुणानां स्मरणमिति काचिदपि षष्ठी । टीकाकारमते तु करणस्य शेषत्वविवक्षायां गुणानां स्मरणं गुणस्मरणमित्यपि भवतीति मतभेदः।

The foregoing references are evidence that Bhartṛhari has commented on the second Kāṇḍa also. The portions referred to are lost in the Madras Ms. which contains many gaps (for a description see Dr. Raja, op. cit., pp. 289–90).

But fortunately there are other internal evidences in this showing that this is the author's own commentary. The style of this is that of an author explaining his own work and not the work of another. I give one instance selected at random. The Avataraṇikā to 2. 317 in this runs :

अपर आह– संसर्गो विप्रयोगश्च ... ... ॥

Compare this with Puṇyarāja's Avataraṇikā to the same which is as follows :

तथा चापरैः संसर्गादयः शब्दार्थावच्छेदहेतवः प्रदर्शिता इत्याह— संसर्गो विप्रयोगश्च ... ... ।

In the former the reference to 'Apara' is direct as it ought to be when it is made by the author himself ; it is probably implied here that these verses are a quotation from an earlier work. But in the latter it is indirect, being only an Anuvāda of the author's reference. Apart from the evidence of the style, there is a definite clue to identify the work as Bhartṛhari's. In his Prakāśa on II. 75–85 (p. 101) Puṇyarāja says :

तत्र षड्द्वादश चतुर्विंशतिर्वैतानि लक्षणानि तावदिह प्रदर्श्यन्ते । एतेषां च वितत्य सोपपत्तिकं सनिदर्शनं स्वरूपं पदकाण्डे लक्षणसमुद्देशे विनिर्दिष्टमिति ग्रन्थकृतैव स्ववृत्तौ प्रतिपादितम् ।

Compare this with the following which is found here in the commentary in the Madras Ms.:

तत्र द्वादश षट् चतुर्विंशतिर्वा लक्षणानीति लक्षणसमुद्देशे सापदेशं साविरोधं विस्तरेण व्याख्यास्यते । इह तु प्रदर्शनार्थमुदाहरणमात्रं प्रसक्तानुप्रसक्तं च किंचिदुच्यते ।

It is obvious that Puṇyarāja's reference is to this statement; and no doubt can therefore exist as to this commentary being by Bhartṛhari. We must consider ourselves fortunate in being in possession of also this part of the work of the great grammatical philosopher and be grateful to Malabar (from where the Ms. was acquired) for its preservation. I have quoted here from the Adyar Library Transcript (No. 28. I. 3) p. 168.

Dr. Raja has expressed also the view that there must have been a commentary by Bhartṛhari on the third Kāṇḍa, i. e. the Prakīrṇaka also. There is evidence for this. We have already noted that in both the Kāvyaprakāśa and the Śabdavyāpāravicāra Mammaṭa quotes a prose passage as from the Vākyapadīya. This passage is not found in Bhartṛhari's commentary on the first and second Kāṇḍas, which is available. Let us see where it could have occurred. As a comparison of Puṇyarāja's Prakāśa with Bhartṛhari's Vṛtti for the second Kāṇḍa shows, the commentators closely follow the author's own explanations. On examination of the available commentaries I find the following in Helārāja's Prakāśa on III. 52:

संसर्गदर्शने स्वतो गौर्न गौर्गोत्वाभिसंबन्धाद्गौरिति ब्रह्मकल्पं साक्षाद्व्यवहार्यमेव द्रव्यं परोपधीयमानरूपविशेषं व्यवहारमनुपतति ।

I cannot think of any other place in the text where this explanaation is more called for; and unless there is evidence to the contrary, the inevitable conclusion from the evidence of Puṇyarāja is that Bhartṛhari continued his commentary for the third Kāṇḍa also and that the passage quoted by Mammaṭa must have occurred at the same place as the above in Helārāja's Prakāśa.

II

Date of Puṇyarāja

A wrong view that Puṇyarāja was a disciple of Bhartṛhari has gained ground. In Anhang III, p. 267, of his edition of the the Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī, B. Liebich observes: "......Wir kennen nur einen Kommentar zu den beiden ersten Büchern, den des Puṇya-rāja, der sich selbst als unmittelbaren Schüler des Bhartṛhari bezeichnet.................."

A close study of his Prakāśa on the second Kāṇḍa, however, shows that he could not have been a contemporary of Bhartṛhari. Here are a few facts worthy of note. In his commentary on II. 79-85 (p. 101) Puṇyarāja says that the Lakṣaṇa section of the Padakāṇḍa was lost in his time:

आगमभ्रंशाल्लेखकप्रमादादिना वा लक्षणसमुद्देशश्च पदकाण्डमध्ये न प्रसिद्धः ।

This shows not only that he was not a disciple of Bhartṛhari, but also that the interval between the two was so long as to have a portion of the work lost sowewhere in its course either in oral transmission or in transcription. There are other evidences also to corroborate my view. Puṇyarāja quotes in his commentary the following from Kumārila's Ślokavārtika:

यावन्तो यादृशा ये च यदर्थप्रतिपादने ।
वर्णाः प्रज्ञातसामर्थ्यास्ते तथैवावबोधकाः ॥

Prakāśa II. 64. Ślokavārtika, Chowkhamba ed. p. 527.

नामधात्वर्थयोगी तु नैव नञ्प्रतिषेधकः ।

Prakāśa II. 88-89. Ślokavārtika p. 575. The particle च instead of तु is found in the Chowkhamba ed.

Kumārila was later than Bhartṛhari. Puṇyarāja who quotes from the Ślokavārtika must have therefore been still later. That he lived some centuries after his author is evidenced by some other quotations also in his work. The verse—

इन्दोर्लक्ष्म स्मरविजयिनः कण्ठमूलं मुरारि-
दिङ्नागानां मदमलमषीभाञ्जि गण्डस्थलानि ।
अद्याप्युर्वीवलयतिलक श्यामलिम्नानुलिप्ता-
न्युद्भासन्ते वद धवलितं किं यशोभिस्त्वदीयैः ॥

which he quotes on II. 249 is attributed (with the reading त्रिपुरविजयिनः instead of स्मरविजयिनः) to Rājaśekhara by Vallabhadeva in his Subhāṣitāvali (Peterson's ed. No. 2563). From this it is evident that he was later than Rājaśekhara. There is a difference of opinion among scholars as to the identity of Rājaśekhara, the author of some memorial verses, with Rājaśekhara, the famous dramatist and critic (See Peterson, Intro. to Subhāṣitāvali, p. 101; S. K. De, Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. 1 pp. 122ff.). I do not wish to lengthen this paper with an investigation of this subject here, as it is sufficient for our present purpose if it is borne in mind that the verse is quoted by Kuntaka also in his Vakroktijīvita (ed. by Dr. S. K. De, 1928, p. 167), a fact which goes against its ascription to Rājaśekhara of the 14th century, and that if it is from the earlier Rājaśekhara (the dramatist and critic), it proves that Puṇyarāja has to be assigned to a date later than the beginning of the 10th century (for this date for Rājaśekhara see S. K. De, Sanskrit Poetics, pp. 127-28).

In this connection I would like to draw attention to another verse which Puṇyarāja quotes at the same place as the above. It is this :

हे हेलाजितबोधिसत्त्ववचसां किं विस्तरैस्तोयधे
नास्ति त्वत्सदृशः परः परहिताधाने गृहीतव्रतः ।
तृष्यत्पान्थजनोपकारघटनावैमुख्यलब्धायशो-
भारप्रोद्वहने करोषि कृपया साहाय्यकं यन्मरोः ॥

This is quoted also by Kuntaka in his Vakroktijīvita (ed. 1928, p. 59), by Mammaṭa in his Kāvyaprakāśa (Jhalakikar's ed., No. 494) and by Hemacandra in his own commentary on the Kāvyānuśāsana (N. S. ed., p. 28). It is thus from a source earlier than these works. But some editors of the Kāvyaprakāśa have been led into the error of ascribing it to Puṇyarāja (see, e. g., the Mysore ed. Index) who, as will be presently shown has to be assigned to a date later than the 12th century.

My view that this commentator lived some centuries after his author is corroborated by the following also which he quotes on II. 243 :

सतां च न निषेधोऽस्ति सोऽसत्सु च न विद्यते ।
जगत्यनेन न्यायेन नञर्थः प्रलयं गतः ॥

Nāgeśa also quotes this in the Laghusiddhāntamañjūṣā (Chowkhamba ed., p. 654). The commentators on the Mañjūṣā, namely Bālambhaṭṭa and Durbalācārya are unanimous in ascribing this to the author of the Khaṇḍana, i. e. Śrīharṣa. Further on in the same section (p. 669) Nāgeśa quotes from and expressly assigns to Śrīharṣa some other verses also :

अत एवोक्तं श्रीहर्षेण—

समस्तलोकशास्त्रैकमत्यमाश्रित्य नृत्यतोः ।
का तवास्तु गतिस्तर्कैर्वस्तुधीव्यवहारयोः ॥
उपपादयितुं तैस्तैर्मतैरशकनीययोः ।
अनिर्वक्तव्यतावादपादसेवा गतिस्तयोः ॥
यथा सतो जनिर्नैवमसतोऽपि जनिर्न च ।
जन्यत्वमेव जन्यस्यानिर्वाच्यत्वसमर्पकम् ॥ इति ॥

These are traceable to the Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya (Chowkamba ed., p. 538). I have not been able to trace the former quotation to this work. But on the authority of Nāgeśa's commentators and in the light of the other quotations from Śrīharṣa on the same subject in the same section, we have to accept that the quotation in question is from another of the many works of this prolific writer. Śrīharṣa is generally assigned to the 12th century. The now known earliest reference to Puṇyarāja is by Nāgeśa (end of 17th and beginning of the 18th century), in the Laghusiddhāntamañjūṣā (pp. 817, 1368, 1457 etc.). He is here referred to as Puñjarāja. We have to content ourselves with placing Puṇyarāja between these two wide limits until some evidence comes to light enabling us to give these more accurately.

COMMENTATORS OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA IN THE FIFTEENTH, SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

BY

P. P. S. SASTRI

Rāmāyaṇa studies seem to have been particularly popular during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As many as ten commentaries of outstanding merit were produced during this period. It would be a source of great help in fixing the text-tradition of the Rāmāyaṇa if even a comparative chronology of these commentaries is available.

1. One of the earliest systematic commentators is Rāmānuja popularly known as Kaṇḍāḍai Rāmānuja, the son of Varadārya of Vādhūla Gotra. His commentary is called Rāmānujīyam and is referred to by Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita and Govindarāja among others. He may be assigned to the beginning of the fourteenth century A. D. (circa. 1400 A. D.).

2. Next in point of time, comes Veṅkaṭakṛṣṇādhvarin (alias Veṅkaṭeśayajvan) of Hārīta Gotra. His commentary is known as Sarvārthasāra and is quoted by Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita. Veṅkaṭeśa is also the author of the well-known digest on Law, Pitṛmedhasāra. His teacher was Ādi Van Śaṭhagopa (1460–1520 A. D.). Veṅkaṭeśa may therefore be assigned to the third quarter of the fifteenth century A. D. (circa 1475 A. D.).

3. Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita, the author of the famous law-book, Smṛtimuktāphala, is the author of the well-known commentary, Rāmāyaṇadīpikā. He quotes from Sarvārthasāra and is quoted by Īśvara Dīkṣita. He may therefore be assigned to the end of the fifteenth century (circa 1500 A. D.).

4 & 5. Īśvara Dīkṣita is the author of two commentaries on the Rāmāyaṇa, a Bṛhadvivaraṇa and a Laghuvivaraṇa. The former was composed in 1518 A. D. He may be assigned to the first quarter of the sixteenth century (circa 1525 A. D.).

6. Maheśa Tīrtha, the son of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha is the author of the Tīrthīya on the Rāmāyaṇa. He is quoted by Govindarāja. He may therefore be assigned to the middle of the sixteenth century (circa 1550 A. D.).

7. Govindarāja, the author of the famous Bhūṣaṇa on the Rāmāyaṇa, refers to Appaya Dīkṣita as 'modern' in his comments and pays his homage to Bhāvanācārya and Ādi Van Śaṭhagopa VI. He may therefore be assigned to the end of the sixteenth century (circa 1600 A. D.).

8. Ahobila Ātreya is the author of Taniślokī and Vālmīkihṛdayam. He quotes from Govindarāja. He salutes his guru Śaṭhagopadeśika alias Parāṅkuśa, the sixth Pontiff of Ahobila Mutt. He may therefore be assigned to the first quarter of the seventeenth century (circa 1625 A. D.).

9. Katakayogīndra, the author of the Amṛtakataka or Kataka on the Rāmāyaṇa, quotes Govindarāja and is quoted by Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa. He may be assigned to the middle of the seventeeth century (circa 1650 A. D.).

10. Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa (alias Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa) is the author of the famous Tilakam, a commentary on the Rāmāyaṇa. He quotes from Kataka. A commentary of Nāgeśa's Udyota dated 1718 A. D. is available in the Tanjore Palace Library. He may therefore be assigned to the end of the seventeeth century (circa 1700 A. D.).

Thus, during the course of three centuries, from 1400 to 1700 A. D., as many as ten famous commentaries on the Rāmāyaṇa were produced.

Numbers 1, 3, 4, 5 and 9 are available only in Manuscript whilst the others are available in print in Devanāgarī or Grantha scripts. Copies of all are available in the Government Orieutal Manuscript Library, Madras.

SOME FORGOTTEN SANSKRIT POETS OF KARṆĀṬAKA

BY

S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI

The Sanskrit anthologies[1] like *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa (1206 A. D.), *Sūktimuktāvali* of Jalhaṇa (c. 1260 A. D.), *Subhāṣitāvali* of Vallabha (15th century), *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (17th century), *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* (16th century), *Sūktiratnahāra* of Sūrya (14th or 15th century A. D.) and Apte's *Subhāṣitaratnasaṁdoha* mention a number of poets whose names appear to be of Kannaḍa origin and who appear to have migrated from Karṇāṭaka to all parts of India. From the above-mentioned sources it is proposed to give some account of such poets with specimens of their compositions and also some anonymous verses praising the rulers of Karṇāṭaka.

(1) Amarānanda :—

॥

(*Sū. Mu.*)

This is sometimes attributed to Pulinda supposed to be friend of Bāṇa. One Amarānanda or Amaranandin is the author of an alaṁkāra-work, *Kāvya* (*sarva*) *alaṁkāra Saṁgraha*, written under the patronage of Manva, probably a subordinate of Gaṇapati the Kākatīya ruler of Warangal (c. 1233 A. D.), or of Manma Goṅka (1163-87).

[1] *Abbreviations* :—

Sa. Ka. (*Saduktikarṇāmṛta*).
Sū. Mu. (*Sūktimuktāvali*).
Su. Bhā. (*Subhāṣitāvali*).
Śā. Pa. (*Śārṅgadharapaddhati*).
Ka. Va. Sa. (*Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*).
Sū. Ra. Hā. (*Sūktiratnahāra*).
Su. Ra. Sa. (*Subhāṣitaratnasaṁdoha*).

(2) Amogha (*Sa. Ka.* IV-3. 3). He is probably the same as Amoghavarṣa, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor, who is the author of ***Praśnottara** Ratnamālikā* in Sanskrit and of *Kavirājamārga* in Kannaḍa (815-875 A. D.).

(3) Udayāditya (*Sa. Ka.* III-38-1). Paramāra Udayāditya was the successor of Bhoja of Malwa (c. 1050) and there are several Karṇāṭaka chiefs named Udayāditya, one being the author of an alaṁkāra-work, *Udayādityālaṁkāra* (c. 1120 A. D.).

(4) Karkarāja (*Sa. Ka.* II-38-2). Also quoted in Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, Kāvyaprakāśa, Khaṇḍapraśasti and *Śā. Pa.* He is later than Subandhu and earlier than Bhoja. Among the Rāṣṭrakūṭa governors of Lāṭa are several Karkarājas, one the grandfather of Rannā, the queen of Dharmapāla, another the father of Kṛṣṇa I and Kakka II, last of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas (c. 970 A. D.).

(5) Kumuda Candra (Vādi). Digambara Kumuda Candra is said to have been the contemporary of Hemacandra by whom he was defeated (*Sū. Mu.* 26).

(6) Karṇāṭaka Deva (*Sa. Ka.* II-42-2).

मुखं ज्योत्स्नालोकप्रसरधवलाक्षं क्व नु मया
पुनर्द्रष्टव्यं तत् स्मितमधुरमुग्धाल्पदशनम् ।
क्व सा श्रव्या वाणी विजितकलकण्ठी कलरुता
विलासा वीक्ष्यानां क्व च सहभुवो धीरललिता ॥

also अलसमधुरा स्निग्धा दृष्टिर्घनत्वमुपागता (II-10-4).

(7) Karṇāṭaka (Bhaṭṭa) (*Su. Bhū.* 1261-2).

कान्ता ददाति मदनं मदनः सन्तापमनुपमं च ।
सन्तापो मरणमहो तथापि शरणं नृणां सैव ॥
अलसयति गात्रमधिकं भ्रमयति चेतस्तनोति सन्तापम् ।
मोहं च मुहुः कुरुते विषाविषमं वीक्षितं तन्व्याः ॥
अवश्यं कोपाग्निस्तव सुतनु निर्वास्यति चिरात्
स्वशोभामारूढं मुखमपि च ते हास्यति शुचम् ।
भवद्गोष्ठीशून्या मम नु दिवसा यान्ति य इमे
न तेषामावृत्तिः पुनरपि मनो दूयत इति ॥

(8) Kavi Ratna. He was the contemporary of Bhoja of Dhāra who praises him thus :—

अस्तंगतभारविरवि कालवशात्कालिदासविधुविधुरम् ।
निर्वाणबाणदीपं जगदिदमद्योति रत्नेन ॥

To Kavi Ratna the following is attributed:—

शंखास्सन्ति सहस्रशो जलनिधेर्वीचिच्छटा घट्टिताः
पर्यन्तेषु लुठन्ति ये दलशतैः कल्माषितक्ष्मातला ।
एकः कोऽपि स पाञ्चजन्य उदभूदाश्चर्यधामासतां
यः संवर्तभरक्षमैर्मधुरिपोः श्वासानलैः पूर्यते ॥

(*Sa. Ka.* IV-15-3 ; *Sū. Mu.* 45^b ; *Śā. Pa.* 1119).

The Kannaḍa poet, Ranna, was the contemporary of Cāḷukya emperor, Tailapa II, and Satyāśraya Beḍaṅga and hence the contemporary also of Muñja and Bhoja. He obtained the title, Kavi-Cakravartī, from Tailapa and says that he was proficient both in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa. It is not improbable that for some time he was in the court of Bhoja when we remember that Bhoja gave to the Kannaḍa poet, Nāgavarma, the author of *Karṇāṭaka Kādambarī*, many horses in appreciation. Some verses attributed to a Kavi-Cakravartī are probably Ranna's.

विषमविषधरप्रगाढघोरे

(*Sa. Ka.* IV-24-3),

जलधरमुदितं विलोक्य दूरात्

(*Sa. Ka.* II-88-3).

(9) Gaṇḍa Gopāla :— A title common to many chiefs in Āndhra and Karṇāṭaka-Vijayarāja Gaṇḍa Gopāla Tikka of Nellore, Manuma Gaṇḍa Gopāla of Velanāḍu in the 13th century.

काशाः क्षीरनिकाशा दधिशरवर्णानि सप्तपर्णानि ।
नवनीतनिभश्चन्द्रः शरदि च तक्रप्रभा ज्योत्स्ना ॥

(*Su. Ra. Sa.*)

(10) Cintāmaṇi:—

बहुघणारिद्धिाणि सागम म अणिद्धासुासि अचे अणो लोओ ।
अवसाग अवसमदसादि अहार भमम्मि पडि वुद्धौ ॥

(*Sū. Ra. Hā* 167-31).

A Jaina poet, Cintāmaṇi, is said to have written a work, Cintāmaṇi, and is praised in the Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa epitaph of Malliṣeṇa.

धर्मार्थकामपरनिर्वृतिचारुचिन्ता-
श्चिन्तामणिः प्रतिनिकेतमकारि येन ।
स स्तूयते सरससौख्यभुजासुजातः
चिन्तामणिर्मुनिवृषा न कथं जनेन ॥

(11) Jñāna Śiva. इयं बाला मां प्रत्यनवरतम्

(*Sa. Ka.* V-63-2).

He is probably Pāśupata ascetic Jñāna Śakti, the disciple of Vidyābharaṇa Paṇḍita of the Kodīmaṭha at Baḷḷigāve.

(12) Citta Rāja.

शशिखण्डं श्रीखण्डं खण्डं खण्डनागिरामथ विनोदः ।
भक्तिश्च खण्डपरशावखण्डतपसां फलं लोके ।

(*Sū. Mu.*).

(13) Cittapa. Cittama.

कालिन्दि ब्रूहि कुम्भोद्भवजलधिरहं नाम गृह्णासि कस्मा-
च्छत्रोर्मे नर्मदाहं त्वमपि वदसि मे नाम कस्मात्सपत्न्याः ।
मालिन्यं तर्हि कस्मादनुहरासि मिलन्कज्जलैर्मालवीनां
बाष्पाम्भोभिः किमासां समजनि कुपितः कुन्तलक्षोणिपालः ॥

(*Sa. Ka.*)

कल्पान्ते शमितः त्रिविक्रमः

(*Su. Ra. Sa.*)

Cittapa was a contemporary of Bhoja and since the name is common in the dynastic lists of the Śilāhāras of Konkan, the author probably migrated from Karṇāṭaka to Malawa.

(14) Jagaddeva.

भोजनं देहि राजेन्द्र शाकसूपघृतान्वितम् ।
माहिषं च शरच्चन्द्रचन्द्रिकाधवलं दधि ॥

(*Sū. Mu.*)

This is attributed to Paramāra Jagaddeva. There are other Jagaddevas, a Sāntara of Humcha (c. 1117 A. D.), and a chief of Lemulavāḍa, subordinate of Vikramāditya VI. Jagaddeva is praised thus :—

चक्रः पप्रच्छ पान्थं कथय मम सखे नास्ति स क्वापि देशो
वस्तुं नो यत्र रात्रिर्भवति भुवि खगायेति स प्रत्युवाच ।
नीते मेरौ समाप्तिं कनकवितरणैः श्रीजगद्देवनाम्ना
सूर्ये ह्यन्तर्हितेऽस्मिन् कतिपयदिवसैर्वासराद्वैतसृष्टिः ॥

(15) Taruṇa Vācaspati (*Sū. Ra. Hā.* 4). He is the well-known commentator on Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa, under the patronage of Hoysaḷa Rāmanātha (c. 1280 A. D.).

(16) Deveśvara (*Su. Ra. Sa.*). One Deveśvara is the guru of Sarvajñātman.

(17) Devabodha (*Su. Ka.* II–5–5), the pupil of Satyabodha, wrote commentaries on Mahābhārata and Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

(18) Devabodhi, a *paramahaṁsa parivrājaka*, wrote the drama Satyavrata Rukmāṅgada (*Baroda Mss. No.* 12089). He was the contemporary of Siddharāja Jayasiṁha and Śrīpāla.

यद्मी दशन्ति दशना (*Sū. Mu.* 53) attributed also to Nammayya.

(19) Nāci Rāja (*Sū. Mu.*) seems to be a Jaina from Karṇāṭaka who appears to have gone to the court of Karṇa of Dāhaḷa and is praised by Karpūra Kavi.

(20) Nammayya, Naimeyya--a pure Kannaḍa name.

किं मालतीकुसुम ताम्यसि निष्ठुरेण
केनापि यत्किल विलूनमितो लताग्रात् ।
लोकोत्तरेण विलसद्गुणगौरवेण
को नामुना शिरसि नाम करिष्यति त्वाम् ॥

शाखासन्ततिसन्निरुद्धनभसो भूयांस एवावनौ
विद्यन्ते तरवः फलैरविकलैरार्तिच्छिदः प्राणिनाम् ।
किंतु द्वित्रिदलैरलंकृततनोः शाले स्तुमस्तुङ्गता
दत्त्वा येन निजं शिरः सुकृतिनां को नाम न प्रीणितः ॥

(21) Nāgappayya, a Kannaḍa name, earlier than Jalhaṇa.

विपन्नं पद्मिन्यामृतमनिमिषैर्यातमलिभिः
खगैरप्युड्डीनं रथचरणहंसप्रभृतिभिः ।
दशां दीनां नीते सरसि विषमग्रीष्मदिवसैः
कुलीनत्वादास्ते तटरुहतरुः कोऽपि तदपि ॥

(*Sū. Mu.* 31–7).

(22) Nāgammā–a Kannaḍa poetess,

शुकतुण्डच्छवि सवितुश्चण्डरुचः पुण्डरीकवनबन्धोः ।
मण्डलमुदितं वन्दे कुण्डलमाखण्डलाशायाः ॥

(23) Maruḷā or Māruḷā.

कृशा केनासि त्वं प्रकृतिरियमंगस्य ननु मे
मला धूम्रा कस्माद्गुरुजनगृहे पाचकतया ।

स्मरस्यस्मात् कच्चिन्नहि नहि नहीत्येवमवद-
च्छिरःकम्पं बाला मम हृदि निपत्य प्ररुदिता ॥
(*Sū. Mu.*)

She appears, from her name, to be a Kannada poetess praised by Dhanada Deva along with Śīlā, Bijjā, Morikā.

(24) Mahādeva Rājapitāmaha (*Sū. Mu.* 114, 63, 126. 108).

भुक्तानि यैस्तव फलानि पचेलिमानि
क्रोडस्थितैरहह वीतभयैः प्रसुप्तम् ।
ते पक्षिणो जलरयेण विकृष्यमाणं
पश्यन्ति पादपभवं तममी तटस्थाः ॥

Mahādeva is most probably the Kākatīya ruler of Warangal. Another Mahādeva was the Seuṇa king of Devagiri.

(25) Rākṣasa Kavi (°Paṇḍita), author of Kavi-Rākṣasīyam and mistakenly identified with the Telugu poet Vemulavāḍa Bhīma Kavi. Kavi Rākṣasa's date is c. 1100 A. D. (*Sa. Ka.* I. 90. 5, Rākṣasa Paṇḍitau, different ?).

(26) Rudra Deva, probably Pratāpa Rudra of Warangal, author of Nītisāra (*Sū. Ra. Hā.* 52, 231 ; Pratāpa Rudra 39, 40, 41, 104, 144).

Kapila Rudra, Gajapati (15th century).

सहकारकुसुमकेसरनिकरभरामोदमूर्छितदिगन्ते ।
मधुरमधुविधुरमधुपे मधौ भवेत्कस्य वोत्कण्ठा ॥

The following anonymous verses are in praise of Kābilendra:-

विस्फार्य व्योमगंगा वलदुरुलहरी कैतवात्केसराली-
रुच्चैर्मास्तिष्कदेशे हिमकरकपटान् मण्डलीकृत्य पुच्छम् ।
दिङ्नागारब्धलम्बस्तव विशदयशः केसरीकाबिलेन्द्र
ब्रह्मण्डारण्यवीथी गिरिगहनदरी सम्भ्रमी भंभ्रमीति ॥
वेल्लामुल्लङ्घ्य हेलादलितधरणिभृद्वाहिनी कोटिपूरै-
रुद्वेल्लत्काबिलेन्द्र प्रबलजलनिधिः पालनायोज्जजृम्भे ।
स्यान्मग्ना मेदिनीयं प्रबलभुजबलप्रौढतच्चन्द्रहास-
ज्वालाभिः संततं चेन्न दहति बडवा वीतिहोत्रोवधेता (?) ॥

(27) Śrīpāla Kavirāja, a contemporary of Hemacandra, (c. 1070 A. D.). There is also the famous Digambara scholar, Śrīpāla Traividya, the disciple of Malliṣeṇa Maladhāri, a great Tārkika, poet, etc.

(28) विद्दा, विज्जिका, विजयाङ्का, विज्जा—earlier than Rājaśekhara, probably later than Daṇḍin and Saṁkarācārya, if she is the

author of *Kaumudī–Mahotsava* (*Sa. Ka*. I–2–3 ; etc.). A Karṇāṭaka princess. The samasyā पाथोधिर्जलधिः पयोधिरुदधिर्वारांनिधिः वारिधिः is said to have been completed by Vidyā (*Sa. Ka*. V–74–1). The same is attributed with different completion to Lolla Lakṣmīdhara in the court of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya of Vijayanagara.

(29) Vijñātātman, Vijñānātman, (*Sa. Ka*. V–65–2); author of a commentary on Śvetāśvatara, c. 1100 A. D.

रम्यं हर्म्यतलं न किं वसतये श्रव्यं न गेयादिकं
किं वा प्राणसमागमसुखं नैवाधिकं प्रीतये ।
किंतु भ्रान्तपतत्पतंगपवनव्यालोलदीपांकुर
छाया चंचलयाकलय्य सकलं सन्तो वनान्तं गताः ॥

(Also found in Bhartṛhari).

(30) Vyāsatīrtha, different from the Mādhva author of the 16th century, earlier than Jalhaṇa.

भवश्च यदहं चेश द्वाविमौ जनितौ त्वया ।
परस्परविभागं त्वं न करोषि कथं प्रभो ॥

(31) Vaidya Bhānupaṇḍita, the real author of Jalhaṇa's Sūktimuktāvali; verses in Sūktimuktāvali and Sūktiratnahāra.

(32) Sakala Vidyā(dhara)cakravartī :— The Vidyācakravartins were the hereditary court-poets of the Hoysaḷa dynasty from the time of Ballāḷa II down to Ballāḷa III. The first Vidyācakravartī was the royal priest to Ballāḷa II, the second wrote Gadyakarṇāmṛta in the time of Narasiṁha II and Someśvara, the third in the time of Ballāḷa III wrote commentaries on Kāvyaprakāśa, Alaṁkāra–Sarvasva and on Virūpākṣa Pañcāśikā. He is also the author of Rukmiṇī Kalyāṇa. (*Sū. Ra. Hā*. 31, 249 ; 43, 195, 198, 217, 218).

जीवनग्रहणे नम्रा गृहीत्वा पुनरुन्नताः ।
किं कनिष्ठाः किमु ज्येष्ठा घटीयन्त्रस्य दुर्जनाः ॥

(*Su. Ra. Hā*. I–32–42)

(33) Sarvajña Someśvara, the Cālukya emperor and author of Mānasāra (quoted profusely in Sūktiratnahāra).

(34) Samantabhadra, probably the great Jaina scholar who wrote *Āptamīmāṁsā*, *Gandhahastimahābhāṣya*, etc. The praise of Keśava does not necessarily mean that he was a Hindu.

लक्ष्मीं यत्परिचारकीति नयनं यस्येति भासां पतिं
यत्पादार्घभवेति नाकसरितं येनोद्धृतेति श्रुतिम् ।

ईशं यत्तनुभागभागिति जनः शुश्रूषते सादरं
भूयाद्विश्वनमस्यमानमाहिमा भूत्यै स वः केशवः ॥
सन्तः कण्टकिताः कथं यदि कृता निष्कण्टका मेदिनी
प्रख्याता यदि ते गुणाः कथमथ प्रस्तौति दोषं जनः ।
नीतावद्य धुरन्धरो यदि भवान्कस्मादनीतिः प्रजा
वृत्त देव न चित्रमेव हि न चेच्चित्रं विधत्ते कथम् ॥
(*Sa. Ka.* I-63-2 ; III-13-1).

(35) Śiṁhappayya, Siṅgappayya :—a Kannaḍa name.

नदीतीरे शाखान्नभिनवतरंगाग्रसलिलै-
र्मुहुर्मूले सिक्तः कलयासि दलाडम्बरमिदम् ।
न चैवं जानीषे सरल यदलं लूनधरिणः
सुखस्पर्शाच्छिन्नो गुरुपतनहेतुर्व्यतिकरः
(*Sū. Mu.* 30-6).

यामस्ते शुभमस्तु रोहिणगिरे ...
(*Sū. Mu.* 30-2).

आभुग्नांगुलिपल्लवी कचभरे ...
(*Su. Ra. Sa.*).

(36) Śākalyamalla, the author of Udāra-Rāghava, also called Kavimalla. He was the son of Śākalya Mādhava probably the same as Śākalya Mādhava or Navilgunda Mādirāja, the contemporary of Baṅkarasa. He gives his son's name as Māca probably the real name of Kavimalla or Śākalyamalla. Śākalyamalla was the contemporary of the first Diṇḍima Aruṇagirinātha in the court of Pratāpa Rudra II and of Nāgaṇa Kavi and Vidyācakravartī III in the court of Ballāḷa III.

एकोऽभूत्पुलिनात्ततस्तु नलिनादन्योऽपि नाकोरभूत् ।
प्राच्यास्ते त्रय एव दिव्यकवयो दीव्यन्तु देव्या गिरा ॥
अर्वाचो यदि गद्यपद्यरचनाचातुर्यवागुद्धता-
स्तान् सर्वानतिशय्य खेलतितरां शाकल्लमल्लः कविः ।

(37) Yādava Prakāśa, the author of the well-known lexicon and probably the guru of Rāmānujācārya (c. 1070 A. D.).

नाथो नः पुरुषोत्तमे त्रिजगतामेकाधिपे चेतसा
सेव्ये स्वस्य पदस्य दातरि सुरे नारायणे तिष्ठति ।
यं किंचित्पुरुषाधमं कतिपयग्रामेशमल्पार्थदं
सेवायै मृगया महीनरमहो मूका वराका वयम् ॥
चक्षुः पश्यतु केशवं मम हरेर्वाचं श्रृणोतु श्रुतिः
जिह्वा नित्यमनन्तनामसुधया सौहित्यमभ्यस्यतु ।

मूर्धा माधवपादपद्मरजसः स्पर्शेन पूतोऽस्तु मे ।
श्रीकान्तं परिरभ्य सौरभभरं प्राप्नोतु गात्रं मम ॥

(*Sū. Ra. Hā.* also attributed to Sarvajña Nārāyaṇa by Jalhaṇa).

The following verses appear to be in praise of Karṇāṭaka kings by some anonymous authors.

Ballāḷa, probably Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II (1171-1220).

बल्लाळ क्षोणिपाल त्वदहित नगरे संचरन्ती किराती
कीर्णान्यालोक्य रत्नान्युरुतरखदिरांगारशंकाकुलांगी ।
मह्वा श्रीखण्डखण्डं तदुपरिमुकुलीभूतनेत्रा धमन्ती
श्वासामोदानुयातैर्मधुकरनिकरैर्धूमशंका बिभर्ति ॥

Rāmanātha (Hoysaḷa ?).

करकम्पितखड्गयष्टिभीमे रणसन्नाहितरामनाथवीरे ।
अरिभूभृदमर्त्यसुन्दरीणामचलन् दक्षिणवामलोचनानि ॥

Narasiṁha (Hoysaḷa or Vijayanagara).

आहवे जगदुद्दण्डराजमण्डलराहवे ।
श्रीनृसिंहमहीपाल स्वस्त्यस्तु तव बाहवे ॥

A similar verse in praise of the Reḍḍi chief Anavema is as follows :—

अनमेव महीपाल स्वस्त्यस्तु तव बाहवे ।
आहवे रिपुदोर्दण्डचण्डमण्डलराहवे ॥
द्विर्भावः पुष्पकेतोः विबुधविटपिनां पौनरुक्त्यं विकल्पः
चिन्तारत्नस्य वीप्सा तपसतनुभुवो वासवस्य द्विरुक्तिः ।
द्वैतं देवस्य दैत्याधिपमथनकलाकेलिकारस्य कुर्वन्
आनन्दं कोविदानां जगति विजयते श्रीनृसिंहक्षितीन्द्रः ॥

Veṅkaṭapati (of Vijayanagara).

अत्र मन्मथमिवातिसुन्दरं दानवारिमिव दिव्यतेजसम् ।
शैलराजमिव धैर्यशालिनं वेद्मि वेङ्कटपतिं महीपतिम् ॥

Bhairava (of Tuḷuva ?)

धनानि विद्वत्कविमण्डलीषु पञ्चेषुबाणानपि कामिनीषु ।
वर्षन्ति वज्राण्यरिधारुणीषु श्रीभैरवक्षोणिमणेः कटाक्षाः ॥

The following is attributed to Śaṁkaragaṇa, probably the Traikūṭaka chief of the 6th century.

कमलमनम्भासि कमले कुवलयमेतानि कनकलतिकायाम् ।
सा च सुकुमारसुभगेत्युत्पातपरम्परा केऽयम् ॥

(*Sū. Mu.*).

WORD AND SENSE

BY

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI

The great poet who likened the conjunction of word and sense to the union between Pārvatī and Parameśvara was assuredly right, since the former challenges understanding as much as the latter. There is no mystery in the former from the view-point of ordinary usage any more than there is in the latter for the average Hindu who knows something of his gods. The complacency of the latter is shocked, however, when he comes to learn, as he will some time, that Pārvatī is not a different entity, but only the śakti of Īśvara, the śaktimān, and therefore non-different from him; if non-different, why speak of them as two? And how can any relation co-exist with non-difference? The questions that arise as to word and sense are at least as difficult.

We are all familiar with the time-honoured discussions as to connotation and denotation. The view generally prevalent is that there are really no non-connotative words, that every word both signifies certain attributes and indicates certain existents. If no attributes were signified, the denotative function would be impossible; if attributes alone were signified, the word would be defective in the absence of specification as to where and how these are realised; the least measure of indication involves at least the implication that the qualities belong to reality. Between the extreme limits of the Proper Name and the Abstract Name, we have several grades of inter-related connotation and denotation. It has also been noted that, with increase of denotation, connotation becomes less definite; where the latter gets to be precise, the former gets narrow.

There is a good deal to be said in favour of this general position. Words are applied to objects because of attributes present in the latter and signified by the former; the connotation is the determinant of the application (pravṛtti-nimitta); it comprises those attributes on account of which a name is applied and in the absence of which it would not be applied. It is meaningless

to say that a word is what it is and functions as it should, though it has no pravṛtti-nimitta. When this universal essential attribute (or set of attributes) is known, the particulars are also known therewith.

Right at this stage there comes a difficulty ; are the connotation and denotation given together so as to constitute the meaning, or does connotation come first, constituting the *primary* meaning ? The answers given in Indian philosophy are well known ; we may concentrate on the answers of the Navya-Naiyāyikas who held that the jāti-vyakti complex is the meaning and of the Advaitins who held jāti to be the primary sense. One objection to the former view bases itself on the indefiniteness and innumerable character of the particulars denoted ; ' man ' denotes all human beings all over the globe, whether in the past, present or future ; a word thus indeterminate in meaning can serve no purpose. Our interest is no doubt in particulars ; but these are signified secondarily, since the generic must of necessity lead up to the particular wherein it exists ; but the denotation is apprehended in the same act of knowledge.

This position of the Advaitin is on the face of it difficult to accept, postulating both secondary implication and apprehension by the same act of knowledge as the primary sense. This difficulty apart, the possibility of knowing the jāti apart from the vyakti-s is itself in question. What is essential or generic is not fixed but variable ; when the vyakti is unitary it disappears ; for to the individual as such no quality is non-essential ; where the particulars become innumerable, the jāti dwindles again into little that is definite ; for what is essential to an indefinite number admits little of precise determination. Despite the falsity of the inverse ratio view, we have to admit that connotation does vary with the denotation ; the former does determine the latter, but the relation is not one-sided ; denotation too determines the connotation. If the vyakti-s are what they are because of the jāti, the jāti would not be such but for the vyakti-s. In such a relation of reciprocal determination, what is the propriety of claiming one alone to be the meaning or even *primary* meaning of a word ?

The other views, however, seem even less satisfactory. If the particular alone be the meaning, no word, as has been point-

ed out, can be used for two instants successively, the particular of the second instant differing from that of the first. And because of the indefiniteness of the particulars, the word-sense too would be indefinite and valueless. We are thus faced with the difficulty that, while the particular should be part of the primary significance of the word, it cannot intelligibly be so. The universal cannot be signified apart from the particular, nor the particular apart from the universal. To put either first is unjustifiable; but to take the two together somehow is only to mask a difficulty instead of solving it. It is more correct to recognise the sense as jāti-cum-vyakti than to dismiss the vyakti or treat it as secondary. But this is in the last resort to admit that the sense of no word can be definite. And in a new sense we shall have to agree with La Rochefoucauld that language is an invention to hide the thoughts of man.

If the jāti could become as precise as the vyakti and the vyakti as determinate as the jāti, if the universal is in no sense abstract and the particular to no extent finite, connotation and denotation would be equal one to the other and sense of the word would be wholly definite. A word, then, to fulfil its function adequately, should be significant neither of abstract qualities nor of finite entities, but of the concrete universal, the absolute that is in particulars and above particulars; the infinitude of quality will be expressed not in abstraction, but as real, and the determinateness of existence will be signified as universal, not as particular. The only truly significant word will thus be the Absolute, the Infinite, Brahman or some other synonym. All other words can be significant only in a smallar degree, or as themselves ultimately signifying the concrete Real. Words ultimately signify what ensouls them; since the concrete universal is their self, as indeed it is the self of all things, it is signified by all words; Brahman is sarva-śabda-vācya.

This is, however, not a position acceptable to the thoroughgoing absolutist, for whom the concept of the concrete universal has no charms, as it is only a device to conceal a contradiction. We cannot merely lump together identity and difference, the universal and the particular. If the word cannot signify the bare particular, its reference to the concrete universal is in no better case; for the alleged concreteness has to be in innumerable and indefinite places and times. The reference to Brahman

is only an apparent solution; for Brahman is conceived as that which ensouls the entire world, sentient and non-sentient; and the indefiniteness of the latter cannot but affect the sense of word 'Brahman'; and the taint will be as great if not greater in respect of other words.

The conclusion therefore seems inevitable that no word is fully or adequately significant, not even the word 'Brahman.' Ultimate reality is therefore beyond the reach of words, worldly or scriptural. And for the Advaitin this position is very acceptable since words to apply to the Real should have connotation, a pravṛtti-nimitta, comprising guṇas; how, then, can any word apply to what is nirguṇa? Again, Brahman is one, non-dual; it has no jāti; how can any word (which primarily signifies jāti) apply to Brahman? What is in the sphere of words is the qualified, the saguṇa, Reality conceived as creator, sustainer, etc. But this, in the Advaitin's view, is phenomenal with only a relative degree of validity. It is the express significance of the word 'Brahman'. Since however, this express sense reveals a contradiction (like the sense of the phrase 'hamlet on the Gaṅgā'), the word passes beyond to the implication of the nirguṇa. The suprarelational and attributeless is thus the implied, not the express, sense of the word. It may be urged that even implied sense is a word-sense. Even so, there is an important difference between expression and implication, one which cannot be lost sight of and is sufficient to justify the view that the Real is inexpressible.

Further, even in relation to the concrete universal, the word occupies a peculiar position. Words like 'pot' and 'cloth' seem to be entities on a par with what they signify and enjoying some mysteriously established relation with those objects. The word 'Brahman' or 'Real' is, however, a part of what it professes to signify. Even in a pluralist system like Madhva's there is this disparity, that while words, like most objects, are dependent reals, God is an independent real. Thus we are faced with a situation where a dependent or a part or an appearance professes to signify the independent or the whole or the real. If the reference of the word 'pot' to the corresponding entity be called *expression*, the other relation should certainly be recognised as distinct. Nor may it be objected that the pot too possesses

the property of being called by that name; for the name is not a dependent or a part in relation to the pot, in the way in which it is in relation to Brahman. And if this much disparity has to be admitted, very little extra effort is needed to treat the word not as expressing but as implying nirguṇa Brahman.

The resultant position is as follows: words have no definite significance in relation to particulars; even the concrete universal is only a half-way house; they may signify nirguṇa Brahman, but that is only by way of implication. Are we then to say that words have no primary sense, except such as is indefinite and more or less defective? If all words are thus defective, how do we get a standard of judgment at all?

On absolutist principles, there is bound to be inadequacy, so long as there is duality–of the mark and the marked, śabda and artha. The imperfections of the finite are revealed by absolutist dialectic in the artha-prapañca; they are no less evident in the śabda-prapañca; witness the discussions as to whether there is sphoṭa, and whether the signification is of the related (anvita) or the ananvita (non-related). And the difficulties make themselves felt even in the inter-relations between the two spheres. If Brahman is both the *prius* and the fulfilment of the world of things, does it not occupy the same place with regard to the world of words too? If Brahman is the supreme vastu, is it not also the supreme śabda?

We cannot rest, it would appear, anywhere short of the non-duality of sound and sense; the word is no longer more abstract than the sense, nor the sense more limited than the word, since the two are non-different. Oṁkāra is Brahman, not the name of Brahman.

If we stop short of this and continue to distinguish between the name and the named, we may treat Brahman as a proper name, despite the etymology given by the Advaitin himself. Though some Indian grammarians would treat the yadṛcchā śabdas as devoid of connotation (pravṛtti-nimitta), that is not the final word of either Western Logic or of Indian Grammar. Proper names are demonstrative rather than definitory; but Bosanquet who says this admits also connotation for proper names. And there does not seem to be a difference of kind between proper and

other names; for, of any word-sound, the immediate effect, says Mr. A. H. Gardiner, 'can be only to identify, and ... ... its distinguishing power is only secondary' (*The Theory of Proper Names*, p. 36 *n*). 'Clearly' he says elsewhere, 'a proper name is a word in which the identifying, and consequently the distinguishing, power of the word-sound is exhibited in its purest and most compelling form' (p. 39); 'though the ability to mark distinctions depends in all words upon these distinctive sounds, in proper names it depends on that alone, or nearly alone' (p. 64). One cannot, however, follow Mr. Gardiner all the way. Since among other necessary conditions for the use of proper names (or the use of names *proper*), he mentions the existence of a plurality of sufficiently similar things. This seems to us unnecessary, if pressed too far; even the unique has to be identified; and 'Brahman' *may* be a proper name. Here too, we have some plurality, from which distinction has to be effected; Brahman has to be distinguished from pradhāna, kāla, svabhāva, etc.; but these are not on a par with Brahman in respect of reality; while the latter is vāstava, the former are kalpita. If this difference of grade, as between the distinguished, be acceptable to Mr. Gardiner, his theory may command our acceptance.

Why then is an etymology given for 'Brahman' suggesting the presence of connotation? Some connotation, we have already said, is not absent from proper names, though it plays little or no part in the function of identification; where distinction however is to be effected, it is helpful. The stock example of akhaṇḍārtha may be of some use here; the moon in the starry firmament may be indicated by the finger; where that indication does not suffice, words like the 'brightest luminary' are of use, still for purposes of identification, not of description. In the same way, the name 'Brahman' identifies the Absolute, with or without the help of the connoted quality. To the dilemma propounded by Deśika:

"avācyam iti vācyam ced brahma vācyatvaṃ ṛcchati
avācyam ity avācyam ced brahma vācyatvam ṛcchati"

the Advaitin may reply that Brahman is both vācya and avācya with a difference of sense; it is word-identifiable, but

not word-describable. In so far as there is an appearance of the latter, it is secondary.

With this, however, we seem to have arrived at a view different from that of traditional Advaita, as set out earlier. It was there said that the saguṇa is the express vācya, while the nirguṇa is vācya only in the sense of secondary implication. A consideration of Mr. Gardiner's theory, however, raises the question whether the primary function of all language is not identification, distinction (to say nothing of description) being secondary. If the answer be in the affirmative, our views as to primary and secondary usage of words will have to suffer a change ; the nirguṇa would be vācya in the primary sense ; for to that alone does a name proper properly apply ; the saguṇa is vācya in the secondary sense. And the adoption of such a view, if possible, would have the merit of conforming to the wider implications of the doctrine of akhaṇḍārtha ; for if the theory of impartite sense is to hold its ground, it must be a view, not of one possible sense, but of the only possible sense, though it is most often hidden from view by our own laziness or practical indifference. There will be the need to revise Advaita terminology, but the core of Advaita doctrine will remain unaffected and will perhaps be strengthened by its association with modern speculations in Logic and the science of language.

Dr. St. JOHN ON INDIA

BY

S. N. SEN

Dr. St. John's Indian career was brief but not uneventful. The first trained lawyer to be appointed a judge at Bombay, he witnessed the end of Keigwin's rebellion, took charge of the island from Sir Thomas Grantham as King's Judge, assumed the style and rank of Chief Justice, it appears without sufficient legal warrant, incurred the displeasure of Sir Josia and Sir John Child, was unceremoniously dismissed and left India in disgrace. He came, he quarrelled and he got the sack; and all this happened within the brief period of three years. He took up the duties of Judge Advocate in November 1684, got his dismissal in September 1687, and left for home early next year (12th January 1688) in the good ship *Success*.

St. John was by no means a man of straw. A member of Middle Temple, he had received the degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Leyden and when the East India Company wanted a trained lawyer well versed in civil laws to preside over the Admiralty Court at Bombay, the selection went to St. John. He enjoyed the influential patronage of Lord Rochester and Sir Leoline Jenkins and had therefore friends at court who were not to be lightly trifled with. Zinzan, the Deputy Governor of Bombay, referred in more than one letters to St. John's powerful patrons at home. Pompous and self-opinionated, St. John was by no means devoid of good sense or ability. His report on Keigwin's rebellion was marked by clear insight and rare political acumen. It is extremely doubtful whether his attempt to extend his jurisdiction would under normal circumstances, lead to a breach with Sir John Child whose friendship and good opinion he had at first tried to cultivate. But the General did not believe in the independence of the judiciary and St. John was not prepared to submit to his dictation in matters pertaining to law. His independence wes treated as insolence and insubordination and led to dismissal and disgrace. As Sir Charles Fawcett points out, " It is clear, therefore, that what really influenced Child in deciding that Dr. St. John should not be given the Chief Justiceship of Bombay was the latter's tak-

ing cognizance of accusations against Child himself. This was regarded as insolence and a presumptuous challenge to the authority of the 'General' by one who, under the Commission of the Company, was to be subordinate to the President and the Deputy Governor of Bombay." St. John was, therefore, first superseded and then dismissed. Wyborne and Vaux who were preferred to him were laymen and relied more on their common sense than their legal learning which was necessarily limited. St. John resolved to place his grievances before the King and described the political condition of India in a letter addressed to His Majesty. Evidently the draft was completed while he was still at Bombay and it was revised subsequently during his voyage home. This was probably the last epistle that St. John was destined to write on Indian affairs. He reached home in July 1688; the Glorious Revolution of that year ruined once for all what little prospects he had of avenging his wrongs. In August of that year Josiah had assured John that St. John "is a poor inconsiderate and weak man, and signifies no more than cypher here." The cypher counted for less than nothing when the more substantial figures from whom he derived his importance left the political arena.

A copy of the letter printed below was enclosed by St. John in his letter to Pepys on the 29th August 1688. It ultimately found its way to the Bodleian Library of Oxford and is now published with the kind permission of the Keeper of the Western Manuscripts.

St. John's letter on India derived its importance more from its authorship than from its substance. Very few, if any, of his countrymen in India could claim St. John's education and learning. He had picked up a few Persian words during his short stay at Bombay and had access to people of power and prestige. Yet his account is not free from chronological inaccuracies. He rightly observes that the Portuguese anxiety to please the Grand Moghul offended the Marathas, and led to the Luso-Maratha War, it is interesting to note that the fall of Bijapur did not mean the immediate subjugation of the Kingdom as a whole, but what interests us most is the reluctance of the Surat merchants to make any complaint against the English who had captured most of their ships at sea. Bombay, defenceless and weak, apprehended Moghul invasion and there was alarm and panic among the civil population which ultimately proved groundless.

If St. John's dates and facts are not free from error are we justified in placing implicit faith in every information that the less educated and by no means better informed English factors transmitted to their friends and superiors in England? Their evidence can be unquestioningly accepted only when the Factors speak from personal knowledge and claim first-hand information about contemporary events. St. John's criticism of Child and the East India Company may not be fair and impartial but his review of current Indian events fairly reflects the popular views about men and things.

MSS. RAWL. A 171 FOL. 52 *ob.*

May it please your most sacred Ma^{tie}

As I constantly discharged all care and endeavours in remitting to your Ma^{tie} y^{e} best intelligence I could by his grace of Canterbury his conveyance (as injoyned by his late ma^{tie} of ever blessed memory) so finding to my greate griefe how things frame backward and untoward through y^{e} ill managery of those att y^{e} helme there, I held it now my bounden duty, rather to discharge y^{e} reputation of my discretion, then not faithfully your sacred Person wth some impartiall intimation thereof, in w^{ch} I have y^{e} more bestowed my paines att this time because I am very well assured, your ma^{tie} will find it as different from what may be represented by y^{e} East India Comp^{a}, as true in substance, and every individuall, as I doe in all submissive humbleness leave with the depth of your Royall judgem^{t} and consideration and when I shall have y^{e} honour to satisfie your Ma^{tie} wth y^{e} advantages. I had in drawing on y^{e} best intelligence before any other of your subjects in India, I humbly conceave it will not only prove of entire satisfac-

tion, but also of as pregnant conviction ag^{t} all suggestion to the contrary.

The eldest prince Sha Alum sonne to Orangsha being arrived wth a formidable army Sombajee Raja by the same Princes brother Sultan Eckbar's[1] advice and persuasions, struck up a peace with y^{e} Portuguese, as dreading y^{e} Mogulls Forces w^{ch} were approached so neare him, and already entred his countrey, but kept not his word not longer then till Sha Allum had ascended the Gaat againe[2], y^{e} season of the yeare not permitting so vast an army to stay any longer in Concan for want of water and forrage, w^{ch} caused a greate mortallity among y^{e} souldiers, horses, elephants and oxen. The Mogull his father observing and finding by experience that he could not doe any good upon Sombajee untill he reduced his confederates to obedience (like a sound Politician and experienced warrier) resolved to march to Visapore and besiedge it, w^{ch} he successfully compassed, and after he had spent two yeares and halfe before it, w^{ch} a greate loss of his men, haveing so farr exhuasted ·his treasure, y^{t} he melted downe all his vessells of gold and silver to pay his Army tooke it in December 86, it being and is held to be the strongest and best fortified citty of all India[3], he being a Shai[4] by Religion different to y^{e} Mogulls, he being a Sunny, its king Sicandersha[5] falling also into his hands, together with all his vast treasure; He haveing found good success here after he had settled

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1. Prince Akbar arrived at Sambhaji's Court in June 1681.
2. Sambhaji raised the siege of Goa as Shah Alam advanced towards the city. Peace was made but hostilities were renewed when Shah Alam began his retreat in March 1684.
3. The siege began in April 1685 and Bijapur capitulated in September 1686. The siege therefore did not last more than a year and six months (actually five months and 11 days).
4. Shia.
5. Sikandar Adil Shah.

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all matters in the safest posture and manner he could in y^t Kingdome of Deccan (tho made no perfect conquest thereof in regard that Serja Can and other omraus held out still[6], and would not come in to yield and submitt to him) leaveing considerable forces att Visapore, marched away w^{th} the rest of his Army towards Hyderabhad, and streightly besiedged y^e castle of Golcundah, where att first he found such strong resistance by y^e besiedged as obliged him to retreate above [* * *] Court and leave all his Artillery behind him, which was taken and carried into y^e castle together with three eminent omraus who had command of 3 distinct batteries which they raised against y^e castle, who thus made prisoners of Warr,[7] were not withstanding most honourably and civilly used by y^t King Abdul Mohzensha, who commanded his principall ministers and officers to shew them his stores of provisions, powder, shott, ammunition etc., he had for endureing a long siedge, who urged might last and hold out eight yeares if it should be continued so long, and haveing given them (like a noble enemy) theire libertie and to each a rich serpas and horse, desired y^m that when they arrived att courte to present y^e Mogull theire master his most humble service, and make manifest to him how desirous he was to submit to any thing in reason his imperial majestie should require of him, so that he would be pleased to lett him live in peace and amity with him, and that if they found him averse thereunto, then to give him an accompt how he was provided with all manner of necessaries for a valiant and long siedge; But they did so farr exasperate the Mogull, as that he immediately gave order for cut-

6. According to Moghul account Sharoza Khan also entered the imperial service with a *mansab* of six thousand and the title of Rustam Khan.

7. One of the prisoners was Ghairat Khan, Chief of Aurangzib's Artillery. The captured officers were treated kindly and sent back to the Moghul camp.

ting off of halfe their muntzub[8] or pay, and sent them to Bengala[9] (which is looked by such as are in the Mogull's service no better then exile) and resolved to returne to Golcundah and besiedge it anew, so soone as he recruited his army sending his sonne Sha Allum in y^{e} interim w^{th} such troopes as he had under his command as forerunner of the army, who being arrived there instead of useing hostility against y^{t} King (blinded with greate presents and selfe interest as most of the Mahometan princes are) concluded (without any commission from his father for the same) a peace w^{th} him w^{ch} y^{e} Mogull his father had no sooner notice of then he caused him and all his sonnes to be apprehended and secured under very close and rigorous confinement, and so continueth to this time for any thing I know to the contrary.[10]

Orangsha y^{e} Mogull being thus·inraged·ag^{t} Abdull Mozensha[11] and y^{e} rather because he is a Shai in Religion and not a Sunny prosecuted the warr more vigorously, that he never rested till he became conqueroar both of that King and Kingdome, he entring that castle[12] on the 24th

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of the Mahometan moone Zulkhad w^{ch} was y^{e} 2nd of our October 1687 and found in one vault onely of ready money no less then 50 crores of pagodoes of rupees 4¼ each, w^{ch} makes sterling £252 112500 and still finds out more daily under ground particular treasure accumulated by y^{e} greate and famous prince Ram Raja (who kept his

8. Mansab.

9. St. John was correctly informed. Ghairat Khan was degraded and transferred to Bengal. Another noble lost his title.

10. Here St. John's chronology is wrong. Shah Alam and his sons had been placed under arrest prior to Ghairat Khan's disgrace.

11. Abul Hasan Qutb Shah.

12. Golkonda surrendered on the 21st September 1687. The discrepancy, however, is trifling if we take into account the difference between the old and the new styles. 24th Zulquada corresponds to 1st October, 1687.

Courte in Narsinga[13] and other successive princes of yt empire of diamonds, jewells and other precious stones so many and such a vast quantity as the Persians very properly call it Beh Bah[14] that is to say inestimable and not to be vallued.

This victorious prince ever since he made himselfe master of this castle busied himselfe mostly in sending away ye treasure and aquisitions made to Agra and Dilly to secure all in his impregnable and strongholds there ; By late letters and intelligence there I understand that he had sent thither 5000 camells loaden with gold and silver wch hath enabled him to make warr with all ye Rajahs and Princes of India that will not buckle and bend to him submissingly and subjugate them especially those who are not of his owne superstitious Mahometan Religion.

His yearly revenue of Hyndostan before he conquered these two kingdoms of Deccan and Golcundah amounted unto 44 crors of rupees (rupee is ster 2s 3d), and now is guessed and calculated to importe verry neare 100[15], wch is sterling £ 112500000. Tis credibly reported yt he sent a very potent Army agt ye Queen of Canara, whome if he subdueth will prove of very bad consequence not onely to ye Portuguese but us also ; in regard it will deprive both of being supplyed with rice, Goa cannot subsist without Barcelor and Mangalore, which is our case also, Bombay being so small that it is not at all able to subsist of itselfe, and without territories annexed to it is no better then an insignificant cypher.

13. Vijayanagar, so called by the Portuguese after the founder of the 2nd Dynasty. It is however extremely unlikely that all the hoarded wealth of Vijayanagar went to Golkonda alone.

14. *Bebaha* (Persian) inestimable, and not Beh Bah.

15. The new conquests could not have added even one tenth of the sum mentioned to Aurangzib's revenue.

That this Mogull Orangsha is a capitall enemy to all Christians and others, who are not Mahometan votaries, is most certaine and obvious, and it is very observable how politiquely he laboureth to extirpate and shoulder them out of all India, especially Hyndostan; for haveing conquered Canara, is resolved to send another army and reduce under his obedience all y^{e} Malabars country along as farr as Ramser to which wee commonly give y^{e} appellation of Cape Comorine, he being already master of all y^{e} inward countrey of Carnateck and coast of Cormandell as far as Jaggernatt and Ballosore, w^{ch} confineth wth his greate and vast province of Bengala (formerly divided into severall kingdomes). In what condition our English att Forte St. George are for want of good intelligence cannot informe, I feare the English in the Bay of Bengala (of whome t'is reported to have made

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peace with Shaesta Can y^{e} Mogull's unckle[16]) that t'is not att all honourable as it should be, for in y^{e} judgem^{t} of those understanding experienced persons I discoursed with, it had been much better, and farr more adviceable to have delayed it for a time, rather then to have concluded it so inconsistent wth y^{r} Ma^{ties} honour and prejudice to y^{e} publique weale of y^{e} English nation but as long as it may consist with some present convenience or interest of the Company (w^{ch} never regard futurity, or present improvement upon expence) t's not att all strange to me that you^{r} Ma^{ties} honour be forgett, when I can myselfe instance wherein I argued y^{e} pointe wth true honesty and integritie viz Your Ma^{ties} honour ag^{t} y^{e} Genra^{ll} and Ceune^{ll} of Suratt, and the answer made by Gen^{ll} Child was; this is y^{e} King's honour and this is my Right Hon^{ble} mas-

16. Reference is obviously made here to the Sutanati convention of 1687.

sters interest, whose bread I eate, and theire interest shall precede now and take place, is in effect it did, and in my judgement most most disgracefully.

In this coast of India there are some hopes affoarded of better att least more reputable success,[17] if the newes be true that arrived lately before my departure, the Mogull is inclined to be kind to y^{e} English, he haveing declared when he was inform'd that they had deserted their Factory in Suratt for the ill usage they had from y^{e} severall Govern^{r} of that place, and plenary restitution should be made them for what had been taken from them by any injust and indirect meanes, and that they should enjoy the same liberties, priviledges and immunities that were granted them by his father Sha Jehan and his anncestors,and for many yeares after he himselfe was settled on y^{e} present throne enjoyed, he haveing sent a greate Omraw Muctier Can, whose daughter was given in marriage to his youngest sonne Caime Bux haft Hazary of 7000 horse who is going to be Suba of Ahmahdavad, haveing Cambaia, Baroach and Suratt under his jurisdiction to examine and compose those differences and distractions w^{ch} argueth some probability because of its consonancy wth all y^{e} Suratt merchants wishes and desires, the principallest of them being you to courte to make theire complaints knowne to the King against y^{e} Governours through whose prodigious avarice the Porte is reduced to the present miserable circumstances t'is now involved.

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Before the merchants resolved to goe, they consultted seriously of whome to complaine, of the English or the Governours, and concluded all unanimously (Seid Idrous being theire oratour and chiefest of them) by all meanes of the former governours, viz

17. **The peace of 1690 was more humiliating.**

Cartulub Can, Salabut Can, and Muttamer Can for they considered that if they complained of the English who lately, seized on most of theire ships it might so farr incense and exasperate y^{e} Mogull ag^{t} us, as that might cause him to send a strong Army to Bombay, and if he should take it (w^{ch} he might easily doe) considering how ill t'is fortified and the paucity of men wee have to defend it (these haveing been a greate mortallity of late among them) and England a farr off to be recruited upon occasion, yet it would no way benifitt them, but rather to y^{e} contrary prejudice them, as they would never expect to have any free commerce nor theire ships to navigate y^{e} Indian seas but ours would reprize them.

The Mogull is now upon his march towards Ahmudnagger a very strong place on an eminency w^{ch} he tooke some yeares since from a Princess called Chan Bibbie[18] much celebrated by these orientall nations for defending her castle and person w^{th} silver bullets and balls instead of iron and leaden ones, and takeing off of a cup of poyson rather than fall into y^{e} hands of her enemy alive, it lieth not above ten daies off of Bombay where he intends to make his rendexvous, till he hath an absolute conquest Concan and Sombajee Rajah his countries, and captivated him alsoe w^{ch} will be easily compassed now, haveing already reduced his confederates to obedience, all whome he will without all doubt send to Goalior[19] w^{ch} will be theire ultimate habitation in this world, where that mortall and intoxicating drinke of Post will be given them, if not beheaded.

While Orangsha was busie with y^{e} siedges Golcundah his third sonne Sultan Eckbar imbarqued himselfe in Aprill last att

18. Chand Bibi.

19. Neither Sikandar nor Abul Hasan was imprisoned at Gwalior.

Rajapore[20] for Mascutt where he arrived safely; This Prince had not long rested there before the Emon[21] of y^{t} Porte of Arabia (Sultan Benell Arab) shewed himselfe a second Prusias King of Bythinia who betrayed Hanniball to the Romans haveing sought his protection; This perfidious Prince y^{e} Arab haveing secretly bargained wth y^{e} Mogull Orangsha to deliver him up his sonne for

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five lacks of rupees (a lack is fivety thousand dollars) w^{ch} the young prince haveing notice of, adviced immediately Sha Soliman Emperour of Persia thereof, who presently upon receipt of his letter dispatched a Can to the Arab Prince with menacing missives, that if he offered the s^{d} prince the least disgust, and did not permitt him to come freely and without the least molestation he would certainely send an Army to destroy him and his country, which proved of so greate a terrour and influence, as to suffer him depart peaceably, he arrived and disimbarqued att mino[22] neare unto Assine, where he was so honourably reiceived by the Can and Shabunder[23], who by the King of Persia theire masters express commands, both walked on foote by him takeing hold of y^{e} stirrups till he was brought to the garden doore where he lighted from whence to y^{e} roome y^{t} was prepared for his reception y^{e} ground was spread with rich Zerbafts (Zerbaft is a cloth of all gold or silver) on which he and all y^{t} followed him treaded, after he had refreshed himselfe a while there, he was attended to Gombroone[24], where was sett before him twenty five thousand Tomans of gold, (a Persian toman is

20. Akbar sailed from Rajpur in October 1686.

21. Imam.

22. Probably Minau, to the east of Bundur Abbas.

23. Harbour Master.

24. Modern Bundur Abbas.

sterling 3 £ 6s 8d) fourteen stately horses with gold ·trappings all sett with precious stones to be lead in state, 300 horses besides and 1500 Georgian and Sircassian slaves for service and for his accommodation on the way to Spahan[25] y^{e} Royal citty of that Empire the rich tent which was Sha Tamas, and used afterwards by Sha Abbas which is allwaies kept in the Cassana[26] or Treasury appointed him, haveing reposed a few daies here, where he was complemented by the English, French and Dutch, he marched away for Laar[27] where he was mett and wellcomed att suitable state and respect by divers Cans and 15000 Cuzelbashes all horsemen and some Cans of the prime rank within a few daies after removed thence to Shiraz where he was expected and receaved also wth no less state then before by as many greate personages and Cuzelbushes who conducted and waited upon him to Spahan,[28] where and how he was receaved and cushamudied or wellcomed. Your Ma^{tie} may guess by the ·Persians naturall propension to magnificence and greateness, he never lighted off his horse to goe into any garden all the way he went and travelled up to Spahan but Zerbaft were spread for him to tread upon, he is so much honoured and esteemed by Shah Soliman as that t'is verily believed that he will give a considerable succour to enter into Hyndostan w^{ch}

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he may easily doe, by way of Kandehar and arrive to sitt on the throne of that vast Empire, all y^{e} Rasputts and many angry discontented Omraws being for him.

The Portugueses, after y^{t} Don Manosel Lobo de Sylveira was displaced for his ill conduct of warr with Sombajee Rajah and

25. Ispahan.
26. Khazana.
27, About 150 miles to the west of Bundur Abbas.
28. He reached Ispahan in January 1688, after St. John had already embarked for England.

Joseph de Mello de Castro chose in his roome of Capt Generall of the north, soone retooke Carenjah[29] and beat out ye enemy, they also mett with good success on the coast of Melinda the last Montzoon,[30] makeing themselves masters of Pather whither they sent four frigotto and a Galiote wth severall families to re-people it, and about two months since they repossessed themselves of the strong eminency of Asserine, wch they did partly through confederacy partly by force of armes and stratagems it being a place not to be taken by force onely, forty vigilant men in it, being enough to defend and keepe it against 4000, this has so farr enraged Sombagee Rajah as that he threatneth to lay seidge to Chaule and Baccaim, but the Rajah is so full-freighted with carefull thoughts now that Orangsha hath subjugated his confederates and is marching against him, that he is not in a capacitie hardly to defend himselfe much less warr upon and enemy.

When I wrote thus farr a letter was brought me to peruse lately brought me from ye Mogull's camp of the beginning of December last by one Bowanidas a Nagger Brahmen, directed to Volubvenidas[30a] a late Farmer of ye island Bombay, who adviseth that the Mogull is resolved to take Sombajee Rajah alive and because he should not escape him by flying to the Portuguese Countrey for protection, he would lay seidge and take theire countrey first; making himselfe (like a subtle Politician) ignorant of the greate enmity between them, wch evidently manifesteth his implacable aversion to all Christians, tho ye Portuguese did from theire first establishment in India most seriously and industriously courte the Mogull's amitie never giveing but alwaies avoideing the least offence of

29. September 1684.

30. Monsoon.

30a. Vallab Venidas was the farmer of customs at Bombay.

theire parte, and if they have suffered of late and lossed a greate part of theire countrey w^{ch} Sombajee Rajah tooke and destroyed, it was out of respect and pleasure to serve and gratifie y^{e} Mogull by suffering his Army to pass through it when it marched to Calian where Ranmast Can his Generall intrenched himselfe and kept his rendezvous till his master commanded him away againe, besides they well knowing what a potent and formidable Prince in

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Asia he is, theire chiefest study was alwaies to preserve a faire and amicable correspondence with him which was no unadvised policy.

The said Nagger Brahmen being a very intimate friend of Volubvenidas heartily wisheth and beseecheth him not to stay any longer on Bombay, but gett himselfe and his family off of the Island, and secure whatever he hath in Suratt or some other place for the Mogull was much incensed ag^{t} the English for seizing his subjects ships and committing many exorbitances in Bengala, so that unless y^{e} merchants who are gon to court doe appease him, wee must expect that he will send greate power ag^{t} us, and besiedge very straitely both by land and sea, his navall armada being in a readiness to sett out expecting a very considerable Fleete of Arabs of Mascatt consisting of 15 sailes some very stoute ships with good Europe Artillery supplyed by the Interlopers and very full of men very dextrous att small shott, which I have reason to suspect may joyne with the Mogulls, either by confederacy, taken up upon service or upon hire.[30b]

30b. Sir G. Campbell writes: "In fact such was the defenceless state of the island that the conquest of it was prevented more by the jealousy of Mukhtyar Khan of the influence which the reduction of it would have given to the Sidi than by the power of the garrison to defend it."

Matters standing thus between us and so potent a Monarch (the greatest that ever wore a Diadem of Hyndostan since y^{e} reigne of Tamerlen, whence all the Mogulls are lineally descended, and England att so vast a distance for present succour, it behooveth those who have y^{e} management of those weighty and nationall affaires (to whom I heartily wish a happy progress and conclusion) to peice y^{e} Fox's taile to the Lyon's skin, and avoide haveing too many irons in the fire att once, because Genll Child already hath disobliged y^{e} Portuguese French and Dutch, since this rupture wth the Mogull as your Ma^{tie} shall understand att leasure, more particularly from the King of Portugall. I doe in all submissive humbleness crave leave to be silent in all occurrences relating to the East India Company and theire servants till I have the hononr of attending your Ma^{ties} p^{sonally} to satisfie you in your princely wisdome with all such matters in my bounden duty as fell within the compass of my charge and with the manner of theire usage and carriage to myselfe in the quality of your judge by a speciall commission under the greate Seale of England which they presumed to supersede the nineth of September last to the amazement of all European and Easterne nations, giveing me a discharge in writeing, and telling me I must be maintained from that day by your Ma^{tie} or myselfe, if I tarried any longer then the first conveyance presented for Europe, S^{r} John Child already alleadgeing a new dispoticall soveraigne power invested in him over all your Ma^{ties} subjects in India, with whome in sundry weighty occurrences I could not

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runn beyond my commission, judgem^{t} and conscience as a toole to serve turne ag^{t} his late Ma^{ties} Royall and righteous commands

and directions att the bare will and arbitrary pleasure of S^{r} John Child without against all lawes, w^{ch} with all circumstances will be lay^{d} open to your sacred Ma^{tie} by Persons of approved integritie neare your Royall Person with w^{ch} I shall not presume to burthen att present, thus onely that I had patiently borne wth all extreamities and pressures of my owne in that painefull, hazardous, and ingratefull service, till I receaved your Ma^{ties} express directions, w^{ch} out 'of imploy and meanes among strangers nay my avow'd enemies was altogether impossible for me to accomplish and if true devotion to your Ma^{ties} service and my ever bounden duty had suffered my inclinations to come to a resolution, I had chose rather to undergoe the greatest extreamities in this world, then strugle any longer to preserve the inestimable peace of conscience under the unconditionale unbounded authoritie of the said Company and theire servants, as exercised and practiced by them, w^{ch} I was under most impulsive necessitie to observe with teares, in my last yeares dispatches to his Grace of Canterbury under the title of Y^{r} Ma^{ties} prerogative offended defended, but since they proceeded a melo ad peius and I have cause to thank God to be thus delivered from theire warr and strife, as well as theire unnaturall animosities among themselves who cannot endure any concurrent jurisdiction from Y^{r} Ma^{tie} but what solely invested in themselves, witness the inhuman usages of Capt John Tyrrell, S^{r} John Wyborne,[31] and myselfe, whom I despaire not God will save from the striveing of unruly People, whose mouth speaketh proud words and theire right hand is a right hand of iniquitie.

31. Capt. Tyrell was guilty of insolence towards St. John on one occasion. Child interfered with the judicial work of Wyborne and subsequently dismissed him. Tyrell's recommendation, probably as a juryman, was rejected by Child.

In case the Mogull be mollified or influenced by the sollicitations of the merchants that are gon to petition him, it will be happy, and if not wee must expect never to enjoy any peace quietness, or any manner of commerce in India so long as he liveth, this is clearly my opinion, for whither there be any trade in his countrey or no brought by sea he valueth it not, for what is 20 or 25 lacks of rupees to him, w[ch] the customes of Suratt, Bengala and Broach and Cambaya may inporte to yearely, a matter very inconsiderable to his vast Revenue, and there will not be Armenians, Turks and other merchants wanting that will find out waies (as formerly) to supply the trade by land, I say little of the politique Dutch, who all this while sitt still lookeing on how the game is played, who, I dare say are not a little joyfull to see these distractions, who time will manifest, will in y[e] conclusion interest and convenience, and supply Europe sufficiently with all these countrey commodities, as for the French they are not so considerable tho it may animate them much to increase their commerce, the last letters which came from Pundicherry (where theire Principall Factory is now) advice that there were six frigatts men of warr arrived at Syam

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of theire Kings with an Embassadour and upwards 1000 men with greate quantity of powder, armes, Artillery small and greate, morter pieces, granadoes etc[a] ammunition, what theire designe is, as yett is not certainely knowne, but suspected that they intend to goe and possess themselves of Tenassry and settle there, w[ch] if they compass, will prove of very bad consequence to other nations, especially those that inhabit the coast of Cormandell, who are alwaies supplied with rice from thence, besides t'is a countrey yielding plenty of most excellent straite masts and

timber for building of ships, and in all seasons of the yeare a second Bay of Bombay, the situation of the place is so strong by nature that with a little arte added to it, there may be erected inexpugnable fortifications but it is believed the politique Dutch will be vigilant enough over them to overthrow theire designe.

On the 29th December last arrived in Bombay road a small ship belonging to Generall Child, called y^e Casar from Forte St George w^{ch} brought newes of a greate tempest that hapned on that coaste wherein were upwards of 40 ships lossed, that, where of young Goodlad was commander being also ship wrecked, this escaped by letting its cable slip and putting to Sea yett nevertheless was forced to cutt his maine mast by the bord.

The Resolution arrived safe there three daies after the storme, all the Portuguese who lived under the English att Fort St George are removed thence to St Thome apprehensive that the Mogull will send an army downe to besiedge it, there hath been a greate mortality in Bengala and y^e coast of Cormandell among the English French Portuguese and Dutch besides the countrey people among whome a violent Famine still continueth w^{ch} will be our case also on this Coaste if there is not an accomodation concluded between us and Orangsha for all manner of provisions are not onely scarce, but most excessive deare already.

There arrived 2 messus[32] or foote messengers from Suratt w^{th} letters to y^e Generall from Mr. Harris and Annesley att Suratt w^{ch} advice the new Gov^r Muctier Can haveing shewed himself very civill to them with many promises to intercede with his master very effectually for the English and att theire takeing Congee of him he presented Mr. Harris the Chiefe with a horse and a rich

32. Probably a corruption of *jasud*.

Serpa, (Serpa is a rich garment) and to the Company's Brokers Kisso and Vittall Parracke each a Serpa, he did much insist on the Generall's returne to Suratt w^{ch} is w^{t} the Moores aime att, but he will avoide that snare for in my opinion it will not be safe for him to approach y^{e} place againe without the Mogulls Firman secureing him and the Company's effects and affaires from all violences whatsoever

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and also theire former priviledges, immunities and stipulations w^{ch} they enjoyed in Sha Jahans Reigne reconfirmed. But I looke on those proceedings for no better then meere formalities, neither indeed shall wee really know what to depend upon, or trust unto till the merchants that are gon to courte have theire ultimate answer from the King.

In a vessell that was lately brought into Bombay harbour lately reprized att Suratt rivers mouth by our ships that have blocked up that Porte was y^{e} successour to an Embassadour who was sent from Sha Soliman, to the King of Syam and inquireing what the importe of his embassy was, could not gather from my informers that it was to any other end then to maintaine a firme and amicable correspondence wth each other.

In a paper inclosed your Ma^{tie} shall find an exact accompt of y^{e} yearely Revenue of your Island Bombay as farmed in 86, not farmed out since in regard the Comp^{a} inhanced the customes from 3 p. c. to 5 p. cent and keepe them in their owne hands, the Company still complaine of theire charges, but your Ma^{tie} may discerne the truth w^{ch} walked in the darke hitherto.

Thus farr I proceeded in my intelligence on Bombay w^{ch} I had ready to be forwarded in the ship I intended to imbarque in for

Europe, in case y^{e} Generall would att y^{e} last lay some impediment in my way w^{ch} he most industriously laboured to doe after his wonted sinister practices, the 12th of January being imbarqued in the good ship Success, wee tooke our departure from that Porte and the 20th Aprill following arrived att St Helena roade where I receaved this following intelligence from a French Man of Warr[33].

Thus I have in all submissive humbleness and duty made bold to represent those occurrences to your sacred Ma^{tie} with as much persepecuity integritie and candour, as my weake understanding would serve me presumeing on your Ma^{ties} knowne zeale for y^{e} true wellfare of your subjects and gracious disposition towards him who in his bounden duty fidelity, and best endeavours shall ever be zealous and ready to approve himselfe.

Your most sacred Ma^{ties}
most humble, obdt and faithfull
subject and servant
J. St. J.

From bord ship Success
the E Channell 18 July 1688/ S. V.

33. Here follows an account of French activities in Siam.

CERTAIN VEDIC, AVESTAN AND GREEK TRADITIONS AND THE AGE OF THE RIGVEDA

H. C. SETH

Elsewhere[1] we have argued for the sixth century B. C. as the age of Zoroaster, and also that his royal disciple and patron Vishtāsp is Hystaspes, father of Darius the great. The whole controversy on this subject is re-examined there and some new light is thrown on the problem. In this paper we are raising the question, if Zoroaster and the Gāthās attributed to him belong to the sixth century B.C., does the Rigveda, at least part of it, belong to the same age ? It may not be necessary to repeat here the well-known suggestions made by various scholars regarding tha striking similarity in the language, the pantheon, the heroic legends, ritual and ceremonies, sometimes to the minutest details, of the two lores, which has been revealed by the comparative Vedic and Avestan studies. It may be, as Martin Haug ably points out, that Zoroaster's monotheism as well as his ethical ideas represented the first great schism which divided his followers from the orthodox followers of the sacrificial creed of the Vedas. With the growing controversies some of the gods of one creed became the demons of the other. This schism was perhaps further deepened as the Indian and the Iranian sections of the Aryans emerged into independent political entities, each professing a separate religion.

Ervad Sheriarji Bharucha,[2] and following him S. K. Hodivala,[3] have perhaps rightly detected in the Rigveda a reflection of the bitter controversies initiated by the reforms of Zoroaster. One of the most striking of their suggestions is the identification of Iṣṭāśva mentioned in the Rigveda, with Vishtāsp the royal patron of Zoroaster. The relevant passage of the Rigveda runs as follows:

किमिष्टाश्व इष्टरश्मिरेत ईशानासस्तरुष ऋञ्जते नॄन् ।

(I. 122. 13).

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1. "The Age of Zoroaster," Nagpur University Journal, No. 7.
2. Cama Memorial Volume, p. 1. ff.
3. Zarathustra and his Contemporaries in the Rigveda.

Wilson translates this passage as follows: " What can Iṣṭāśva, (what can) Iṣṭaraśmi, (what can) those who are now lords of the earth, achieve (with respect) to the leaders of men, the conquerors of the foes." According to Sāyaṇa the passage signifies, " what can the princes, who are named, or any other princes do against those who enjoy the protection of Mitra and Varuṇa ". As Sāyaṇa suggests Iṣṭāśva and Iṣṭaraśmi are the names of two kings. These names are not found elsewhere in the Vedas.

A very deep colouring is lent to this identification of Iṣṭāśva and Vishtāsp by the fact that the author of the Rigvedic hymn under consideration is Kakṣivat, who being son of Uśij, is also called Auśija. Apparently the author is here complaining against the oppression of Iṣṭāśva and Iṣṭaraśmi. Now, as pointed out by Bharucha, in the Gāthā Ushtavaiti (Yasna XLIV. 20) Zoroaster complains of certain persons called Kavis and Karapans, notably those of the family of Usikhsh (comparable to the Vedic Uśij) as the chief opponents of his new religion[1]. As Jackson suggests Usij (Usikhsh) in the Avesta appears to be a proper name[2]. If we accept Iṣṭāśva as equal to Vishtāsp and Usikhsh as referring to Auśija we have in the Rigveda a faint echo of the bitter controversies initiated by the reforms of Zoroaster.

Bharucha suggests that " as Vishtāsp, when articulated by Greek tongue, became Hystaspes, so pronounced by the Vedic Rishi, it assumed the form of Iṣṭāśva[3]. " As suggested by Hodivala, " some Vedic words beginning with व् and followed by a vowel drop the व्; for instance in Rv. 5.41. 2 and 1. 162. 2 the word आयु is said by Sāyaṇa and Mahīdhara to be used for वायु. Similarly in Atharva Veda 4. 8. 38 ऋषभ is used for वृषभ. In Persian also we have 'Andariman' used for Avestan ' Vandariman' and 'ila' for Avestan 'Vira' (hero). In colloquial Marathi व् is very commonly dropped; as इष्णु = विष्णु ; इश्राम = विश्राम[4]. " The Iranian 'aspa' termination is the same as Sanskrit 'aśva'. On philological grounds, therefore, there appears to be no difficulty in equating Iṣṭāśva with Vishtāsp. But the equation by Bharucha and Hodivala of Iṣṭaraśmi with the Avestan Vishtauru and the Persian Gushtam, an ancestor of Vishtāsp, is not convincing.

1. Ervad S. D. Bharucha: Zoroastrian Religion and Customs. p. 3.
2. Zoroaster, p. 43.
3. Cama Memorial Volume, p. 4.
4. Zarathustra and his Contemporaries in the Rigveda, p. 11.

Now in the light of our conclusion that Vishtāsp and Zoroaster belong to the sixth century B. C., and that Vishtāsp the royal patron of Zoroaster is Vishtāsp or Hystaspes, the father of Darius the great, a surmise may be offered that in Iṣṭaraśmi of the Rigveda we may have a reference to Arsames of the Greek writers or Arshama of the Achaemenian inscriptions, who was the father of Hystaspes (Vishtāsp) and the grand-father of Darius the great. In the Rigveda ' iṣṭa ' may be a prefix to the proper name Araśmi. As we gather from the inscription of Darius at Behistun, Arsames was alive at the time when Darius ascended the imperial throne. In view of the identity of Vishtāsp the royal patron of Zoroaster with Vishtāsp the father of Darius, it can be assumed on the basis of the Avestan traditions that the father of Vishtāsp was also an ardent follower of Zoroaster and took part in the controversies resulting from the emergence of this new creed.

This surmise induces us to enquire also into the tradition preserved in the Rigveda concerning Suśravas. Our conclusion that Zoroaster and his royal disciple Vishtāsp belonged to the sixth century B. C. has made us revive the view that Kai Khusrau of the Persian traditions is identical with Cyrus the great[1]. It is well-known and almost unanimously suggested by all the Iranian scholars that Kavi Husravah of the Avesta, the glorious uniter of the Aryan race, is Kai Khusrau of the Persian traditions. Now it has been surmised by many an oriental scholar that Husravah of the Avesta is the same as Suśravas of the Vedas. This will lead to the suggestion that Suśravas and Cyrus the great may be the same person. We get the following brief notice of Suśravas in one of the Rigvedic hymns.

त्वमेताञ्जनराज्ञो द्विर्दशाऽबन्धुना सुश्रवसोपजग्मुषः ।
षष्टिं सहस्रा नवतिं नव श्रुतो नि चक्रेण रथ्या दुष्पदावृणक् ॥ ९ ॥
त्वमाविथ सुश्रवसं तवोतिभिस्तव त्रामभिरिन्द्र तूर्वयाणम् ।
त्वमस्मै कुत्समतिथिग्वमायुं महे राज्ञे यूने अरन्धनायः ॥ १० ॥

(I. 53.9 and 10)

" Thou, renowned Indra, overthrewest by thy not-to-be-overtaken chariot wheel, the twenty kings of men, who had come against Suśravas unaided and their sixty thousand and ninetynin(followers.

1. In the paper, " The Age of Zoroaster," referred to above.

" Thou, Indra, hast preserved Suśravas by thy succour, Tūrvayāṇa[1] by thy assistance: thou hast made Kutsa, Atithigva, and Āyu subject to the mighty though youthful (king) Suśravas " (Wilson).

Against this Vedic account of Suśravas let us juxtapose the account of the main achievements of Cyrus the great as we have it from the inscriptions and Herodotus. After his flight from the court of Astyages, the powerful Median monarch, Cyrus in his ancestral home is attacked by the forces of Media. He emerges triumphant against Astyages and annexes Media. He spared the life of Astyages. After this he overthrows Croesus of Lydia. Though Lydia is won and annexed to the Persian empire Cyrus kindly treats Croesus, who continues till his last days one of his most intimate and trusted friends. After Lydia Cyrus overthrows the kingdom of Babylonia. Nabonidus is captured but his life too is spared and he is befriended by Cyrus. Thus Cyrus, rising from the humble chieftainship of a small vassal state, while yet young conquers three of the strongest and the proudest kingdoms of his time, Media, Lydia and Babylonia, and creates the first great Aryan empire of the ancient world. The lives of the three defeated monarchs are spared and they become subject to Cyrus. We thus find a striking similarity in the main achievements of Cyrus the great and the brief notice of Suśravas we get in the Rigveda. Philologically it may not be difficult to equate Atithigva with Astyages and Kutsa with Croesus. It is difficult to equate Āyu with Nabonidus.[2]

1. " Tūrvayāṇa " here appears to be an epithet of Suśravas, meaning " of rapid marches " or conquering. We may note that in connection with Rv. 6.18.13 " Tūrvayāṇa " is explained by Sāyaṇa as an epithet of Atithigva, meaning 'tvarita-gamanam,' of rapid marches. If Tūrvayāṇa is taken as an epithet of Suśravas, then the verse 6.18.13 may also be taken to refer to the same fact as 1.53.10, i. e. Kutsa, Āyu and Atithigva were made subservient to the great king, Suśravas or Tūrvayāṇa. Griffith also takes Suśravas and Tūrvayāṇa as the name of one and the same king. We may note that in the Iranian legends Kai Khusrau or Kava Husravah is reported for his conquests of the Turanians. Tūrvayāṇa in the Rigveda as applied to Suśravas may have some connection with Tūrān of the Iranian legends. According to these legends Kai Khusrau was the son of the daughter of the Tūrānian king, whom he subsequently overthrew.

2. We may trace in Āyu a reference to Nabu the Babylonian god, which prefix is added to the names of the Babylonian kings like Nabupolassar (=Nabu protect the heir); Nabuchadrezzer (=Nabu protect the Crown) and Nabunidus (=Nabu is glorious), the last named king of Babylonia being overthrown by Cyrus the great. Nabu may stand as equal to the Babylonian king and it may be referred to as Āyu in the Rigveda. But this is only a surmise. According to the Zend-Avesta Kavi Husrava fought against the Turanian Frangrasyan (Afrasyab) and also fought against and defeated Auravasāra.

We may refer to another fact which may suggest that the events mentioned in the Rigveda as connected with Suśravas may refer to Cyrus the great. The author of the Rigvedic hymn under consideration is Savya, of the family of Aṅgiras. Dino, who wrote in the 4th century B. C., had reported that one Angares was the most renowned of the ministrels at the court of Astyages. He had predicted the bravery of Cyrus and the fall of Astyages[1]. It may be that the Angares who was the ministrel and priest of Astyages later on became also the priest of Cyrus and may be the author of the Rigvedic hymn under consideration. If so, Savya the Aṅgiras would then also belong to almost the same period as Auśija, another Vedic Rishi referred to above.

Legends in the Rigveda connected with Kutsa may also suggest that the traditions associated with him are similar to those given by Herodotus about Croesus ; and these also may refer to the events of the sixth century B. C. One of these legends is that Indra in some battle in order to protect Kutsa and Etaśa stoie the disc of the sun.

यत्रोत बाधितेभ्यश्चक्रं कुत्साय युध्यते । मुषाय इन्द्र सूर्यम् । ४ ।
यत्र देवाँ ऋधायतो विश्वाँ अयुध्य एक इत् । त्वमिन्द्र वनूँरहन् । ५ ।
यत्रोत मर्त्याय कमरिणा इन्द्र सूर्यं । प्रावः शचीभिरेतशम् । ६ ।

IV. 30. 4,5 and 6.

" 4. In which (contests) for the sake of Kutsa and his allies, thou hast stolen, Indra, the (wheel of the car) of the sun.

" 5. In which (contests) thou singly indeed hast warred with all those opposing the gods : thou, Indra hast, slain the malignant.

" 6. In which (contests), Indra, thou hast for the sake of a mortal, discomfited the sun, and hast protected Etaśa by (thine) exploits[2]" (Wilson).

We may detect here, as suggested by Griffith, a reference to a solar eclipse which may have occurred during a battle in which Kutsa and Etaśa were involved. Herodotus records a prolonged struggle, lasting for five years, 590–585 B. C., between the Median King Cyaxares, father of Astyages, and the Lydian King Alyattes,

1. "Passages in Greek and Latin Literature relating to Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism", Fox and Pemberton. (Cama Oriental Institute Publication No. 4), P. 25.

2. This incident also appears to be referred to in the following other Rigvedic hymns. I. 121.13; II. 19.4 and 5: V. 29.10; V. 31.11; VI. 15.5; VI. 31.3; VIII. 1.11.

father of Croesus. During the thick of one of the battles sun was eclipsed which terrified both the sides and peace was concluded between the two kings. Croesus, who, it appears, had already for some years shared the royal power with his father may have taken part in these battles alongside his father. We may note the account of Herodotus of this event. "War lasted between the Lydians and the Medes for five years; during this period the Medes often defeated the Lydians and often the Lydians defeated the Medes. In the sixth year when they were carrying on the war with nearly equal success, on occasion of an engagement, it happened that in the heat of the battle day was suddenly turned into night. This change of the day Thales the Milesian had foretold to the Ionians, fixing beforehand this year as the very period, in which the change actually took place. The Lydians and Medes seeing night succeeding in the place of the day, desisted from fighting, and both showed a great anxiety to make peace". (1. 74). As Herodotus further tells us, peace was made between the two kings, to cement which Alyattes gave his daughter Aryenis in marriage to Astyages, son of Cyaxares. In that year 'astronomical authorities are agreed that an eclipse of magnitude sufficient to have constituted the portent implied in Herodotus' story did occur in Asia Minor[1]". It may be surmised that the Rigvedic passages under consideration may refer to this eclipse, in which case we may find in Etaśa of the Rigveda a reference to Alyattes, father of Croesus, who has been equated with Kutsa. Philologically it may not be impossible to equate Etaśa with Alyattes[2].

In some of the Rigvedic hymns Kutsa is called as Ārjuneya, son of Arjunī[3]. From the grammatical formation Arjunī appears

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1. Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. III, P. 512.

2. We may note that Attys was the name of the sun-god of Lydia. Attys also appears to be a popular name with the kings of Lydia. One of Croesus' son is also named Attys. In Alyattes, 'Al' may be a prefix to the name Attys. Alyattes also appears to be a popular name with the princes of Lydia.

3. त्वं ह त्यदिन्द्र कुत्समावः शुश्रूषमाणस्तन्वा समर्ये ।
दासं यच्छुष्णं कुयवं न्यस्मा अरन्धय आर्जुनेयाय शिक्षन् ॥ २ ॥
VII. 19.2.

"Aiding him with thy person, Indra, thou hast, defended Kutsa in combat when thou hadst subjugated Dāsa, Śusṇa and Kuyava, giving (the spoil) to that son of Arjunī" (Wilson).

Sāyaṇa explains, आर्जुनेयम् as अर्जुन्याः पुत्रं and suggests that it refers to Kutsa.

Kutsa is called the son of Arjunī also in the following other Rigvedic verses:

I. 112.23; IV. 26.1 and VIII. 1.11.

to be the name of Kutsa's mother. We may note that Aryenis, in which name it may not be difficult to recognise the Vedic form Ārjuneyī or Arjunī, was the name of Croesus' sister, who as seen above, was married to Astyages. The name of Croesus' mother is not known from the Greek accounts, which only tell us that she was a Carian. If Croesus is the same as Kutsa, Ārjuneya as applied to the brother in the Vedic traditions and Aryenis to the sister in the Greek accounts may have reference to the name of their mother.

Herodotus has recorded the traditions of the extensive conquests of and also of the fabulously great wealth possessed by Croesus, whose name had stood as synonym of riches through all the centuries since he lived. In the Rigveda Kutsa appears to be a special favourite of Indra; the following Rigvedic tradition seems to suggest that Kutsa also possessed great riches :

प्रान्यच्चक्रमवृहः सूर्यस्य कुत्सायान्यद् वरिवो यातवेऽकः ।

(V. 29. 10)

" Thou hast formerly detached one wheel (of the car) of Sūrya (sun); another thou hast given to Kutsa wherewith to acquire wealth " (Wilson).

We have another Rigvedic legend about Kutsa which may recall the traditions about Croesus recorded by Herodotus.

तव त्य इन्द्र सख्येषु वह्नय ऋतं मन्वाना व्यदर्दिरुर्वलम् ।
यत्रा दशस्यन्नुषसो रिणन्नपः कुत्साय यन्मन्नह्यश्च दंसयः ।

(X. 138. 1)

"Allied with thee in friendship, these thy priests, remembering
Holy Law, rent Vritra limb from limb,
When they bestowed the Dawns and let the waters flow, and
When thou didst chastise dragons at Kutsa's call."

(Griffith)

In this legend we may have reference to Kutsa being saved by a timely burst of rain from the clouds. Herodotus records about Croesus that when he was captured by Cyrus, bound with fetters he was placed on a heap of a great pile to which fire was set. Meanwhile Cyrus having pardoned him commanded the fire to be instantly extinguished, but inspite of the best endeavours the fire could not be mastered. Herodotus further notes, "It is related by the Lydians, that Croesus, perceiving that Cyrus had altered his resolution, when he saw every man endeavouring to put out the fire,but unable to get the better of it, shouted aloud, invoking Apollo, and besought him, if any of his offerings had been agreeable to him, to

protect and deliver him from the present danger; they report that he with tears invoked the god, and that on a sudden, clouds were seen gathering in the air, which before was serene and that a violent storm burst forth and vehement rain fell and extinguished the flames" (1. 87). Croesus was saved and he became one of the most trusted friends of Cyrus. We may not believe in all the details of the story of the escape of Croesus from the flames as given by Herodotus. But the truth underlying it seems to be that Croesus had a providential escape, may be from the sudden downpour of rains as he sat on the burning pyre either condemned by Cyrus, or more likely in an attempt to self-immolation on his defeat.

We have another oft-repeated legend in the Rigveda about Kutsa. This legend refers to the destruction of Śuṣṇa, called an Asura by the commentators, by Indra for the protection of Kutsa[1]. If Croesus and Kutsa be the same person, it may be surmised that Śuṣṇa may refer to Syennesis King of Cilicia, which bordered on Croesus' dominions. According to Herodotus (1. 74), Syennesis the Cilician was one of the two mediators in the battle between Croesus' father Alyattes and the Median king Cyaxares, during which, as already referred to above, the eclipse occurred. May be that Croesus in course of his conquests came in conflict and may have worsted Syennesis. In certain Rigvedic hymns[2] the term 'Kuyava' is used side by side with Śuṣṇa. Sāyaṇa explains it also as the name of an Asura destroyed by Indra for the benefit of Kutsa. It is however possible that Kuyava is an epithet of Śuṣṇa. In the Assyrian records Kue is the name of Cilicia[3]. If Śuṣṇa and Syennesis are the same, it may be surmised that Kuyava as an epithet of Śuṣṇa was perhaps derived from Kue, the country over which he ruled.

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1. Rigvedic Hymns, I. 51.6; 63.3; 121.9; II. 19.6; IV. 16.12; V. 29.9; VII. 19.3; VIII. 85.17.

२. त्वं कुत्सेनाभि शुष्णमिन्द्राऽशुषं युध्य कुयवं गविष्टौ ।
दश प्रपित्वे अध सूर्यस्य मुषायश्चक्रमविवे रपांसि ॥ ३ ॥
(VI. 31.3)

"Thou Indra, with Kutsa, hast warred against the inexhaustible Śuṣṇa; thou hast overthrown Kuyava in battle; in conflict thou hast carried off the wheel (of the chariot) of the sun; thou hast driven away the malignant (spirits)."

Also compare Rigveda, IV. 16.12 and VII. 19.2.

3. Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. III, p. 357.

As regards Atithigva who, as shown above, may be the same as Astyages, there is a recurring legend in the Rigveda, which says that for his benefit Indra destroyed Śambara and demolished Śambara's numerous cities. We may quote some of the Rigvedic passages containing this legend, as they may throw, if our surmise is correct, new light on the confused history of this period.

त्वं कुत्सं शुष्णहत्येष्वाविथाऽरन्धयोऽतिथिग्वाय शम्बरम् ।
महान्तं चिदर्बुदं नि क्रमीः पदा सनादेव दस्युहत्याय जज्ञिषे ॥ ६ ॥

I. 51. 6

" Thou (Indra) hast defended Kutsa in fatal fights with Śuṣṇa, thou hast destroyed Śambara in defence of Atithigva; thou hast trodden with thy foot upon the great Arbuda; from remote times wast thou born for the destruction of oppressors" (Wilson).

भिनत् पुरो नवतिमिन्द्र पूरवे दिवोदासाय महि दाशुषे नृतो वज्रेण दाशुषे नृतो ।
अतिथिग्वाय शम्बरं गिरेरुग्रो अवाभरत् ।
महो धनानि दयमान ओजसा विश्वा धनान्योजसा ॥ ७ ॥

I. 130. 7

" For Puru, the giver of offerings, for the mighty Divodāsa, thou, Indra, the dancer (with delight in battle), hast destroyed ninety cities; dancer (in battle), thou hast destroyed them with (thy thunderbolt), for (the sake of) the giver of offerings. For (the sake of) Atithigva, the fierce (Indra) hurled Śambara from off the mountain, bestowing (upon the prince) immense treasure, (acquired) by (his) prowess ; all kinds of wealth (acquired) by (his) prowess " (Wilson).

दिवोदासाय नवतिं च नवेन्द्रः पुरो व्यैरच्छम्बरस्य ॥ ६ ॥

II 19. 6

" For the sake of Divodāsa, Indra demolished the ninety-nine cities of Śambara " (Wilson).

अहं पुरो मन्दसानो व्यैरं नव साकं नवतीः शम्बरस्य ।
शततमं वेश्यं सर्वताता दिवोदासमतिथिग्वं यदावम् ॥ ३ ॥

IV. 26. 3

" Exhilarated (by the Soma beverage) I (Indra) have destroyed the ninety-nine cities of Śambara ; the hundredth I gave to be occupied by Divodāsa when I protected him, Atithigva, at his sacrifice " (Wilson).

उत दासं कौलितरं बृहतः पर्वतादधि । अवाहन्निन्द्र शम्बरम् ॥ १४ ॥
शतमश्मन्मयीनां पुरामिन्द्रो व्यास्यत् । दिवोदासाय दाशुषे ॥ २० ॥

IV. 30. 14 and 20

"Thou hast slain the slave Śambara, the son of Kulitara, hurling him from the huge mountain.

"Indra has overturned a hundred stone-built cities for Divodāsa, the donor of oblations" (Wilson).

त्वं कविं चोदयोऽर्कसातौ त्वं कुत्साय शुष्णं दाशुषे वर्क् ।
त्वं शिरो अमर्मणः पराहन्नतिथिग्वाय शंस्यं करिष्यन् ॥ ३ ॥
त्वं तदुक्थमिन्द्र बर्हणा कः प्र यच्छता सहस्रा शूर दर्षि ।
अव गिरेर्दासं शम्बरं हन् प्रावो दिवोदासं चित्राभिरूती ॥ ५ ॥
वयं ते अस्यामिन्द्र द्युम्नहूतौ सखायः स्याम महिन प्रेष्ठाः ।
प्रातर्दनिः क्षत्रश्रीरस्तु श्रेष्ठो घने वृत्राणां सनये धनानाम् ॥ ८ ॥

VI. 26. 3,5 and 8

"3. Thou hast cut to pieces Śuṣṇa for Kutsa, the donor of the oblation: thou hast struck off the head (of Śambara), imagining himself invulnerable, intending to give pleasure to Atithigva.

"5. Indra, who art the subduer (of foes), thou hast achieved a glorious (deed) inasmuch as thou hast scattered, hero, the hundreds and thousands (of the host of Śambara), hast slain the slave Śambara (when issuing from the mountain) and hast protected Divodāsa with marvellous protection.

"8. May we, adorable Indra, thy friends, at this thy worship, offerred for (the acquirement of) wealth, be held most dear to thee: may (my patron) Kṣatraśrī the son of Pratardana, be most illustrious through the desrtuction of foes and attainment of riches" (Wilson).

त्वं शतान्यव शम्बरस्य पुरो जघन्थाप्रतीनि दस्योः ।
अशिक्षो यत्र शच्या शचीवो दिवोदासाय सुन्वते सुतक्रे
भरद्वाजाय गृणते वसूनि ॥ ४ ॥

VI. 31. 4

"Thou hast destroyed the hundred impregnable cities of the Dasyu Śambara, when, sagacious Indra, thou, who art brought by the libation, hast bestowed in thy liberality riches upon Divodāsa presenting to thee libations, and upon Bharadvāja hymning thy praise" (Wilson).

पुरूणि यश्च्यौत्ना शम्बरस्य वि नवतिं नव च देह्यो३हन् ॥ २ ॥

VI. 47. 2

"And he (Indra) has destroyed the numerous hosts of Śambara and the ninety-nine cities"[1] (Wilson).

Putting these various references together we gather that Atithigva won a great victory over Śambara. Śambara's numerous cities, mentioned variously as ninety, ninety-nine or hundred, were destroyed. If our surmise that Atithigva is Astyages be true, may we not have here a reference to the overthrow of Assyria and the complete destruction of Nineveh and other ancient Assyrian cities at the hands of the Medians in combination with the Babylonians ? This is more than a mere conjecture. Assyria seems to have been referred to as 'Subarum' in the following record of Nabopolassar, the Babylonian King, who took part in the overthrow of Assyria. "By the word of Nabu and Marduk, who favour my sovereignty, and by the great raging weapons of Girra[2] the terrible, who scatters my foes, I conquered Subarum and turned its land to ruin."[3] It may not be difficult to recognise Śambara in Subarum. If so, then in the Rigvedic tradition destruction of the Asura Śambara and his cities may refer to the defeat of the last Assyrian monarch and the destruction of Nineveh and other Assyrian towns.[4] We may further surmise that Arbuda (Rig. 1. 51. 6), mentioned along with Śambara and also taken by Sāyaṇa as an Asura, may be Arbela, a very important ancient town of Assyria. In Kulitara as applied to Sambara (Rig. 4. 30. 14), taken by Sāyaṇa as the name of Śambara's father, we may have a reference to Calah, another very important town in Assyria, which was the seat of the ancient kings of Assyria. May we not also detect in Navati-nava or ninety-nine cities of Śambara a reference to Nineveh ?[5] We know that many

1. The following Rigvedic hymns also refer to the destruction of Śambara and his numerous cities :

I. 54.4 and 6; 101.2; 103.8; 112.14; II. 14.6; V. 29.6; VII. 19.5; 99.5; IX. 61.1 and 2; X. 49.8.

2. Does Girra here refer to Indra? Girvah, Girvan etc. are used in the Vedic literature (e. g. Rv. VI. 24.6) as epithets of Indra.

3. The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. III, p. 207.

4. This took place about 606 B. C. Sin-shar-ishkun, who was perhaps a son of Ashurbanipal, perished along with the fall of Nineveh. Classical traditions suggest that Sardanapalus was the last Assyrian king in whose reign the tragedy occurred. But the Assyrian history as now reconstructed does not bear this out.

5. It may be noted that Nineveh comes very near Ninyānve, which in some modern Indian languages is the expression for ninety-nine. It is not improbable that Navatinava may be the sanskritised form of Nineveh and poetically it may have symbolised the many towns which were destroyed along with it.

ancient towns including the famous Nineveh were utterly destroyed and razed to the ground when Assyria went down under the assaults of the Medians.

Now it is a mooted question whether the fall of Assyria and the destruction of Nineveh occurred in the time of the Median king Cyaxares or his son Astyages. The Greek historians put it in the reign of Cyaxares. But Berosus, the Babylonian author who wrote in the 4th century B. C. and the authors who follow him put the event in the time of Astyages.[1] The truth may be that this event occurred during the reign of Cyaxares but the final battles against Assyria were conducted by his son Astyages. If Astyages is the same as the Rigvedic Atithigva and the destruction by the latter of Śambara may refer to the downfall of Assyria, then the Rigvedic tradition will support the view that Astyages was the victor of Assyria. Further it may be noted that the Rigvedic hymn VI. 26, quoted at some length above, composed by Bharadvāja (of the family of Aṅgiras) appears to be a contemporary record of this event. This is evidenced by hymn VI. 31. 4 (quoted above) composed by Suhotra, a descendant of Bharadvāja; according to this hymn Bharadvāja appears to have received liberal gifts when Divodāsa demolished Śambara. This will make Atithigva Divodāsa a contemporary of Kṣatraśrī, the patron of Bharadvāja, the author of hymn VI. 26. Kṣatraśrī may then be equated with Cyaxares (Huvakshatara), the father of Astyages, whom we have identified with Atithigva. The hymn gives the name of Kṣatraśrī's father as Pratardana, in whom we may recognise Phraortes, father of Cyaxares. The Brāhmaṇas mention perhaps the same Pratardana as a descendant of Divodāsa; according to Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad he met his death in battle.[2] We know from Herodotus that Phraortes, son of Deioces, perished in the war against Assyria (1. 102). Hostilities between Media and Assyria continued in the time of Phraortes' son, Cyaxares; and it was towards the close of Cyaxares' reign that the Median forces, perhaps under the command of Astyages as suggested above, overthrew Assyria. It appears that the epithet Divodāsa applied to Atithigva is a patronymic; and we may equate Divodāsa with Deioces, the founder of the Median dynasty, who was the great grand-father of Astyages. Rigvedic hymn (I. 30.7) may even suggest that this family was an offshoot of the Puru dynasty.

1. Historians History of the World, Vol. I, p. 444.

2. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 120. Mention is made of Pratardana in the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa XXVI, 5.

The suggestions offered in this paper bring us to the conclusion that certain hymns of the Rigveda belong to the sixth century B.C. to which Zoroaster and his Gāthās so closely related to the Vedic lore also belong. We have further seen that the Vedas and the Avesta alike seem to refer to certain persons and events of this time. This will lend support to the contention of scholars like Johannes Hertel that the Avesta may provide evidence of great weight in estimating the date and the place of composition of the Rigveda; and that both the Rigveda and the Avesta are in a large measure the product of the sixth century B. C.[1] We may further suggest that the account left by Herodotus and other early Greek writers of the ancient kingdoms and dynasties of central and western Asia as well as the Babylonian and Assyrian records may also throw valuable light on the historical traditions preserved in the Rigveda and vice-versa.

If we assign some Rigvedic hymns to the sixth century B. C. others will have to be certainly assigned to centuries, preceding the sixth, but some others to the subsequent centuries, as the hymns themselves not unfrequently avow a difference of date, some are ascribed to the earlier Rishis, while others admit of their being new composition. It appears that until we come to the schism initiated in the sixth century B. C. by the reforms of Zoroaster, Rigveda, which seems to be essentially the product of the ministrels and priests attached to the royal courts, referred to the events and traditions common to the Aryans in north-western India, Persia, Media, Lydia[2] and other adjoining places conquered by them. This schism deepened when under Darius the Great and his successors Zoroastrianism was adopted as the state religion of the Achaemenian empire, which, as it expanded, came more and more in conflict with the Indian and other eastern sections of the Aryans. These religious differences coupled with the political animosities created a big gap between the Iranian section on the one hand and the Indian and other more orthodox sections

1. Johannes Hertel in 'Die Zeit Zoroasters' suggests that the period of Zoroaster's activity fell about 550 B. C. On grounds different than those advanced in this paper, he further suggests that the Rigveda was in large measure contemporaneous with the Avesta.

2. That the influence of Indo-Aryan traditions in western Asia is much earlier than the sixth century B. C. is to be seen from the fact that the inscriptions discovered at Boghaz-köi in North-eastern Asia Minor and attributed to the 14th century B. C. refer to the Vedic deities Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nāsatyas.

of one and the same people. There is, therefore, no wonder that, if we recognise in the Vedic Suśravas and the Avestan Husravah references to Cyrus the great,[1] this mighty ruler is the last hero common alike to the Rigveda and the Avesta. After him the Vedic records reflect more and more the life and traditions of the eastern particularly the Indian sections of the Aryans. There may be a great deal of weight in the suggestions of Hüsing[2] and Halevy[3] that some of the Rigvedic hymns may refer to the period of the Parthian and the Śaka kings of India.

We may sum up the identifications suggested above.

Median Kings

Rigveda	*Herodotus and other Greek sources.*
Divodāsa	Deioces
|	|
Pratardana	Phraortes (Fravartish)
|	|
Kṣatraśrī	Cyaxares (Huvakshatra)
|	|
Atithigva	Astyages (Ishtuvegu)

Persian Kings

Suśravas (Av. Husravah)	Cyrus the great
Iṣṭaraśmi	Arasmes
|	|
Iṣṭāśva (Av. Vishtāsp)	Hystaspes.

Lydian Kings

Etaśa	Alyattes
|	|
Kutsa	Croesus

The following equations have also been surmised.

Āyu—	Nabonidus (King of Babylon)?
Śuṣṇa—	Syennesis (King of Cilicia)
Śambara—	Subram (or the Assyrian Kingdom).

1. In another paper, "Cyrus the Great and the Battle of the Mahābhārata" (Nagpur University Journal, No. 6), we have suggested that the battle which Cyrus fought towards the end of his life against the Indians and their allies and his defeat in this battle formed the original nucleus round which the Mahābhārata epic grew up.

2. Die Inder von Boghazköi..

3. Considerations critiques sur quelques points de l'historique ancienne de l'Inde.

TWO GOSPELS

By

H. A. Shah

I—The Virgin Birth and Nativity

We shall first discuss the 'Nativity' which means the birth of Jesus Christ, its accepted date being the 25th of December.

Any basis ?—In such matters, there is generally a silent presumption in favour of the veracity of a date which is accepted and current since long. It is therefore required that we should look for its basis with a view for further investigation, which may involve some change. Sir Isaac Newton had carried many investigations in the realm of the ancient European chronology. If we read (see quotation "A") what he says we find that there is no solid foundation in selecting this month or the date for the event. "Cardinal points of the year were selected" and then various events were distributed. There is no solid ground to justify the one or the other. If there had been any, no loophole would have been left for different proposals such as the vernal equinox or the autumnal equinox (see quotation "A", its concluding paras) as a better substitute for the nativity.

Basis in the Gospels :—The events that took place at the birth of Christ are vividly narrated by Luke (II, 1, 20) and by Matthew (I, 18–25 ; II, 1–23). There are internal evidences and there is no reason why these vivid pictures should not assist us towards a proper selection of the month. The narration points to a time which is *not* December, the month of severe winter. The nativity is shrouded by many *movements* which are impossible in December. We point them out.

(1) There was a decree for taxing the people (Luke) which did involve movements on a mass scale from one village to the other, in order to get back to one's own town *for the census.*

(2) Accordingly, Joseph and Mary performed *a journey* from Nazareth to Bethlehem (Luke) of several days.

(3) Shepherds were abiding *in the field* (Luke).

(4) They were keeping a watch over their flock by night (Luke).

(5) Shepherds moved unto Bethlehem (Luke) which is on the crest of mountains of Judea.

(6) After eight days after the nativity, the parents start for a journey to Jerusalem and Nazareth (Luke II, 22–40).

(7) Wise men from the east came to Jerusalem and went away in a different way (Matthew).

(8) They *saw the star* in the east and that star went before them guiding them in their path (Matthew).

(9) Joseph took the young child and the mother by night and fled into Egypt from Bethlehem.

These are the movements that are undertaken in Palestine and beyond, in the month of December. Let us see how the topographic and seasonal situation is *at that time of the year in those regions.* If we read the quotations " B " to "F" we find that from October to April (inclusive) it is rainy season, January being the wettest month; at the higher lands the cold is intense, the snow lying at times in the heights of Palestine to a depth of some inches; while the paths get miry and the travel rendered in winter toilsome and perilous.

It is then difficult to assume when the roads were drenched or flooded or muddy[1] that all the movements took place under such adverse conditions of winter in cold storm, and rains. It is difficult to see that the sky and the roads kept clear for days together to guide the wise men after the star, and permit travel; and that the shepherds kept themselves and their flock in the field, in open in rainy season and under severe winter with every possibility of snow-fall. That the star was continuously visible in this climate is an unwarranted assumption. It is impossible to conceive that a ruler would wisely issue a decree *in such a period* which may force masses of people to perform journeys in awkward conditions and which may frustrate the purpose of the census. He would select a better time. Even Joseph would not travel in such a climate under advanced pregnancy of Mary or after her delivery. On the other hand the narration of the gospel nowhere refers to the severity of the climate which the authors would not miss to heighten the effect of the narrative. Joseph would hardly leave the plains where the climate would be milder and go up the hills at that time. That applies as well to the shepherds tending their flocks. They would be in valleys rather than on hills.

It therefore appears that the nativity can not fall in December and the present date must be given up if gospels are to be a guide in the matter. The internal evidence of gospel points to another period, to the month of completion of harvest.

1. Where road-making is not scientific, level is generally lower than that of the field and the roads get flooded and drenched with the slightest shower.

The picture of the arrival of Christ is associated with the cleansing of the threshing floor " and he will gather his wheat into the garner " (Matthew III, 11-12). In another place Jesus is styled as the " Lord of the Harvest " (Matthew IX, 38). The proper time for his arrival in Bethlehem-" house of bread- " for rejoicings (gospel) would therefore be the time of completion of harvest when the " wheats are gathered into the garner " (Matthew III, 12). The proper month is then August or September as the latest in Palestine. See quotation " C. " *The date of nativity at about the autumnal equinox would be justified by the gospels.* If we look to what is said in quotations " B " and " F, " we will see that December is the least fitted month.

Virgin Birth :—The nativity in about the month of August-September leads us to the consideration of the 'Virgin' birth because the sun then is in the sign Virgo, when, in those days, the heliacal rise of the star Canopus is completed. We therefore consider the problem of the Virgin Birth. Luke (I, 26ff.) alludes to it; so does Matthew (I, 18-25). They agree in the birth of a son to the virgin Mary but they differ in their narration. In Luke, Joseph, the husband is not thought of; in Matthew, the mother does not participate in the talk that the angels conduct in either case. In Luke, Mary is perplexed. She says— "How shall this be, seeing I *know not a man*" in reply to the announcement to her that " the Lord is with thee ". In Matthew, Joseph discovers that Mary who is betrothed to him " was *found with the child* of the Holy Ghost ". The angel comes thereafter and ultimately, ' he took unto him his wife ' but ' *knew her not till she had brought forth a son.* "

Parallel imagery in the Dramas of Kālidāsa :—In the dramas of Kālidāsa, 'Vikramorvaśīya' and' Śākuntala,' we come across a situation which, we can say, is very near to the one we find in the Matthew. In the Vikramorvaśīya, the hero is separated from the heroine in the beginning of the rainy season (Act IV) and in the subsequent act, he comes to know that he has a son although he does not remember having been separated from the wife (except once) so as not to have noticed the signs of her pregnancy. He however recollects that only for a few days he noticed in her some faint changes which were some indications of the beginning of pregnancy (Act V). The companion of the king offers an explanation to the effect that the king *should not put this matter to a strict human basis*: and perhaps, the true explanation of the narrative of the gospels bears the same relation. In fact the drama proceeds with the accep-

tance of the son. In the Śākuntala, the king forgets the heroine (pregnant in Act V), "*knew her not*";—and the *reunion takes place when the king meets the son* (in Act VII). In both the situations in these dramas, the *red jewel* plays a very significant part, towards the reunion of the two in the former and towards a recollection of the union in the latter drama. The significance of the union in the former case lies in the season. It is the season which has followed the Indian rainy season, that is to say, the autumn, which is also the proper one for the Nativity.

The true explanation of the imagery of the virgin birth can now be inferred. It is during harvest and in autumn that the sun enters the sign Virgo and the star that completes heliacal rise then is the star Agastya-Canopus-A Argo Navis; and in that way the birth of a son in the virgin conception seems to have arisen. The consideration of this star Canopus furnishes a reasonable and true explanation of many other points of the gospel narrations. We will here refer to another imagery about this star.

The star which "the wise men of the East" saw must have been this star. It may be remembered that often Christ takes to *a boat* in the evening and preaches to the multitude. The star Canopus belongs to a constellation which is called a ship-Navis-the ship Argo. (cf. "...sat by the sea side. And there were gathered unto him great multitude, so that *he entered into a boat and sat*; and all the multitude stood on the beach. And he spake to them many things in parables..." Matthew XIII, 1-3. "...he withdrew from thence in a boat, to a desert place apart: and when the multitude heard thereof, *they followed him on foot* from the cities." XIV, 13-14, and also XIV. 22 ff.)

It looks that many of the passages of the gospels can be better understood and followed if we refer to the star as the star A-Argo Navis, the star Canopus. We cannot pursue the matter further in this article as it involves an extensive survey of all the literature that is connected with this star. But we will quote one passage and conclude this article. "Uṣas arrives with a bright child" ('Vedic Mythology' -A. Macdonell-p. 48). The writer finds that Uṣas is goddess of Dawn at the vernal and the Autumnal equinox and in the latter case, the star Agastya is alluded to as a child (see the writer's article on the "Vedic Gods" published in the A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XVII). This conception is very close to the one of the mother Virgin with child in her arms.

To summarise: The winter is not the season and the month is

not December for the nativity. It must be the season of harvest; the month then would be August-September when the sun is in the sign Virgo and when the star Canopus (A-Argo Navis-Agastya) rises heliacally, thus furnishing the conception that the Virgin is with the child[1]. This is the proper season when 'the stones are turned into bread', that is, when the agriculture (process on earth) develops into fruitful gathering of the harvest, the proper season and months for the nativity and for the rejoicings-for the " Gospel. "

QUOTATIONS

(A) " *A New Analysis of Chronology and Geography* "-*by Rev. William Hales, Vol. I, pp. 92-93.*

The true cause of their fixing on the 25th of December, is thus perhaps best explained by Sir Isaac Newton.

"The times of the birth and passion of Christ, with such like niceties, being not material to religion, were little regarded by the Christians of the first age. They who began first to celebrate them, placed them in the cardinal points of the year; as the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, on the 25th of March, which when Julius Caesar corrected the calendar, was the Vernal equinox; the feast of John the Baptist on the 24th June, which was the Summer Solstice; the feast of St. Michael on September 29th, which was the Autumnal equinox; and the birth of Christ on the Winter Solstice, December 25th; with the feasts of St. Stephen, St. John, and the Innocents, as near it as they could place them; and because the solstice, in time, removed from the 25th of December to the 24th, the 23rd, and the 22nd, and so on backwards, hence some, in the following centuries, placed the birth of Christ on December 23rd, and at length on December 20th; and for the same reason, they seem to have set the feast of St. Thomas on December 21st, and that of St. Matthew on Septemer 21.

"So also, at the entrance of the sun into all the signs of the Julian calendar, they placed the days of the other saints: as the conversion of Paul, on January 25th, when the sun entered Aquarius; St. Matthias, on February 25th, when he entered Pisces; St. Mark, on April 25th, when he entered Taurus; Corpus Christi, on

1. Bethleem or Bethlehem is also known by the Hebrew name of 'Ephrata.' These words mean the " house of bread " and " the land or country". The Arabs give it another name resembling the first : for they call it Bait-lahem or the " House of meat " (" The Life of our Lord Jesus Christ " by J. James Tissot, Vol. I, 17 ff.). This is a very suggestive name when the harvest season for the nativity holds good.

May 26th, when he entered Gemini; St. James, on July 25th, when he entered Cancer; St. Bartholomew, on August 24th, when he entered Virgo; Simon and Jude, on October 28th, when he entered Scorpio; and if there were any other remarkable days in the Julian calendar they placed the saints upon them: as St. Barnabas on June 11th, where Ovid seems to place the feast of Vesta and Fortuna, and the goddess Matua; and St. Philip and St. James, on the first of May, a day dedicated both to the Bona Dea, or Magna Mater, and in the goddess Flora, and still celebrated with her rites.

"All which shews that these days were first fixed in the Christian Churches by mathematicians **at pleasure**, *without any ground in tradition*; and the Christians afterwards took up with what they found in the calendars". Prophecies of Daniel, Chap. ii, Part I, p. 144.

Hospian, a learned German Antiquary, is of opinion that the Christians at Rome did not celebrate the 25th of December, as thinking Christ was then born, but to make amends for the Heathen Saturnalia; which was a season of great festivity, beginning on December 16, and lasting three days, but usually prolonged to the end of the week, on account of the succeeding feast of Sigillarii. Macrob. Saturnal. lib. i. cap 10. And indeed the crowding together so many holidays, near the end of December, as we find in the calendar, strongly confirms this opinion.

To determine the true day of Christ's birth, as Scaliger says, belongs to God alone, not man. Of all the various conjectures that have been proposed, the most probable are either (1) that "Christ, our Passover" was *born about the time of the Vernal equinox*, when the Passover was celebrated, or (2) *about the Autumnal equinox* at the celebration of the feast of the tabernacles, when "the Word became flesh, and tabernacled among us, (John i. 14), or (3) on the great day of atonement, the 10th day of the seventh month as "a faithful high-priest, in things pertaining to God, to make atonement for the sins of the people (of Israel)" Heb. ii. 17; "to be himself a propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only but also for those of the whole world." John ii. 2. And if this last (Adopted by primate Usher) be preferred, it gives a peculiar emphasis to the declaration of the angel to the shepherds on the night of the nativity :—" Fear not, for lo, I bring you glad tidings of great joy, which shall be unto all the people (of Israel); for unto you is born this day a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord. Glory to God in the highest, and on earth, peace, goodwill towards men." Luke ii. 10–14.

(B) "*Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.*" 2 Vols. J. Hastings.

Winter in Palestine:—This is the time of cold and rain storms. The modern Arab name Esh-shitta, means literally 'the rain'. It is the season in which the rain supply of the year falls; it lasts roughly for seven months *form October to April inclusive*,thus including the part of the year which we call spring. While in the deeper parts of the Jordan valley it is never very cold, the raw air breeds many discomforts in the rainy season. *On the higher lands*, however, *the cold is often intense, snow lying in times* e.g. *in Jerusalem* to a depth of some inches. The rain moistens the soil, hard baked by the summer sun. In a land where the science of road-making is practically unknown, *the paths go swiftly to mud, so that travel in winter is always toilsome, and not seldom perilous.*"—W. Ewing.

(C) Summer in Palestine:—This term stands in the Gospels for the time of heat as distinguished from the season of cold and rain storms. These terms indicate the great division of the year in the East. Scripture has no special words for spring and autumn; while the Arab speaks of er-rabia, 'the time of fresh pasture', and el-kharif 'the time of gathering' of grapes and other fruits, they are hardly regarded as distinct seasons. Saif wa shitta, 'summer and winter' sum up the year for him. When in the less frequent showers of early April, the fig leaves burst out[1] and cover the immature fruit on the twigs, the days of cloudless sunshine are 'at hand.' These last from April, through the *harvest in the end of May*, the threshing and winnowing that follow, and *the gathering of the fruits in August and September, until the clouds of October herald the coming of rains and cold.*"—W. Ewing.

(D) Vol. I, *p. 39.*

"Ploughing began immediately after the 'early rain' had softened the ground i. e. towards the end of September or *the beginning of October*, and *went on right through the winter* provided the soil had not become too wet and therefore, too heavy. Usually a single ploughing sufficed, but if the soil was very rough it was ploughed twice".

(E) Vol. I, *p. 39.*

" The sowing season began in the early days of October. A beginning was made with pulse varieties, barley came next, and wheat

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1 Matthew xxiv. 32-34. "Now from the fig tree learn her parable: when her branch is now become tender, and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that the summer is nigh; even so ye also, when ye see all these things, know ye that he is nigh, even at the doors".

followed. Millet was sown in summer, the land being prepared for it by irrigation. When the winter set in cold and wet, barley was not sown till the beginning of February."

(F) Vol. I, *p. 40.*

"The Water Supply of the Country:—Unlike Egypt, which owed its fertility exclusively to the Nile, Palestine had its time of rain (Dt. xi. 10, 11, 14, Jer. v. 24 etc.). *The 'early rain' of the Bible is that of October*, which precedes ploughing and sowing; the 'latter rain' denotes the refreshing showers that fall in March and April, and give much-needed moisture to the growing crops; The *intervening period is marked by the heavy rains of winter, the wettest month being January.* The rainfall is not uniform over the country. In the Jordan valley it is very slight; at Jerusalem it averages *about 20 inches annually; in some other upland regions it is almost twice as much.* In the highest lying parts, as Lebanon, there is a considerable fall of snow. There are also many brooks and springs (Dt. viii. 7.), and irrigation is employed, especially in gardening, though naturally on a much smaller scale than in Egypt. The summer months are hot and rainless."

II—The Son of Man: Miracles and Betrayal

Canopus:—In the first article on the "*Virgin Birth and Nativity*" we pointed out that December and a late date in the month were not in harmony with the movements that were before and after the birth of Christ, in the land and in the then prevailing season of Palestine; and the other description of Christ as Lord of Harvest suggested for the arrival the time of harvest in the months of August-September which agreed with the course of Sun in the sign Virgo, leading to the symbolical description of the Virgin giving birth to the Son. That was the time of the heliacal rise of the star Canopus in the southern quarter. The description of the Lord of Harvest will be helpful in more than one way.

Mt. IX, 33-8; X, 1-4.

"And Jesus went about all the cities and the villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness....

"Then saith he unto his disciples: The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few. Pray you therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth labourers into his harvest.

"And he called unto him his twelve disciples, and gave them authority over unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of disease and all manner of sickness.

" Now the names of the twelve apostles are these : (here the list of the twelve follows which we quote later on). "

Taking to a boat (MT. XIII, 2 " ..He entered into a boat, and sat ; and all the multitude stood on the beach... ") further emphasized the character of the Lord of Harvest, which explained the Virgin birth, viz. star Canopus, A–Argo Navis, lucida in the *ship* Argo. Now we will point out some of the incidents in the life of Christ which help us more to understand it. The circumstances around the birth had a local colour but the other narrations do not admit of the geographic limitations. With certain facts about this star and regarding the occurrences about its time we can understand the narrations of the evangelists far better.

We refer to the gospel of St. Matthew (Mt.) to "Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels" in two vols. by J. Hastings, (T. & T. Clark, Edinburg, 7th edt., 1927) referred to as " DCG ", and to "A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History and Literature ' by John Dowson (Kegan P. T. Trubner. London, 5th edt., 1913) referred to as " Dow. " The list of apostles varies slightly in their order. However, for the purpose of this article, we stick to the order of Mt. and do not regard the variation.

Son of Man and Father in Heaven :—

There are many references to both these phrases—'Son of Man and Father in Heaven '—in the gospels. They proceed from Christ. For their occurrences one may consult DCG under " Son of Man " and ' Father '. We give only a few instances:

Mt. IX, 6 —But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins....

Mt. XI, 19—The son of man came eating and drinking, and they say, Behold, a gluttonous man, and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners !

Mt. XXVI,63–4.—...tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus said unto him, Thou hast said : nevertheless I say unto you, Henceforth ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven.

It will be evident that the title "Son of Man" means much more than an emphasis on man as human being. The virgin birth conception is against human emphasis. The title therefore needs explanation. Let us put in here some references to the Father in heaven :

Mt. VI, 9-11—After this manner therefore pray ye : Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy

kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. Give us this day our daily bread.

Mt. X, 32-3–Every one therefore who shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.

Mt. V, 44-5–...but I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you ; that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven : for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust.

The title here gets extensive through the 'sons of your Father.' Without attending the apparent contradiction in the last passage to the previous one, we may consider the problem in the ordinary way. The Father in heaven is not Sun (he maketh his sun to rise) as it will be clear from the above quotation. Therefore we must have an interpretation which will meet all the descriptions. For that we have to look into the history of Canopus and for that, into the history of Canopus in the sacred literature of the great religion in Asia and in its home in India too. Accordidg to the great lexicon, Amara, Canopus–Agastya is "Maitrā–Varuṇa", son of gods Mitra and Varuṇa (I, 3, 20). " Agastya and Vasiṣṭha are said in the Ṛgveda to be the offspring of Mitra and Varuṇa, whose seed fell from them at the sight of Ūrvaśī."—Dow. p. 4. As the author of this article finds it, the God Mitra is a regent of the Gnomon called Śaṅku at times 'Puruṣa' wherein another divine sage is also identified, the sage Manu, the *first man* and the father of human race (of mānavas). The god Varuṇa is found to be the regent of the Pole star and in Vedas, he holds the suzerain place in the realm of heaven, and is very naturally and generally associated with the Gnomon, Mitra-Manu. Manu (Gnomon) is often called the son of Vivasvan which is also another name of Pole star. For all these interpretations one has to read the article "Vedic Gods" sections I and IV (published in the Annals of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Vol. XVII). Canopus as son of Man (Manu) and of the Father (Varuṇa) in heaven meets the description of the gospels. The eating and drinking may just refer to the plenty and joy of the harvest reflected in the depiction of the seasonal god. As to the power of Canopus regarding sins etc., and of Varuṇa the sacred literature of Vedas and of the Bhāgavata

is enough. Bṛhaspati and Viṣṇu in Vedas and Kṛṣṇa in the classical literature of India are depictions of the moral and ultrahuman power of Canopus over mankind. Denial of it (Mt. X, 32-3) will be denial of the etrnal laws of Varuṇa, expressed through Canopus. Harvest is the season of arrival of Canopus and hence, bread secured out of human efforts and out of divine grace is a natural reference in prayers. At the time of the heliacal rise of this star Canopus, the rise of stars of Ursa Major (Saptarṣi), particularly of the star Vasiṣṭha takes place. This may well have been the representation of the "wise men from the East" present at that time, departing another way (Mt. II, 1-12). The star they saw was Canopus, rising heliacally in Aug.-Sept., and the young child can be none other than the son of "Mitrā-Varuṇa." The emotions in the narrations are human, the garb is symbolical and the truth is astronomical. "Is not this the carpenter's son?" (Mt. XIII, 55) Yes-in the same way. When the star appears, the constellation Citrā (in sign Virgo) Spica-A-Virgo star sets heliacally and its regent god is Tvaṣṭṛ, who is the divine carpenter (Amara. II, 10, 9 Tvaṣṭṛ=Carpenter). Ūrvaśī of whom Canopus (= Aurvaśeya) was born by Mitra and Varuṇa, is representing equator in the drama Vikramorvaśīya of the great poet Kālidāsa and the equatorial star at that season is Citrā. (Citralekhā is the companion of Ūrvaśī in the drama). Thus the carpenter is associated with the "Son of Man."

Two Miracles :—

The star Canopus does perform the two miracles. It is harvest and plenty at the autumnal season of sign Virgo when, in the north, we see seven stars of Ursa Major (Saptarṣi) and when the sun is in it (Virgo) in stars of Hasta (five stars-Corvus) and in two single stars each of Citrā (Spica) and Svāti (Arcturus-A-Bootes comprising Virgo). Thus with five loaves (five stars of Corvus-Hasta) and two fishes (Citrā-Svāti, = Spica-Arcturus) the Lord of Harvest fed the multitude, the five thousand and more. (Mt. XIV, 13-21). What was left is *twelve* which, as we see later, is the number of months, signs and also of the apostles of Canopus. The season of harvest has the divine grace of this star and all get their bread. In Vedic descriptions, light is spoken of in many ways, amongst which come 'food' and 'water'; 'and stars' are styled 'fishes' (they never wink-stellar gods never wink-Amara. III, 3,218 "सुरमत्स्यौ अनिमिषौ"). Later, light is called 'blood' and 'wine' from its red colour and which coloursense-of light-has a bearing in

the passage of the Last Supper (Mt. XXVI, 26–29).

The same phenomena of plenty of the season and of the year gets another story, round the seven stars of Ursa Majoris–Saptarṣi-in Mt. XV, 32–39. Four thousand and more were fed by these seven 'loaves' and fishes and since the process repeats every year, the seven 'baskets' (Saptarṣi) remain *always* full feeding the multitude–the number stands for many, for mankind. The grace is of the seasonal star but the time and the work of the period is always through the passage of the sun in the twelve signs of the zodiac. Thus the "miracle" of Canopus works through (the signs) the twelve apostles.

The Twelve Apostles: Betrayal:—

Mt. IX,2-4 enumerates them. With equivalent signs they are as under. The first is naturally the most near to Canopus and that is *the sign of the longitude of Canopus*, the sign Gemini. Then the last one is the farthest from Canopus and it is Taurus and *it is the sign in which this star sets heliacally*; and when this star sets in west in its daily course, the constellation in the opposite direction in east (south) is the Southern Cross. The idea of crucification on a cross gets thus associated. And every sign has 30 divisions, 30 degrees, which in the narration become thirty 'pieces of silver' (Mt. XXVI, 16), the price for the betrayal of Son of Man. The emotions are unmistakably human. The pathos is human. But the truth is more than human: it is the symbolical description of the astronomical phenomena rather than betrayal by human Jews. Indeed, when Canopus sets, it is away from not one but from all the signs so far visibility is concerned. "Then all the disciples left him and fled "(Mt. XXVI, 56) is literally (i. e. astronomically) true. So the sign in which Canopus sets has the sun in it, it is dead, and accordingly, immediately after the " betrayal ", Judas—the Taurus–" went away and hanged himself" (Mt. XXVII, 6), leaving the 30 "pieces" in the sanctuary–the zodiac. Thus the sign and the apostle bid exit. The pathos is indeed human but the truth is stellar and what is the value of any emotion or fact today if truth is not a part and parcel of it ?

The list: Ist Simon who is called Peter	...	Gemini
2nd Andrew, his brother	...	Cancer
3rd James, the *Son* of Zebedee	...	Leo
4th John, his brother	...	Virgo
5th Phillip	...	Libra
6th Bartholomew	...	Scorpio

7th Thomas	...	Sagittarius
8th Matthew, the publican	...	Capricorn
9th James, the *Son* of Alphæus	...	Aquarius
10th Thaddæus	...	Pisces
11th Simon the Cananæan	...	Aries
12th Judas Iscariot "who *also* betrayed him."	...	Taurus

Mt. X, 4 says regarding the 12th " who *also* betrayed him " or according to another version " who *also* delivered him up." Why ALSO ? This word would include others in this occurrence. 'Delivered him up' seems to be more near the original purport — Canopus delivered over by Taurus. Furthur, it is remarkable (Mt. IX, 9) that the 8th Matthew (representing Capricorn) is sitting at the place of toll which would then mean the juncture point at the winter solstice.

We may now read the passage of Mt. X, 16–23 to note the sense of 'deliver up' with reference to the twelve. "And brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child : and children shall rise up against parents, and cause them to be put to death ... he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved. But when they persecute you in this city, flee into the next : for verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come " is a picture of setting signs preceded or followed by one of themselves, astrologically, third being brother, fifth the child and fourth or tenth father ; and the order changing amongst them, till (and after, too) the coming of the Son of man–Canopus. " What I tell you in the darkness, speak you in the light " (Mt. X, 27) is literally true. Canopus shines at night. Signs work by sun at day.

The fourth is John, representing the female Virgo and thus he would be associoted with Mary the Virgin, since Canopus rises then heliacally (sun in Virgo).

The first group of four is intimately associated with the Canopus, from its longitude to its heliacal rise. (Cf. Mark XIII, 1–13). In the famous picture of the Last Supper (by Leonard Da Vinci) we see Christ seated between Peter (Gemini) and John (Virgo) which is significant enough for their connection with the Son of Man. The supper is arranged in a place indicated by a man bearing a pitcher of water (Mark XIV, 13–14) which is suggestive of another Indian name of Canopus, connected with water-pot," Kumbha " (vide-Dow. " Agastya ").

We have some details of the association of Christ and Peter. It is Peter who also is definite about the Christ when all the disciples were questioned (Mt. XVI, 13-20). " But who say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, "Thou art Christ, the Son of living God." Peter (Gemini) is naturally expected to have a better communion, being the sign of the longitude of Canopus. But that sign is overcome for some time when the star Canopus disappears (heliacally) and that is the "denial" of the Lord by Peter. " Now Peter was sitting *without* in the court " (Mt. XXVI. 69), and that is very natural since it was then prevalence of Taurus. (Mt. XXVI, 69-73) asserts thrice the association of Peter-Gemini with Jesus-very naturally. But the human level of Peter is not encouraged in (Mt. XVI, 21-24), for "he mindeth not the things of God," the natural course (heliacal setting) of Canopus, and is carried off by one fact only. But Peter is just human as well as, as Gemini, astronomical when he asserts (Mt. XXVI, 31-35) " If all shall be offended in thee, I will *never* be offended". The subsequent tragedy is the limitations of Peter, he being least responsible, it being the astronomical course. It was not left to him 'to die with the Lord'—to form an unbroken company (Mt. XXVI, 35). And the course of Canopus (set heliacally) extends to three signs further-Gemini, Cancer and Leo, the three disciples are taken with him (Mt. XXVI, 36-46) but they fell heavy with sleep-the three signs wherein Canopus is left alone-in agony and here Mt. seems to have changed the order into one we read in Mark III. 16-19. But Peter wants to follow the Master walking on the waters-on waves (Mt. XIV, 22-33). The two months before Virgo are of rainy season and Peter as Gemini cannot follow into the rainy season, with the master. Even (naturally) he has difficulty in recognising him "Lord, *if it be thou...*" since Canopus was not yet risen (heliacally) although it was crossing the region of waters " walking upon the sea." All except Peter felt it to be apparition which was natural, they did not see or feel the (heliacally) set star even as much as Peter, Gemini, alone could feel to a limited extent. That was the 'little faith' in Peter (Mt.XIV, 31). This is also the time and phenomena of Transfiguration (Mt. XVII, 1-13) when Canopus is in clouds (heliacally set and rainy season) in company with divine personages. This vision is left to the three signs between Gemini and Virgo. Why Andrews is left out cannot be ascertained at present.

We need not multiply instances which elucidate more and

more the nature of Christ and the twelve, the Canopus and the twelve signs; the same elements will explain the Resurrection. Betrayal and the resurrection are the phenomena of yearly recurrence. "He that hath ears, let him hear" (Mt. XIII. 43). Rising and setting of the signs is also referred to in Mt. XIX, 30. "But many shall be last that are first; and first that are last". Thus the twelve in rotation carry the work of the Master including the miracles and the betrayal every year. We repeat that Canopus is the key to the life of Christ, of "Gospel".

INDRA AND AHALYĀ

By

R. SHAMA SASTRY

It is related in the Epics that Indra, the sun, loved Ahalyā, the wife of Gotama, who, coming to know of their intimacy, cursed Indra to be spotted and Ahalyā to be a stone. Yielding to her entreaty, he said that when Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, steps over Ahalyā's stony form, she will recover her former form. With a view to account for Indra's immoral conduct, Kumārila, the founder of the school of Vedic exegesis, named after him, explained the story as a form of sun-dawn myth, which is translated by Prof. Max Müller as follows:—

"Prajāpati, the lord of creation, is a name of the sun, and he is called so, because he protects all creatures. His daughter Uṣas is the dawn. And when it is said that he was in love with her, this only means that at sun-rise the sun runs (abhyeti) after the dawn, the dawn being at the same time called the daughter of the sun, because she rises when he approaches. In the same manner, if it is said that Indra was the seducer of Ahalyā, this does not imply that god Indra committed such crime, but Indra means the sun and Ahalyā (from ahan and li) the night and as the night is seduced and ruined by the sun of the morning, therefore is Indra called the paramour of Ahalyā". Criticising Kumārila's view the professor says:–'When the Ṛgveda says that Agni is the lover of maidens (jāraḥ kanīnām, I, 66, 4) and the lover of dawns (uṣasām jāraḥ, VII, 9, 1), when it says, prabodhaya jaritar jāramindram (X, 42, 2), O singer wake up the lover Indra, it would, I think, be rather inappropriate to say that jāra means destroyer. Probably the word is derived form jar, to go, to approach, which is a root in group No. 118 of the the list. The Ṛgveda (X, 3, 3) says about Agni thus—svasāram jāro abhyeti—the lover approaches the sister (the dawn)."

It is to be noted that Ahalyā is one of the five maidens, the mere mention of whose names is stated to destroy all sin. They are (1) Ahalyā, (2) Draupadī, (3) Tārā. (4) Tārā, (5) Mandodarī. I take these kanyās (Vedic kanās) to be the following asterisms, for reason that the word kanā is used in ṚV. X, 61 to denote the same asterisms. Ahalyā is Ārdrā which is compared to a coral stone in the list of asterisms. Draupadī is Viśākhā which is compared to a tree (Aśvattha or pippala) with its root turned up and

its branches down; she is the daughter of Dru-pada, the root of the tree. Of the two Tārās, one is Rohiṇī, the mother of Budha, Mercury; the second is P. Phalgunī, the wife of Vāli, first, and then of Sugrīva, Indra's son, and father of Jupiter. Mandodarī is Śaraṇyu (Aśvinī), the mother of the Aśvins, the two Aśvin asterisms; or Kṛttikā, or P. Āṣāḍhā, the mother of Agni, Mars. Ahalyā means not halyā, not fit for ploughing, that is stony ground. Since Ārdrā is stone, she is Ahalyā. She is the wife of Gotama, the best bull, the moon, the husband of the 27 asterisms. The curse implies a solar eclipse by the asterism Ārdrā, when the asterism takes the appearance of a colourless stone and Indra, the sun, appears marked with thousands of spots, and Gotama, the colourless moon, is near the sun, it being a new-moon day. She regains her brilliant colour on a full-moon day when the feet, rays, of Rāma, the sun, 180° from her, fall upon her. This seems to be the simple significance ot the allegorical story of Ahalyā.

NARHAD INSCRIPTION OF VIGRAHARĀJA IV, V. 1218

BY

DASHARATHA SHARMA

The name of the Cāhamāna ruler Vigraharāja IV or Vīsaladeva of Sakambhari is well known to students of Rajput history. He ruled from about V. 1209 to 1223, and was responsible for the capture of Delhi from the the Tomaras, defeat of the Ghaznavite ruler, most probably either Khusrau Shah or Khusrau Mālik, and for the building of the *Sarasvatī-mandira* of Ajmer on the site of which and built out of whose materials stands the mosque popularly known as *Adhāi din ka Jhomprā.* Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's list of the inscriptions of Northern India mentions three records of this ruler, bearing respectively the dates V. 1210, 1211, and 1220. The inscription published here for the first time bears the date V. 1218, and is based on an estampage kindly supplied by Captain Principal S. D. Pande of the Birla College, Pilani. The inscription was originally discovered at Narhad, formerly known as Narbhata, and is now in the Birla College, Pilani (Jaipur State, Rajputana).

TEXT

1. Oṁ. Saṁvat 1218 Mārga vadi 15
2. Śanau Naigamānvaya–Kāyastha–Ṭhakura
3. Śrī–Śrīcandra–suta–Vīlhaṇa–putra–
4. Tālhaṇa(h) svargaloke gataḥ ॥
5. Paramabhaṭṭāraka–Mahārājādhirāja–Pa–
6. rameśvara–Śrīmad = Vigraharājadevarājye Tha.
7. Śrī–Somade(ve)na nijasya...[1] rthe
8. [dehā] kārāpitā ॥ śubham bhavatu ॥

1 Three letters here are extremely indistinct.

THE IMPERIAL MYSTICS OF DELHI

BY

S. R. SHARMA

My heart, like the bud of the red, red rose,
Lies fold within fold aflame ;
Would the breath of even a myriad springs
Blow my heart's bud to a rose ?

Poets and Mystics are difficult to distinguish one from another. They are in imagination all compact. But, while all poets need not be mystics, all mystics are essentially poetic. Their hearts 'like the buds of the red, red rose, lie fold within fold aflame.' The above lines, worthy of a poet and mystic, are not from Blake, but from Bābur—the founder of the Mughal Empire in India.

Much has been written about the emperors of this dynasty of Delhi, but little that is of abiding human interest. Historians, for reasons best known to themselves, are incorrigibly—almost intolerably—political. If they were a whit more *human* their appeal would be wider and more enduring. Under the purple political cloak of the Mughal emperors there was always beating a warm human heart; under their jewelled crown was often a philosophical head concealed. The purpose of the present causerie is to throw some concentrated light upon this least suspected aspect of Mughal history.

To avoid being mystical ourselves, it is desirable to define our principal terms and the limitations of our scope. In the first place, 'mystic ' is here not to be understood in a rigidly scholastic sense. Secondly, the emperors themselves were too much pre-occupied with political activity to allow ' the breath of even a myriad springs ' to blow their heart's buds into fully blossomed roses. But the glimpses available to us, from their own writings or recorded sayings, certainly indicate a mystical vein running through their inner lives. They were primarily or outwardly men of action ; else, they could not have built up and

administered so magnificent an empire. In their domestic life they were deeply social; without which they would have been unapproachable tyrants. But beneath all these 'fold within fold aflame' was an intense personality romantic and poetical like Bābur's, refined and humane like Humāyūn's, intellectual and eclectic like Akbar's, epicurian and hedonistic like Jahāngīr's, and Shāhjahān's, or esoteric and mystical like Dārā Shukoh's, and stoic and puritanical like Aurangzib's. All these were undoubtedly great men despite their well-known weaknesses. But for the political accident of their birth, had they been free to develop their private individualities, the Mughal emperors might have been a family of cultivated gentlemen, philosophers, poets, *pīrs*, with their minds and hearts suffused with religious mysticism.

In the light of the above remarks let us now acquaint ourselves, as intimately as the records permit, with these imperial mystics.

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Bābur was truly and sincerely religious, though he changed his sectarian labels (*Sunni* and *Shia*) to suit political exigencies. So also did Humāyūn, to get the support of the Persians. The addiction of the one to wine, as of the other to opium, did not tarnish the soul of either. The conqueror of Hindustan begins his autobiography with the invocation "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate;" and this is no mere conventional dedication. As the *Wāqiāt* testifies, Bābur never forgot God in the hour of victory or defeat. "By the grace and mercy of Almighty God," he records about his triumph at Pānīpat, "this difficult affair was made easy to me." Quoting from the *Qorān* on another occasion he exclaims:

"Say,--O God! who possessest the kingdom! Thou givest it to whom Thou wilt and Thou takest it from whom Thou wilt! In Thy hand is good, for Thou art Almighty.'

When he recovered almost miraculously, from the poison administered to him at Delhi (on 21 December 1526), he wrote in a letter: "He who has been near to death knows the worth of life... God gave me new-birth! Through God I know today the worth of life."

But, even more than the above citations, the following two occasions will serve to illustrate the sparkling sincerity of the man of faith that Bābur essentially was--

On the eve of his battle with Rāṇā Saṅga—" On Monday the 23rd of the first *Jumāda* (Fb. 25th), when I went out riding, I reflected, as I rode, that the wish to cease from sin had been always in my mind, and that my forbidden acts had set lasting stain upon my heart. Said I, 'Oh! my soul'

'How long wilt thou draw savour from sin?
Repentance is not without savour, taste it!'
(Persian)

'Through years how many has sin defiled thee?
How much of peace has transgression given thee?
How much hast thou been thy passions' slave?
How much of thy life flung away?'
(Turki)

In this mood of sincere repentance--characteristic of deeply religious men—Bābur renounced his long addiction to wine. The *farmān* which he issued on this occasion opens with the words of the *Qorān* : " Let us praise the Long-suffering one who loveth the penitent and who loveth the cleansers of themselves ; and let thanks be rendered to the gracious one who absolveth his debtors and forgiveth those who seek forgiveness. He goes on to state that 'the nature of man is prone to evil, and that the abandonment of sinful appetites is only feasible by Divine aid and the help that cometh from on high.'

" After some days of sorrow and repentance, we (from the *Shāh* to the *sipāhi*) abandoned all evil practices one by one, and the gates of retrogression became closed. On this occasion I received a secret inspiration and heard an infallible voice say : " Is not the time yet come unto those who believe, that their hearts should humbly submit to the admonition of God, and that truth which hath been revealed ? " *Thereupon we set ourselves* to extirpate the things of wickedness, and we *earnestly knocked* at the gate of repentance. The Guide of *help assisted us*...and an order was given that with the Holy War there should begin the still greater war which has to be waged against sensuality."

Here we are face to face with a religious Mystic rather than an ordinary conqueror. His end was of a piece with this trait.

"O God! if a life may be exchanged for a life, I, who am Bābur, give my life and my being for Humāyūn."

During the rite fever surged over him, and convinced that his prayer and offering had been accepted, he cried out," I have borne it away! I have borne it away!"

Such was the sunset of the first of the philosophical minded Mughal emperors. Indeed had Bābur proclaimed on the eve of the battle of Khānua:

> Who comes into the world will die;
> What lasts and lives will be God.
>
> (Persian)

> He who hath entered the assembly of life,
> Drinketh at last of the cup of death.
> He who hath come to the inn of life,
> Passeth at last from Earth's house of woe.
>
> (Turki)

Before Bābur quitted the inn of life, he had once contemplated abdication in favour of his beloved son Humāyūn, declaring

> "Though I be not related to *dervishes*,
> Yet am I their follower in heart and soul.
> Say not a king is far from a *dervish*,
> I am a King but yet the slave of *dervishés*."

Humāyūn, the son of such a father, and carefully trained by him, lived to be a gentleman of refinement and culture. But we are more concerned here with his inner life than his social and intellectual accomplishments. His religious faith, however, bordered too often on superstition. His credulity in omens and astrology are too well known to require mention in detail. According to Khwāndamīr, ' His mind is the seat of the secrets of eternity.'

> His heart is the receiver of the rays of God's guidance;
> His words (are) the discourses of the secrets of truth.

Even if we regard these as conventional epithets, Humāyūn certainly indulged in innovations which revealed the workings of his mind. For instance the mystical values he attached to the number *twelve*. "For, twelve is the number of digits on which the regulation of most worldly affairs, and of every mo-

mentous business has been ordained since the creation of the world to the present time. Firstly because the eighth heaven is divided into the twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the direction of ten revolutions of the Sun, the Moon and the stars, and the seven planets is contingent on the Signs of the Zodiac. And the calculations for months and years are based on their revolutions, and the light of the truth of this idea shines as the passage of days and months in different parts of the universe." (Khwāndamīr)

This is sheer obscurantism or pseudo-mysticism. Yet, if it is true as is recorded, Humāyūn had the presentiment of his death when 'This day after paying my morning devotions a mysterious thing occurred and a secret inspiration brought this quatrain in my lips:

"O God, make me wholly thine.
Acquaint me with thine attributes.
Tyrannous Reason hath crippled my soul.
Call me Thine own madman and set me free."

(*Akbarnāmā*)

Whence this mysticism ?

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Akbar's religious views and philosophical proclivities are well-known. That he was what Vincent Smith has called a student of comparative religion is also quite patent. But apart from and more than his intellectual eclecticism his own personal faith was deeper than his theosophy. As a ruler indeed he tried to gather

From each fair plant the blossom choicest grown,
To wreathe a crown not only for the King,
But in due time for every Musalman,
Brahmin, and Buddhist, Christian and Parsee,
Thro' all the warring world of Hindustan.

And

To hunt the tiger of oppression out,
From office ; and to spread the Divine Faith,
Like calming oil on all their stormy creeds,......
To nurse my children on the milk of Truth,
And alchemise old hates into the gold,
Of Love, and to make it current......

Abūl Fazl would have us believe that "Numbers of those who have bid adieu to the world, such as Sonnassees, Calandars, Philosophers, and Sofees," had "their eyes opened unto knowledge" by this Majesty whose insight was esoteric. His prayers were effectively addressed to heaven to support their aspirations to translate them "from seeming existence, unto real existence" (*Āīn-e-Akbarī*). It is this aspect of Akbar's personality that is of interest to us here. His mystic temperament and inclinations are admitted by all critics including Vincent Smith. "His religious speculations and vagaries," Smith writes, "rested primarily on the fact that he was born with the mystic temperament. Later in life he came more under the influence of Hindu pantheistic doctrine, which has close affinities with *Sūfī* teaching. *Throughout all phases he seems always to have cherished the mystic's ideal of close and direct communion with God*, unobscured by priestly intervention or disputable dogmas...He remained a mystic to the end." (*Akbar the Great Mogul*, pp. 348–9).

Quite early in life, when Akbar was only fourteen years of age (in 1557), he appears to have got sick of the world of 'short-sighted men' and was consumed with a passion to be away from men and utterly alone. In solitude he 'communed with God' and was immersed in ecstasy. Such a fit came over him often.

"One night," he said, "my heart was weary of the burden of life, when suddenly, between sleeping and waking, a strange vision appeared to me, and my spirit was somewhat comforted." ('Happy Sayings,' *Āīn*. vol. iii, p. 388).

Of such an occasion we have detailed impressions recorded by both Abūl Fazl and Badāūni. Early in May 1578 Akbar set out on a hunt. But suddenly the mystical mood captured his being. He called off all activity and gathered up 'the skirt of his genius from earthly pomp.' 'A sublime joy took possession of his bodily frame. The attraction (*jazaba*) of cognition of God cast its ray' (Abūl Fazl). According to Badāūnī, "an extraordinary change was manifested in his manner, to such an extent as cannot be accounted for. And every one attributed it to some cause or other ; but God alone knoweth secrets.

> 'Take care ! for the grace of God comes suddenly,
> It comes suddenly, it comes to the mind of the wise.'

Commenting further upon this phase of Akbar's life Abūl Fazl adds: "About this time the privacy of the spiritual world took possession of his holy form, and gave a new aspect to his world-adorning beauty...What the chiefs of purity and deliverance (*Sūfī* seers ?) had searched for in vain was revealed to him. The spectators who were in his holy neighbourhood carried away the fragments of the Divine bounty." A recent writer has tried to interpret the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* in terms of scholastic mysticism.* The subject is too vast and controversial for ampler treatment here. But the initiation and the entire discipline of the *Shast* certainly surround the *Ilāhī* with a halo of mysticism: 'the pure *Shast* and the pure sight shall never err.' *Allāh-ho-Akbar.*

"Qazi Hamdani says that 'the great name' is the word '*Hu*' or "He"–God–because it has a reference to God's nature as it shows that He has no other at His side. Again the word '*Hu*' is not a derivative. All epithets of God are contained in it.

"Possibly Handami's interpretation is true, specially '*Hu*' is a *Sūfī* term and in his early youth Akbar used to chant these *Sūfī* terms '*Za Hu*' and '*Yu Hadi*' near the Anuptolao. And it is quite probable that the familiar word should be repeated in his *Sūfī* order."

The writer above referred to concludes his interesting study with a commentary on the *Dabistan*. He cites parallel passages from the *Qorān* and the Persian *Sūfī* writers for every item of the ideology of the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*. "As a *Sūfī*" he says, "Akbar cried with brother *Sūfīs* like Sādi, Rumī, Jāmī, Hāfiz, etc. for union with Him." The spirit of Akbar's esoteric and eclectic mysticism is well reflected in the following credo formulated by Abūl Fazl:—

> "O God, in every temple I see people that worship Thee, and in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee. Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee."
>
> "Each religion says, 'Thou art one, without equal'. If it be a Mosque, people murmur Thy Holy prayer; and if it be a Christian Church people ring Thy bell from love of Thee."

* 'Akbar in the Light of the Dīn-i-Ilāhī' by M. L. Roy Choudhury, M.A., in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 3rd Session, Calcutta, 1939.

"Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometime the Mosque, but it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple. Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy; for neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth."

"Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox. But the dust of the petal belongs to the heart of the perfume-seller."

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It is difficult to speak of the mysticism of either Jahāngir or Shāhjahān. Though the fountain of idealism was not dry in their generation it spent its waters in other channels. In spite of Jahāngīr's intellectual allegiance to Sūfīsm and Vedānta, and his interest in ascetics like Jadrūp, he 'was never deep in anything but—Wine.'

'A Flask of Wine, a Book of Verse—and Thou
Beside me'

was his Paradise. But it was essentially an Earthly Paradise. Shāh jahān was not cast in a more etherial mould, despite his interest in saints.

'Love is as old as man,
But since this love began,
None loved like Shāh Jahān.'

"I am an artist, and I worship beauty,
Worship it and create it.
The real Jahān is in my palaces,
And in my love of thee.
I write my name—the name of Shāh Jahān—
In the enduring fabric of my marbles,
And when the empire of our Mogul line,
Crumbles in the inevitable flux of time,
And Akbar and Jahāngir are but words,
That monarchise in musty chronicles,
Men still shall say,
Jahān built this, and this,
Those dreams in stone were dreamed by Shāh Jahān,
Jahān of the unalterable love, the which,
He treasured more than these;
The greatest builder and the greatest lover,
That ever walked the earth."

(Jast, L. S.—*Shāh Jahān*

Shāh Jahān's contributions to mysticism are the Tāj Mahāl in the realm of art, and the philosophy of Dārā Shukoh in the realm of religion. Of the former one has written

> 'Not architecture! as all others are
> But the Proud passion of Emperor's love
> Wrought into living stone.'

Indeed its charm is eternally mystical. Of Dārā Shukoh as a Mystic we shall presently speak. Manwhile we might dispose of Aurangzib who had the reputation of being a *Zinda Pīr.* He is more of an enegma: In his private life he was intensely religious,—puritanical, stoic. Witness his spreading a carpet, kneeling and praying in the thick of the fight on the frontier against the Uzbeks. It served to mystify his enemy. But as Dārā stigmatised him he was a *namāzī.* Yet his last letter to Prince Azam reveals unmistakably the soul of a mystic :—

> 'Peace be on you!
>
> 'Old age has arrived and weakness has grown strong; strength has left my limbs. I came alone and am going away alone. I know not who I am and what I have been doing. The days that have been spent except in austerities have left only regret behind......
>
> 'Life so valuable, has gone away for nothing. The Master has been in my house, but my darkened eyes cannot see his splendour. Life lasts not; no trace is left of the days that are no more; and of the future there is no hope......
>
> 'I brought nothing with me (into the world), and am carrying away with me the fruits of my sins. I know not what punishment will fall on me. Though I have strong hopes of His grace and kindness, yet in view of my acts anxiety does not leave me. When I am parting from my own self, who else would remain to me?
>
> 'Whatever the wind may be,
> I am launching my boat on the water'

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Dārā Shukoh was the greatest of the imperial mystics of Delhi. In fact his mysticism disqualified him for the imperial role which brought about the tragedy of his life. "An exalted soul, a noble heart, a liberal mind, a freshness of outlook, a lofty idealism, and an inexhaustible thirst for knowledge--these were

the uncommon gifts with which nature endowed him." He read much Persian poetry, his biographer Dr. Qanungs tells us; but Firdausi and Śādi had far less interest for him than Rūmī and Jami. Indeed, he read much besides, including the *Bhagavad Gītā*, the *Upaniṣads* and other Hindu Vedāntic works.

Dārā like all other mystics had visions. In one of these, one night, 'in the prime of his youth' an angel cried out to him in a dream four times: "God has bestowed upon thee what no king on earth did ever get." In time, Dārā tells us, "the fore-shadowing of it began to be manifest, and day by day the veil was lifted little by little." He joined the Qadiri school of mystics and instinct or inspiration led him in his quest of the *Tawkid*: 'Take one step out of thyself, that thou mayst arrive at God.' Limitations of space do not permit us to follow Dārā through all the intricacies of 'the Path.' We should therefore be content with only a few glimpses.

"I have no hope of reaching the goal through my own deeds and acts," says the Prince. "My sole reliance is on thy mercy, O lord!" In his *Risala-i-Haqnuma*, written in 'the intoxication of Union,' Dārā declares—

(i) "No one is a stranger to thee in this Universe; on whatever thou layest thy hands, that confronts thee as thy own self.

(ii) "O thou who seekest God everywhere, thou verily art that God and not separate from Him. This search of thine is exactly like the search of tbe drop for the ocean, when it is already in the midst of the waters of the ocean.

(iii) "When thou shalt carry this stage to perfection, then there will remain no doubt that *thou art the truth*."

Even a bare recital of the titles of his works will give the reader some idea of Dārā's coutributions to the literature of mysticism. (1) *Safinat-ul-awliya* or lives of Muslim Saints is 'full of the pain of search' in the path of *Sūfism*; (2) *Sakniat-ul-awliya*, dealing mainly with the life of saint Mian Mir of Lahore, incidentally notices the various stages of the mystic journey; (3) *Risala-i-Haqnuma*, or the Compass of Truth, was written for the instruction of novices in the Path of Sufism; (4) *Majmua-al-Baharain*, or Mingling of two Oceans, is the pro-

duct of comparative study of Hinduism and Islam ; (5) *Sirr-ul-asrar*, or the Secret of Secrets is the appropriate title of his translation of the *Upaniṣads* ; (6) *Hasanat-ul-Arifin*, comprises a defence of his pantheistic views as against the criticism of the orthodox Muslims ; (7) *Tariqat-ul-Haqiqat* gives a more eloquent expression to his favourite idealism ; and (8) *Tarjuma-i-Joga-Vashishta* a translation of the *Yoga-vāsiṣṭa.*

In the ripeness of his wisdom and learning Dārā sang :

> " Thou art in the Kaaba as well as
> in ihe Somnath temple ;
> In the convent as well as in the tavern.
> Thou art at the same time
> the light and the moth ;
> The wine and the cup, the sage and the fool,
> the friend and the stranger......
> Thou art thyself the rose and
> the amorous nightingale ;
> Thou art thyself the moth around
> the light of thine own beauty. "

Here indeed is the greatest of the imperial mystics of Delhi *en raport* with the soul of India; and in the words of Dr. Qanungo- " It is hardly an exaggeration to say that anyone who intends to take up the solution of religious peace in India must begin the work where Dārā Shukoh had left it and proceed on the Path chalked out by that Prince. "

THE EXTENT OF MAHĀRĀṢṬRA AS FOUND IN THE AIHOLE INSCRIPTION

BY

S. R. SHENDE

I. INTRODUCTION

This is an humble attempt to draw to this subject the attention of learned scholars whose wider knowledge and deep study will surely settle the issue. The writer here merely opens it.

In this article an attempt is made to determine the territories which were included in Mahārāṣṭra according to the Aihole inscription[1] (of the 556th year of the Śaka Era, and the 3735th year after the great Mahābhārata War) which describes, in its 25th verse, Mahārāṣṭra as,

अगमदधिपतित्वं यो महाराष्ट्रकाणाम्
नवनवतिसहस्रग्रामभाजां त्रयाणाम् ।

i. e. " Who (Pulakeśī II) attained sovereignty of the Tri Mahārāṣṭra containing 99000 villages." The territory covered by this Tri Mahārāṣṭra is not shown in the poem, in clear terms, and therefore we have to search it out. But before doing so, it will be helpful to see what we know of its colonization.

II. COLONIZATION OF MAHĀRĀṢṬRA

The first Aryan colonist[2] of Dakṣiṇāpatha, we know of, according to tradition, is Agasti, who crossed the Vindhya mountain and settled in Vidarbha.[3] Agasti being one of the

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[1] (1) Ind. Ant. Vol. V : 67 ; Vol. VIII : 237
(2) Epi. Ind. Vol. VI : I.
(3) Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions by Diskalkar, Part I, p. 37ff.

[2] आनंदरामायण, सारकाण्ड, सर्ग १०, श्लोक, १११ to ११५.

वाल्मीकिरामायण, अरण्यकाण्ड, अध्याय ११. Agastyāśrama situated in Vidarbha can be traced here.

authors[1] of the Vedic hymns, we can take back the date of the colonization of Mahārāṣṭra to the date when the Vedas were being composed i. e. nearly 4 thousand years before the commencement of the Śaka Era. Reference to दक्षिणा पदा in ऋग्वेद[2] 10. 61. 8 and to विदर्भ [3] in शतपथ ब्राह्मण 14, 5, 5, 22 support this view. The big colonies of Mahārāṣṭra are :

(1) Mālava
(2) Aśmaka
    (a) Nāsikya
    (b) Petanika
    (c) Karhāṭaka
(3) Aparānta
(4) Vidarbha
(5) Kuntala

Here मालव is mentioned as a part of महाराष्ट्र because there existed a dialect of महाराष्ट्री, the language of महाराष्ट्र, of the name of आवन्तिका,[4] a dialect spoken in अवन्ती, the famous city of मालव. मालव seems to have been colonized in Vedic period.[5]

These we find recorded and form parts of Mahārāṣṭra. The locations of these colonies were since then well known. There were minor colonies such as Paṇḍu Rāṣṭra, Deva Rāṣṭra,[6] Gopa Rāṣṭra,[7] Malla Rāṣṭra etc., and are accepted as parts[8] of Mahārāṣṭra. All these colonies were, in these days, being treated as " Rāṣṭras"[9] and their residents as "Rāṣṭrikas. "

These Rāṣṭras being of the same race, religion and culture, must have been in close contact with one another for several centuries, and must have developed a common civiliza-

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[1] ऋग्वेद I. 179.

[2] 4000 to 1500 years before Śaka era [(a) Orion by Tilak (1898 Ed.) p. 219.

(b) भारतीय ज्योतिषशास्त्र by Dixit (1931 Ed.) p. 136].

[3] The date of शतपथ ब्राह्मण is fixed at 3100 years before शक Era (भारतीय ज्योतिषशास्त्र page 128).

[4] " आवंती स्यान्महाराष्ट्रीशौरसेन्योस्तु संकरात् " प्राकृतसर्वस्व of मार्कंडेय.

[5] क्षिप्रा river of अवन्ती is probably क्षिप्रा mentioned in ऋग्वेद 4. 8. 8.

[6] दवराष्ट्र can be assigned to the southern part of Satara district where there is a village named देवराष्ट्र in Tasgaon Taluka.

[7] गोपराष्ट्र is गोवराष्ट्र (गोवा) one of the 7 Konkans (Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII, page 18).

[8] History of Mediæval Hindu India by Vaidya, Vol. I, p. 259.

[9] Bom. Gaz., Vol. I–Part II, page 143.

tion, one language and the same social customs. Consequently all these colonies or Rāṣṭras and Rāṣṭrikas must have been amalgamated into one society and a big nation, with Mahārāṣṭra as their common name, after the colonization of दक्षिणापथ had taken place.

It is not possible to determine the exact date of such a transformation, requiring as it does several hundreds of years; still it can be presumed that it must have taken place ten centuries prior to the Śaka Era.

III. MAHĀRĀṢṬRA PRIOR TO PULAKEŚIN II

The name of this Union occurs first in Mahāvaso,[1] in the course of the description of Aśoka's missionary expeditions to the different parts of Bhāratavarṣa. One of these parts was Maharatta, the Pāli form for Mahārāṣṭra. Since these expeditions belong to the 4th century prior to Śaka Era, this first mention of the name should be safely assigned to that period. The reference for the second time is found in the Kāmasūtra[2] of Vātsyāyana (वात्स्यायन) of the first century of the Śaka Era as Mahārāṣṭrakāṇām (महाराष्ट्रकाणाम्) and Mahārāṣṭrikya (महाराष्ट्रिक्य) and in Bṛhatsaṁhitā[3] of Varāhamihira (by about the 5th century of the Śaka Era) as Mahārāṣṭrāḥ (महाराष्ट्राः).

It is evident from the above that the use of this name is made very rarely in literature but those of the colonies are very common till the 10th century. The oldest name Daṇḍakāraṇya (दण्डकारण्य) is still in use in the opening of the Saṁkalpa (संकल्प) in our rites as गोदावर्याः दक्षिणे or उत्तरे तीरे (as the case may be)

All the four references stated above are mere mention of the name but the location of the country is given nowhere. As the subject-matter of those books calls for no occasion to specify it, it is no wonder that they remain silent on this point Now

[1] Turner's Mahāvaso : 71 to 74.

[2] महाराष्ट्रिक्यः (महाराष्ट्रिकाः स्त्रियः) Vol. 2, Ch. 5, Sec. 29. महाराष्ट्रकाणाम् Vol. 2, Ch. 4, Sec. 11. (कामसूत्र) published by Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares.

[3] Ch. 10, verse 8. Page 66 of the commentary by Kern (1865 Ed.).

the location is mentioned for the first time in the inscription referred to in the opening paragraph.

IV. COMMENTATORS UNHEEDFUL OF MAHĀRĀṢṬRA

The Aihole inscription has been commented[1] upon by good many learned and able scohlars from varied points of views but none have viewed it from the point of the extent of Mahārāṣṭra, the only exception being of the late Dr. Ketkar who has drawn the attention of the readers of his Prācīna Mahārāṣṭra (प्राचीन महाराष्ट्र—pp. 459 ff.) to this point and promised to deal with it in the second volume of that series.

The historicity[2] of this inscription has been tested and certified by a good many research scholars and since then it has been proved very useful to the student of history.

V. THE FIRST SEVENTEEN STANZAS

The first 13 stanzas of the inscription deal with the achievements of the ancestors of Pulakeśī II. The verse 14th. tells us that Maṅgalīśa, who was in charge of the administration of the kingdom, tried to betray Pulakeśī, the heir-apparent to the throne, by installing his own son to the Gadi. But the 15th narrates that the aims of Maṅgalīśa are frustrated, that he is killed in the scuffle, and that Pulakeśī comes to the throne. The 16th informs us that on account of the chaos arising from the conflict between uncle and nephew, those kings, whose territories were so far conquered and annexed[3] to their own by the Cālukyas, picked up this opportunity to try to recover these ; the

[1] See foot-note 1 on page 494.

[2] (1) Epi. Ind. Vol. VI : 3 (Kielhorn)

(2) Ind. Ant. Vol. V : 68 (Fleet)

(3) Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol. I, Part II : 131 by D. B. Diskalkar, M.A.

[3] In verse 9 Kīrtivarmā had overpowered Nala, Kadamba and Maurya kings. The Nalas were ruling in Kaliṅga and Mauryas and Kadambas in Koṅkaṇa.

(Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions by D. B. Diskalkar, Vol. I, Part II, P. 32).

लब्ध्वा काले भुवमुपगते जेतुं.... in the 17th relates a concrete instance of such a revolt by Appāika and Govinda. In this way when Pulakeśī came to the throne we find that all these internecine feuds had resulted in diminishing his kingdom which once had indeed extended from the Western to the Eastern seas (यः पुर्वपाश्चिमसमुद्रतटोषित: V. 11). Verses 9, 10, 12 and 13 support the above statement.

VI. TWO DIVISIONS OF THE CONQUESTS

The verses which describe the conquests of Pulakeśī, if one were to look into them minutely, are in two divisions. The first division contains verses 18 to 22. Verses 23 to 25 do not narrate any conquest. Then again description of conquests commences from v. 26 and is carried on till v. 31. This is the second division. The intention of the poet in thus dividing the conquest can well be imagined from the verses 23 to 25. In V. 23 he tells the story of the total defeat of Harṣa by the king. The v. 24 shows the king's military powers by telling that he did not feel necessity of maintaining elephants, the strongest factor of the militia of those days, for the protection of his kingdom beyond the Narmadā. In v. 25 the poet showers eulogies in glaring terms on his king for "having attained sovereignty of the Mahārāṣṭra which was as big as to contain 99000 villages."

There are two more points that make this intention of the poet more clear. The first is this, that the description of the conquests is not in the order in which these took place but in geographical sequence. We quote here two instances in support of the above statement. The first is that of the conquest of the पिष्टपुर in v. 27, territory in Godāvarī district of the Madras Presidency, which took place, according to V. Smith, in 609 A. D. (Early History of India : 1914 Ed. p. 425). The other is that of the battle between Pulakeśī and Harṣa which, as Dr. A. S. Altekar says (Annals of B. O. R. I., Vol. XIII, page 306), had taken place between 630 and 634 A. D. The poet describes the former conquest in verse 27 and the latter in verse 23.

And the second point is that the poet observed this geographical sequence with the intention of bringing together the parts of Mahārāṣṭra which were not so far in the possession of Pulakeśī, who had just conquered these as described

in verses 18 to 22. And this motive is further strengthened by the fact that the poet stops describing the further conquests and begins describing military greatness and praising the king as in verses 23, 24 and 25. These eulogies are supported by the facts that "the fame of the King of the Deccan reached the ears of the king of Persia[1]". and Pulakeśī assumed the title of परमेश्वर after he conquered Harṣa.[2] And the praises end by telling that the king became overlord of whole of the Mahārāṣṭra. It is still wonder that the poet does not here lose the opportunity of recording the extent of that country. The poet is out to eulogise the king. The inscription is a Praśasti (eulogy) and hence it can be presumed that, having found the king overjoyed at his being the master of the whole of Mahārāṣṭra, the poet did utilise this opportunity rightly as in verse 25. Had it not been so there is no reason why the poet should mention Mahārāṣṭra and its dimensions.

It should be further noted that part of Mahārāṣṭra was already his, when he ascended the throne and that the king did not conquer it afresh. It is also worth noting that the eulogies are not given along with each conquest, nor are they at the end of all the conquests, but are given when he describes the king as "having attained sovereignty of Mahārāṣṭra."

Therefore the verses 18 to 22 make one division of the description of conquest of such parts of Mahārāṣṭra which were not so far in his possession.

Verses 26 to 31 make the second division of it. The countries mentioned therein were outside Mahārāṣṭra.

Verse 32 sums up the second division and the description of the conquests.

The verses 25 and 32, quoted below, will speak for themselves.

Verse 25:

विधिवदुपचिताभिः शक्तिभिः शक्रकल्पः
तिसृभिरपि गुणौघैः स्वैश्च माहाकुलाद्यैः ।

[1] Early History of India by Smith (1914 Ed.), page 426.

[2] Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions by Diskalkar Vol. I, Part II, page 133; Epi. Ind. Vol. VII, 163.

अगमदधिपतित्वं यो महाराष्ट्रकाणाम्
नवनवतिसहस्रग्रामभाजां त्रयाणाम् ॥

Verse 32:

उत्साहप्रभुमन्त्रशक्तिसहिते यस्मिन्समस्ता दिशो
जित्वा भूमिपतीन्विसृज्य महितानाराध्य देवद्विजान् ।
वातापीं नगरीं प्रविश्य नगरीमेकामिवोर्वीमिमाम्
चञ्चन्नीरधिनीरनीलपरिखां सत्याश्रये शासति ॥

VII. Countries covered by Mahārāṣṭra

The first thing in this direction we have to do is to name the countries Pulakeśī conquered and the other is to find out those he already possessed. The territory, covered by the countries in these two lists, will help to mark out the countries covered by Mahārāṣṭra.

The names of the newly conquered countries are :—

	Serial No.	No. of the the verse	The name of the country conquered	Present name
(a) Parts of Mahārāṣṭra	1	18	Vanavasi[1]	Shimoga and Canara districts.
	2	19	Kingdom of the Gaṅga[2] kings	The Mysore state except Shimoga district.
	3	19	Kingdom of Alupa[3] kings	The tract north-east of Vanavasi.

[1] (1) Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions by Diskalksr, Vol. I, Part II, P. 133.

(2) Mysore Gaz. Vol. V, Page 1352

(3) Vanavasi in Sirsi Taluka of North Canara: Dharwar Gaz. P. 388.

[2] Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, Part II: 299, Talkhad, the capital of the Gaṅga kings is on the Kāverī river south-east of Mysore city.

[3] Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, Part II: 309.

	Serial No.	No. of the verse	The name of the country conquered	Present name
	4	20	Territory of Maurya[1] Chief	Southern Koṅkaṇa.
	5	21	Puri[2]	Thana district.
	6	22	Lāṭa Deśa[3]	Gujarat, north of the Narmadā.
	7	22	Mālava Deśa	Malwa.
	8	22	Kingdom of Gurjara[4]	Southern part of Rajputana.
(b) Parts outside Mahārāṣṭra	9	26	Kingdom of Kosala[5]	Eastern part of Chhattisgarh division of C.P. but not Baster and Kanker states.

[1] Early History of India by V. Smith (1914) Page 195.

[2] Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, Part II : 283.

[3] (a) J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. 21, page 413.

(b) ऐतिहासिक संशोधन by दुर्गाशंकर के. शास्त्री (1941 Ed.) page 282. " लाट देशनी साधारण सीमा महीथी तापी सुधी गणाय छे. "

(c) Lāṭa is between Thana and Surat (Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, part I page 283 foot-note 5) and it was one of the seven parts of Koṅkaṇa.

[4] (a) J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. 21, page 415.

(b) A Gurjara Chieftain by name Dadda II was ruling in Lāṭa, and this Broach Gurjara kingdom was a petty principality hardly equal to 2 or 3 modern districts. This is not the King whom Pulakeśī defeated. Annals of the B. O. R. I., Vol. XIII, p. 304.

(c) Since the poet mentions both Lāṭa and Gurjara here it is clear that he does not mean Gurjara ruling in Broach. Taking into consideration that Gurjara has been mentioned after Malwa and that the poet preferred geographical sequence to describe the conquests, to the order of the countries conquered, and tells us that Pulakeśī first beat Lāṭa, then Malwa and lastly Gurjara who were in those days in Rajputana. Therefore by Gurjara we must take their country as Rajputana and not Broach nor Lāṭa. Early History of India by Smith p. 321 & 322 (1914 Ed.).

[5] Vidarbha of the beginning of the Śaka Era was a very big country divided by Varadā river (मालविकाग्निमित्र Act V, verse 13). Mahārāṣṭra is described as having been extended upto east sea as " पूर्वसमुद्रवेरी " by Mahānubhāvas. Even today Halbi, a dialect of Marāthi, is the chief language of Baster state close to the eastern sea. Hence country of Kosala must be beyond the hilly tracts in Khairagarh, Nandgaon and other states and to the North of Baster and Kanker.

Serial No.	No. of the the verse	The name of the country conquered	Present name
10	26	Kingdom of Kaliṅga	Orissa.
11	27	Piṣṭapura	A Zamindari in Godāvari district.
12	28	Kunāla[1]	Territory between Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā rivers.
13	29	Pallava kingdom of Kañcīpura	Chingalput district.
14	30	Cola[2] kingdom	Tanjore district.
15	31	Pāṇḍya[2] kingdom	Madurā district
16	31	Kingdom of Kerala[2] kings	Malbar and adjoining native states.

If the readers will see the map they will notice that countries mentioned above have formed a circle. From this it can be easily inferred that the territory inside this circle was the kingdom of Pulakeśī when he ascended the throne. Though the poet does not say anything on this point it can be ascertained from the following facts :—

1 The Kalacūri[3] kingdom was conquered by Maṅgalīśa (verse 12).

2 The territory north of Bhīmarathī[4] river where Appāika and Govind were brought to books (V. 17) should be Sholapur and Usmanabad districts.

3 Vātāpi (V. 7 & 32) i. e. Bijapur district was his capital. These three places were, according to this inscription, in his possession when he came to the throne. As to the possession of

[1] Epi. Ind. Vol. VI, page 3.

[2] Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, part II, page 133.

[3] The kingdom of Kalacūri was near ओंकार मांधाता in Nemāda by this time. They shifted to Tripuri near Jubbulpore in the 10th century.

[4] Bhīmarathī is present भीमा or चंद्रभागा river

(1) महायोगपीठे तटे भीमरथ्यां वरं पुंडरीकाय दातुं मुनींद्रैः ॥

—शंकराचार्यकृतं पांडुरंगस्तोत्रं

(2) भीमरथीतीरसंनिविष्टं पंडरिगे नामानं महाग्रामं... ...

—" विट्ठल आणि पांडुरंग " by Khare, p. 6

the unmentioned territories inside the circle, we can safely take them to be parts of his kingdom, since he would not leave any country unconquered between his ancestral kingdom and the countries he conquered later on.

Thus the tracts of land forming parts of Tri Mahārāṣṭra, according to Aihole inscription are :—

(i) In the possession of Pulakeśi when he ascended the throne :—

Old Names	Current Names
(1) Kingdom of Kalacūri	(1) Country round about ओंकार मांधाता in Nemāda
(2) Aśmaka[1]	(2) Districts of Khandesh, Buldhana, Aurangabad, and up to Jath and Kolhapur States.
(3) Nāsikya	(3) District of Nasik and adjoining territory.
(4) Karhāṭaka	(4) Satara district and Western parts of Kolhapur State.
(5) Kuntala[2]	(5) S. M. C. and Kanarese speaking districts of the Bombay Presidency and of Nizam's dominion and Bellary district.

[1] सुत्तनिपात by Dr. P. V. Bapat (1924 Ed.) page 143, Ślokas 976–77. Page 147, Ślokas 1010–1011 ; Paiṭhan was included in Aśmaka.

[2] (a) Inscriptions in Northern Karnatak and Kolhapur by Prof. Kundangar. By Northern Karnatak the author meant Southern Maratha Country and Southern districts of the Bombay Presidency. This book contains a good many references to Kuntala from the inscriptions of the part. Hence it is clear that this part was Kuntala, in those days.

(b) Dr. Sten Konow tells us that Mahārāṣṭra comprises Vidarbha and Kuntala.—Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXII, page 180.

(c) He again tells us :—

To the South of Āryāvarta was the great country called Mahārāṣṭra extending Southward to the Kṛṣṇā and sometimes also including the country of the Kuntalas which broadly corresponds to the sourthern part of

(*continued on the next page*)

Old Names	Current Names
(6) No old specific name is found for this part	(6) Telugu speaking districts of Nizam's dominion
(7) Vidarbha	(7) Berar (except Buldhana) and whole of C. P. (except the northernmost districts beyond Narmadā .

(ii) Countries newly conqured as in V. 18 to 22 shown in (Part 7) list numbering serially 1 to 8.

Here ends the subject-matter of this paper ; still there are two more allied points: त्रयाणां महाराष्ट्रकाणाम् and नवनवतिसहस्रग्रामभाजां महाराष्ट्रकाणाम् deserve special attention.

VIII. त्रयाणां महाराष्ट्रकाणाम् OR त्रिमहाराष्ट्र

These two words have been translated by Dr. Fleet [1], Dr. Kielhorn, Dr. Ketker, and Mr. Diskalkar as (one) " Mahārāṣṭra ; though, while giving the literal meaning, it is given as " Three Mahārāṣṭras. " There is no clue or explanation given by the poet to make clear why he describes Mahārāṣṭra as Tri Mahārāṣṭra and therefore we have to search it from changes caused by the political, social and linguistic happenings in these parts.

Our theory of Tri Mahārāṣṭra (त्रिमहाराष्ट्र) is as follows :—

History tells us that many tribes have come down the Punjab. The verse 22nd of this inscription contains Gurjars, who had in those days their kingdom in Rajputana, then named after the settlers as गुर्जरत्रा or गुर्जरदेश. This tribe was very powerful and much stronger than the then residents. There were other new-comers such as Ahirs, Huns, Kushans, Shakas and others. These

(continued from the previous page)

the Bombay Presidency and Hyderabad.—Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. VII, page 3.

(d) Guptas in कुंतल by H. C. Ray Chaudhari, in the Proceedings of the History Congress (Allahabad 1938), pages 43-44.

[1] (1) Epi. Ind. Vol. VI, page 10 by Dr. Kielhorn.

(2) Ind. Ant. Vol. V, page 72 and Vol. VIII, p. 244 by Dr. Fleet.

(3) Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol. I, part II, pages 134 and 148, by Diskalkar.

(4) Prācīna Mahārāṣṭra by Dr. Ketkar, page 463.

new-comers might have had an upper hand in the formation of a new combination of culture, language, mode of living and manners, giving birth to altogether a new society, we find today in Rajaputana and Malwa. This process may have been at work by the time of रविकीर्ति in some visible form.

To the south also, there had been a flow coming up of a different language i. e. Kanarese which crossed the borders of Karnatak [1] i. e. the present Mysore State and entered Kuntala. The very Cālukyas had shifted to Vātāpi where Kanarese had then made its way. This language was made vehicle for propagation [2] of their faith by the Jain kings [3] of the Gaṅga, Kadamba, Hoysala, Punnāṭa dynasties.

It is these Jains who gave the Kanarese a great lift by creating abundant literature in it. The Kadamba kings were ruling over Dharwar and Belgaum districts in the 5th century A. D. and their grants,[4] by copper plate, of villages and lands were in furtherance of the Jain religion.

Mahārāṣṭrī, one of the corrupt forms of Sanskrit, the language of Mahārāṣṭra, began in those days waning, giving birth to a still more corrupt form i. e. Apabhraṁśa. Another thing in this connection to be noted is that the centre of gravity of Mahārāṣṭra was in those days in Vidarbha and the western part of it i. e. Marathi speaking parts of the Bombay Presidency was backward in every respect. These two reasons might have given a fair chance to the flourishing Kanarese to make a firm footing in Kuntala.

[1] Mysore Gazetteer (Vol. I, p. 256) "Mysore is properly the कर्नाटक" Caldwell's Grammer of Dravidian languages (1856 Ed.) p. 6.

[2] Mysore Gaz. Vol. I, p. 385–86.

[3] (a) भद्रबाहु and चंद्रगुप्त (321 to 397 A. D.) introduce Jainism from श्रवण-बेळगोळ : Mysore Gaz. Vol. I, page 286.

(b) Jainism was state creed of the Gaṅga, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Kalacūri and Hoyasal kings—Mysore Gazetteer Vol. I, page 295.

(c) For more than 1000 years Jainism was professed by rulers.

(d) Upto the 12th century A. D. every Kannada writer was Jain. —History of Kanarese literature by Rice, page 17.

[4] Belgaum Dist. Gaz. p. 353.

To this side, unlike the north, the change is only linguistic and not social which should be marked.

These changes must have been before the eyes of the poet while describing Mahārāṣṭra, as Tri Mahārāṣṭra. Since there are today Hindi dialects beyond the Narmadā and Kanarese below the Kṛṣṇā, the readers will, it is hoped, find our theory of the origin and mention of Tri Mahārāṣṭra to be correct.

It will be interesting to note that there are 24 names [1] (majority of countries) with an adjective त्रि affixed to them. It is for the scholars of ancient history to search out what should be inferred by this त्रि; whether it has got any specific meaning or it merely indicates its greatness.

IX. नवनवतिसहस्रग्रामभाजां त्रयाणां महाराष्ट्रकाणाम्

Ravikīrti says Mahārāṣṭra contained 99000 villages. It was customary in those days to mention important divisions with figures. It was uncertain whether they indicated the villages they contained or their revenue or anything else. Some of the antiquarians are doubtful as to what these figures imply.

The mention of the figure here is not a doubtful case. It clearly refers to villages. This number nearly tallies with that of the 1931 census figures which are given below.

Divisions of Tri Mahārāṣṭra as named today.	Number of villages from 1931 census volumes.
(1) Bombay Presidency (Br.) upto Mahī Nadī (excluding Kaira, and Ahmedabad districts and Sind).	20707
(2) States in Bombay Presidency upto Cambay.	6898

[1] A list of words with an adjective त्रि :—

(1) त्रिकूट (2) त्रिकलिंग (3) त्रिऋषि (4) त्रिगर्त (5) त्रिपुरी (6) त्रिककुद् (7) त्रिनेत्रेश्वर (8) त्रितकूप (9) त्रिदिवा (10) त्रिपथगा (11) त्रिपादि (12) त्रिपुरा (13) त्रिभागा (14) त्रिमल्ल (15) त्रिलिंग (16) त्रिशीला (17) त्रिलोकनाथ (18) त्रिवेणी (19) त्रिशिरपल्ली (20) त्रिसामा (21) त्रिशूलखात (22) त्रिशूलगंगा (23) त्रिशृंग (24) त्रिस्रोता.

(from the manuscript copy of "Geographical Dictionary" by Pandit Chitrava Shastri of Poona).

Divisions of Tri Mahārāṣṭra as named today.	Number of villanes from 1931 census volumes.
(3) Navasari and Baroda divisions and Baroda town of Baroda State.	1627
(4) C. P. (Br.) excluding Saugar, Bilaspur, Damoh, Jubbulpore and Raipur districts.	29981
(5) C. P. States: Makrai, Khairagarh, Nandgaon, Kanker and Baster.	4080
(6) Nizam's dominion	21830
(7) Mysore state	16591
(8) C. I. States excluding Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand	12041
(9) Districts of Gwalior state in C. I.: Ujjain, Amjera, Sajapur and Mandsaur.	3756
Total	117511

Note:— No figures of Rajputana and Kathiawar states and Northern Gujarat are included in the above list because these are not mentioned in the inscription. Linguistically these parts also were one with the above.

This total makes us bold to say that the figure 99000 is not an imaginary one; on the contrary its correctness is confirmed.

Dr. Fleet[1] does not take this figure as meaningless.

It is not supposed that the territories referred to above by old names cover the same areas. The changes must have been slight; and therefore we are nearer the truth. The figure 99000 can therefore be safely relied upon.

Since we find the number of the villages of Tri Mahārāṣṭra nearly correct we are right when we say that what Pulakeśī possessed when he ascended the throne and the countries he conquered, as described in V. 18 to 22, had in those days one collective name of Mahārāṣṭra. All these regions were, in the 6th century, being recognised as Mahārāṣṭra and therefore the use of the name of Mahārāṣṭra by Ravikīrti for all these territories was correct. It is evident from

1 Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, part II, pages 298, foot-note 2.

the cultural, social and linguistic revolution that was going on by that time; the present day Mahārāṣṭra is much reduced [1], as we see from नर्मदाकर्णाटकयोर्मध्ये महाराष्ट्रविषयः (जयमंगला-टीका of 12th century A. D.). It seems from the Sanskrit sentence just quoted that Kuntala was not then left out of Mahārāṣṭra.

The famous Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang, also supports [2] us. He describes Pulakeśī to be a क्षत्रिय king and king of Mahārāṣṭra. The description of the traveller of the temperament and tendencies of the people of Mahārāṣṭra is exectly the same as those of the present day Mahārāṣṭriyans.

X. WHY THIS IS MAHĀRĀṢṬRA

The reasons are as under :—

(1) Pulakeśī did not conquer Mahārāṣṭra as he did other countries. The heart and major portion of it was already in his possession when he came to the throne.

अगमदधिपतित्वं [3]... ... means, he acquired the sovereignty of whole of Mahārāṣṭra by conquering such parts of it which were not so far under his control and not that he conquered the whole of it afresh.

(2) There was no reason for mentioning the number of villages of Mahārāṣṭra alone, had it been one of the countries conquered by him. This has neither been done in the case of the other countries he brought under him nor at the end of the description of all conquests i. e. after 31st verse.

(3) The verbs[4] indicating conquests in the verses 18 to 22

[1] A commentary on वात्स्यायनकामसूत्र published by चौखंबा संस्कृत ग्रंथमाला, बनारस.

[2] Hiuen Tsang visited the capital of Mahārārṣtra, King of which was Pulakeśī II. He is Kṣatriya by race. Also he writes about the temperament of the people of Mahārāṣṭra–Fleet, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of Bombay Presidency, page 24. Beal. Vol. II, page 255.

[3] Epi. Ind. Vol. VI : 10; Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII : 244.

[4] Verbs in verses 18 to 22 and 26 to 31.

V. 18. वनवासीं अवमृद्नतः

V. 19. गंगालुपेंद्राः सेवामृतपानशौंडाः आसन्

V. 20. मौर्यपल्वलांबुसमृद्धय: उदस्तास्तरसा आसीत्

V. 21. पुरीं अवमृद्नाति

V. 22. लाटमालवगुर्जराः सामंतचर्याचार्याः इवाभवन्

(*continued on the next page*)

and 26 to 31 have a clear meaning to that effect but as to अगमदधिपतित्वं ... ... , it may mean "conquered" but it emphasises "having attained sovereignty."

(4) The poem describes the conquests not in the order in which these took place but in a geographical sequence,[1] making two divisions of verses 18 to 22 and 26 to 34, the former indicating parts of Mahārāṣṭra and the latter outside it.

(5) There was not any country as Mahārāṣṭraka or Tri Mahārāṣṭra between Malwa, Gurjaratrā and Kosala in geographical sequence, which history knows of. The name of that country in those days was Jejākabhukti, [2] the present day Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand, which is between Malwa and Kosala which had not a bright history behind it. It was and is a hilly and backward country and thinly populated even today. The number of villages of both the countries together, according to 1931 census, is only 11213. It cannot be Mahārāṣṭra and not certainly Tri Mahārāṣṭra.

(6) The proper place for the eulogies showered on Pulakeśī (V. 25) ought to have been at the end of the conquests after 31st verse and not in the middle. These are given neither along with each conquest nor at the end of the description of all, but are attached to Mahārāṣṭra only, when Pulakeśī attained sovereignty and assumed the title of Parameśvara after bringing under his control such parts of Mahārāṣṭra which were not so far in his possession.

(7) It can be shown that linguistically his ancestral kingdom plus the countries mentioned in V. 18 to 22 formed in those days one unit.

(continued from the previous page)

V. 26. कोसलकलिंगाः उपजातिभीतिलिंगाः अभवन्

V. 27. पिष्टपुरं पिष्टं जातम् ।

V. 28. कोनालं जलं यद्वमर्दितं (सत्) नानायुधक्षतनरक्षतजांगरागं आसीत्

V. 29. शौर्योत्साहरसोद्धनः पल्लवानां पतिं सञ्छन्नकांचीपुरप्राकारान्तरितप्रतापमकरोत्

V. 30. कावेरीरत्नराशेः संस्पर्शं परिहरति स्म

V. 31. चोलकेरलपांड्यानां योभूत्तत्र समृद्धये पल्लवानीकनीहारतुहिनेतरदीधितिः

[1] Annals of B. O. R. Vol. XIII, page 303.

[2] Med. His. Ind. by Vaidya (Hindu kings), Vol. I : 361-62.

A NOTE ON THE GOA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KING CANDRAVARMAN

BY

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

Mr. Moreshwar G. Dikshit has recently published in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV, August 1941, pp. 181–84, the text of a very interesting copper-plate inscription found in Goa and belonging to a king called Candravarman. As regards the pedigree of this king, Mr. Dikshit observes, " It is not clearly stated in the inscription to what family he (i. e., Candravarman) belonged. But from the figure of the *varāha* appearing on [the seal] resembling the seal on [the] Halsi Plates, we would like to take him as belonging to the Kadamba dynasty. Like many of the Kadamba kings his name ends with *varman*. The plates are dated according to the regnal year, a practice which is noted in almost all the Kadamba records. Besides, [the] Kadamba family is (the) one of the early dynasties known to have ruled in Goa and its adjoining territories on the western sea-board of India in the fifth century, the period to which our plates belong." Mr. Dikshit seems to be right in ascribing the record, apparently on palaeographic grounds, to the fifth century A. D. ; but his arguments for the suggestion that king Candravarman belonged to the Kadamba dynasty do not appear to be quite convincing. As all the known Early Kadamba charters do not bear the *varāha* emblem and as this particular emblem is known to have been used by other dynasties as well, the seal of the Goa grant does not furnish any conclusive evidence. The name of the king ending in *varman* and the date in regnal year are quite common features, and no special importance can be attached to them. There is again no definite evidence in the present state of our knowledge to prove that the whole of Goa formed a part of the Early Kadamba kingdom in the fifth century. On the other hand, the phraseology of the epigraph in question does not resemble that of any of the known Early Kadamba records. A

passage like *mahāsena-mātṛgaṇānudhyātānāṃ mānavya-sagotrāṇāṃ hāriti-putrāṇaṃ kadambānāṃ*, usually found in Kadamba inscriptions, cannot be traced in this record. It is therefore not impossible that Candravarman of the Goa plates belonged to a dynasty different from that of the Early Kadambas, whose kingdom did not possibly extend beyond the southern fringe of Goa. In the present note, I am going to suggest some emendations in the text of the Goa grant as published by Mr. Dikshit. I shall also try to explain the passages, no interpretation of which has been attempted by him. My reading of the record is based on the facsimile published in the *New Indian Antiquary*, *op. cit.*, and on inked impressions kindly supplied by Mr. Dikshit.

Mr. Dikshit's transcript of the Goa grant runs as follows:

FIRST PLATE

1 ... ... मार्य्य ... ...

2 ... श्रीचन्द्रवर्म्ममहाराजेन भुवन त नानासामन्त

3 मणिमरीचिभिराषुरितपादपद्मयुग

4 ... लीत प्रीतिकरं मद् सत्रकर्तांमभा

SECOND PLATE : First Side

5 न्त शिवपुरमहाविहाराय सर्व्वदेय(भु)

6 क्त(क्ति) सर्व्वपरिहारेण दत्त(त्तं) [।*] रतोनिर्क्रत्थक्षेत्रावास

7 च क्षेत्र भग्नतटाकव्याघ्रपाषाणपारियन्त

8 तो दक्षिणपाश्चिमतः पर्व्वतस्य उदकपात ...

SECOND PLATE : Second Side

9 मान्त सर्व्व सपदराजपुरुषप्रवेश(विवर्ज्जितं) चै-

10 त्रमासे कृष्णपक्षे दशम्यां राज्यप्रतिष्ठितवर्ष

11 २ ये [।*] आत्मानावापरेनोपियो दत्तं सहरेत्पु

12 ... तोपापक्षयं ... ...

The *akṣaras* read *māryya* in l. 1 are either *m=āryya* or *mauryya*, and the *akṣara* immediately before that is clearly *nā* or *nāṃ*. If the following *akṣara* is *mā*, *nā* may indicate a *ṣaṣṭhyanta* word referring to the family to which Candravarman belonged ; but

if *mau* is preferred, although *nāṃ* in that case may indicate a similar *ṣaṣṭhyanta* word, *nā* would suggest a *tṛtīyānta* word qualifying *mahārājena* in l. 2. The *akṣara* after *ryya* looks like *pra*, and the next *akṣara* may be *tā*, *nā* or *ṇa*. The word may be *praṇayinā*; but no definite assertion is possible. It is however not improbable that the Mauryas are actually indicated in the passage. We know that there was a Maurya dynasty in the Konkan and another in Rajputana. These Mauryas apparently claimed descent from the Kumāra viceroys stationed at Ujjayinī and Suvarṇagiri at the time of the Maurya emperors of Magadha. Candravarman of Goa may have had some relations with the Mauryas of Konkan.

There are traces of two *akṣaras* at the beginning of l. 2 before *śrīcandra*°. The second of them may be *sri*, *svi*, *ati* or *mi*. The word may have been something like *tejasvi*° ; but the possibility of word like *gomi*° is not altogether excluded. It should however be admitted that the reading *gominā* or *gomināṃ* may also be hazarded before *māryya* or *mauryya* in l. 1. The first half of that line cannot be satisfactorily deciphered ; but a symbol for *siddham* followed by *s*[*v**] *a*[*s**] *t*[*i**] *v*[*ija**] [*ya-candra*] [*purak***a*] [*t*] may not be wholly absurd. Candravarman may have then belonged to the family of the Gomins of Goa, to which Devarāja of the Siroda grant also belonged. The capital of the Gomins was at Candrapura, modern Candor in Goa, and it may be conjectured that it was named after an earlier Candravarman of the same family. But my suggestion regarding the reading and interpretation of l. 1 and the first two *akṣaras* of l. 2 are only tentative.

The rest of l. 2 is all right in Mr. Dikshit's transcript; I would only suggest *avanata* in place of his *bhuvanata*. In l. 3 the text reads °*rāchurita* (to be corrected to °*rācchurita*) and *yugale*° (with °*na* of *yugalena* at the beginning of the next line). Possibly a word like *cūḍā* occurs at the beginning of l. 3, but a little below the level of the line owing to the hole for the ring of the seal. Line 4 reads °*na lalī*(*li*)*ta-prītikaraṃ maḍa*(*ḍha ?*) *satraka-nāma-vāṭa*° with [°*n*=*da**]*tta*[*ṁ**] at the beginning of the next line. The gift of king Candravarman to the great monastery at Śivapura (located at Candor in Goa) was therefore a *vāṭa* which means " an enclosure, a piece of enclosed ground, court, " or " a garden,

park, orchard." The epithet *lalita-prītikara* possibly points to the second meaning. The concluding part of the sentence in ll.5–6 reads: *sarvva-deye[na yu]kta[ṃ] sarvva-parihāreṇa.* Then comes a description of the boundaries of *vāṭa* (l. 6): *uttarato nirkrantha-kṣetr-āvas[ānaṃ*]*, etc. Nirkrantha may be a personal name; though it is tempting to suggest the correction *nirgrantha.* Mr. Dikshit reads *ca* at the beginning of l. 7. The context however seems to require *pūrvv-ataḥ*, though I am unable to make anything out of the traces on the impression. The rest of l. 7 reads: *kṣetraṃ bhagna-taṭāka-vyāghra-pāṣāṇa-pariyanta°* with [°*kaṃ*] at the beginning of the next line. *Pariyantaka* seems to be a Prakritism for Sanskrit *paryanta* and *vyāghra-pāṣāṇa* may refer to a damaged stone of a sculptured tiger on the bank of a pond. Mr. Dikshit reads *to* at the beginning of l. 8; but his reading of the rest of that line and ll. 9–10 seems to be all right. I would only suggest *udaka-pāta[sī*] mānta[ṃ*]* and *pratiṣṭi(ṣṭhi)ta-varṣ[e*] [dvi] [tī*]ye.* *Dakṣiṇa-paścimataḥ* in l. 8 may indicate " to the south and west " instead of the usual " to the southwest. " I cannot be sure about the name of the month which may have contained three *akṣaras* one at the end of l. 9 and two at the beginning of l. 10. Lines 11–12 give a verse in the *anuṣṭubh* metre the first half of which is clearly *ātmā (tma)nā v=āpareṇ=āpi yo dattam sa(ṃ*) hare=pu(naḥ*).* The third and fourth *pādas* of the stanza which are in l. 12 cannot be satisfactorily deciphered, though the first and last words may respectively be *puṇya* and *yathā.*

With the exception of the doubtful lines 1 and 12, therefore, my reading of the Goa grant of Candravarman runs as follows:

FIRST PLATE

1 ... ...

2 **śrī-candravarmma-mahārājena avanata-nānā-sāmanta-

3 [cūḍā?] maṇi-marīcibhir=ā[c*] churita-pāda-padma-yugale-

4 na lalī (li) ta-prītikaraṃ maḍa(ḍha ?) satraka-nāma-vāṭa-

SECOND PLATE : First Side

5 [n=da*] tta[ṃ*] śivapura-mahāvihārāya sarvva-deye [na yu]-

6 kta[ṃ] sarvva-parihāreṇa uttarato nirkrantha-kṣetr-āvas[ānaṃ*]

7 [pūrvvataḥ?] kṣetra[ṃ*] bhagna-taṭāka-vyāghra-pāṣāṇa-pariya(rya)nta-

8 [kaṃ] dakṣiṇa-paścimataḥ parvvatasya udaka-pāta-

SECOND PLATE : Seeond Side

9 [sī*] mānta[ṃ*] sarvva-sapada-rājapuruṣa-praveśa-vivarjjitaṃ [cai?]-

10 [tra?] -māse kṛṣṇa-pakṣe daśamyāṃ rājya-pratiṣṭi (ṣṭhi)-ta-varṣ[e*] [dvi]-

11 [tī*] ye [॥*]

ātmā(tma)nā v=āpareṇ=āpi yo dattaṃ sa[m*] haret=pu

The meaning is perfectly clear. I do not think any translation of the lines is necessary.

STUDIES IN THE GROWTH OF MODERN TAMIL

BY

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

I

Valuable pioneer work was done by the early European missionaries in the encouragement of South Indian vernaculars, particularly of Tamil. The celebrated St. Francis Xavier, who commenced his Indian missionary career among the Paravas of the Fishery coast near Cape Comorin, arranged to have the Creed, the Ave Maria, the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue rendered into Tamil and himself committed the translations to memory.[1] Robert De Nobili and Constantius Beschi (1680–1747) produced really wonderful work by their untiring labours in this field. Nobili served the famous Madura Mission for about half a century from 1606 when he landed in India and combined in his own person the *Sanyāsin* and the Pandit, both of the essentially Hindu type. Father Beschi, better known as Viramaha Munivar in literary tradition, spent the years 1710-47 in labouring in the Tamil districts and acquired marvellous mastery over classical Tamil, " as no other European seems to have ever acquired over that or any other Indian language. "[2] Father Nobili[3] aimed at gaining a hearing from the Brahmans and at showing himself to be their equal in nobility of social status as well as in learning; and in order to gain adherents, he had to preserve them by all lawful means from social ostracism. With respect to the acquisition of Śāstraic learning, he was necessarily a pioneer. The writings that he had left come to near twenty volumes embodied in Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit.

[1] R. Caldwell: *History of Tinnevelly* (1881), p. 233.

Father Beschi of the Society of Jesus: *His Times and Writings* (1918), pp. 2–4.

[3] D'Orsay gives an account of Nobili in his *Portuguese Discoveries, Dependencies and Missions in Asia and Africa* (1893), pp. 251–261; *vide* Caldwell : pp. 232–244.

Even before Nobili's time Tamil books were printed as early as 1577-79. Soon after Nobili's time the first printed Tamil Dictionary was brought out at Cochin in 1679 by Father A. de Proenza and in the following year there appeared a new *Tamil Grammar* by Baltasar da Costa. The famous Danish Mission at Tranquebar published in 1716 the well-known *Tamil Grammar* of Ziegenbalg[1]. All these are very rare, or not available at all.

Beschi deserves most prominent mention in this respect. He was an Italian missionary priest of the Order of Jesuits and brought out a number of works, grammars, dictionaries, theological treatises and classical poems. His well-known work on 'The Grammar of the Common Dialect of the Tamil Language' was written in 1728 for the use of his *confreres* in the mission. It was published in the Tranquebar Press in 1737 and later translated into English twice, first in 1806 and then more authoritatively by G. W. Mahon in 1848. Father Besse says that Anquetil du Perron, the pioneer French Orientalist, presented an abridged French translation of his grammar to the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris. Beschi's *Grammar of High Tamil* was written in Latin and dated 1730. It remained unpublished for nearly two centuries, when the texts along with an English translation were brought out by B. G. Babington. Beschi is credited with two works on the Tamil language: (a) The *Tonnul Viḷakkam* all in Tamil; and (b) The *Clavis* (*humaniorum litterarum sublimioris Tamulici idiomatis*). Both these works are divided into five parts, embracing prosody, rhetoric, composition, orthography and etymology. The first work has been published several times; and a prose version of it, is included in the Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonnee; of Oriental Manuscripts with the Government of Madras*; while the work itself is examined as Ms. No. 2179. Mr. Taylor says that the Ms. prose version has the appearance of having been a class book, when the Madras College had a native school attached to it. The noted French scholar of Tamil, Julius Vinson, ranks the *Clavis* among the doubtful works

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[1] G. Grierson: Linguistic Survey of India (Vol. IV, Munda and Dravidian)—p. 302.

The first Tamil types were cut by J. Gonsalves, at Cochin, in 1577. The first dictionary printed was a Tamil-Portuguese one brought out at Cochin in 1679 by Proenza.

of Beschi, though Dr. A. G. Burnell, the author of *South Indian Palaeography*, had no doubt about Beschi having written it; and he had it printed at Tranquebar in 1876 from a manuscript, which he thought had been "revised by the author in person." There was also his great Tamil Classic, The *Tembavaṇi*, in 36 cantos, a long and highly wrought religious epic on St. Joseph, which "the Tamils could not believe was the work of a foreigner." [1]

Beschi's works in prose are the following:

(1) The *Vēdiar-Oḷoukkam*, a series of considerations touching the duties of one called to an aposotolical life. The style of this is said to be rich and sparkling, whilst the argumentation is close and forcible, the thoughts profound and striking, and the imagination displayed in it large and exalted.

(2) The *Gniana-Ouṇartal* also in prose, a didactic and doctrinal work of a very elevated style.

(3) The well-known *Paramarta-Gourou-Cadei* or tale of the foolish priest and his disciples, also known as The Adventures of Guru Noodle.

(4) A commentary in Tamil and in Latin on the *Kuṛaḷ.* [2]

Beschi was averse to introducing any Sanskrit terms and expressions into his Tamil works and aimed at acquiring a perfectly pure and idiomatic style. His *Śadur Agarādi* i. e. quadruple dictionary consists of five parts and was first composed in the years 1732-47, and was later published by the Madras College under the supervision of two Tamil pandits who revised the manuscript and added a supplement. It has been reprinted several times. His *Tamil-Latin Dictionarium* has a long Latin preface in which the author compares himself to St. Paul "the custodian of the garments of those who stoned St. Stephen"; and praised Father Bourzes, the author of a *Tamil-Latin-Dictionary,* which had been very useful to him in this compilation. He also planned a Portuguese-Latin-Tamil Dictionary, of which the Mission House at Trichinopoly possesses the second part. [3]

4 Nelson: *The Madura Country, a Manual* (1868), Part III, p. 299.

5 Latin reproduced in G. W. Pope's *The Sacred Kurraḷ* (1886) and based on a Ms. used by Graul.

6 A *Dictionary of the Common Dialect* (Tamil) is also attributed to him, as well as a Tamil-English Dictionary, mentioned in the preface to

(*continued on the next page*)

Protestant missionary effort followed suit and the well-known pioneer missionaries of the Tranquebar Danish Mission, Ziegan-balg and Plutscho, learnt Tamil " without dictionary, grammar or *munshi.*" They translated the *New Testament* into Tamil in the years 1708-11 and subsequently took up the Hebrew Bible. The Tamil version of the *Old Testament* begun by Zieganbalg was completed in 1725 ; it was the *Magnum opus* of the mission-aries and received two letters of appreciation and encomium from King George I of England. Besides the Tranquebar Mission Press, which subsequently brought out a history of the church in Tamil, the S. P. C. K. started a press for Tamil printing in Madras in 1711 and cooperated with the former. Zieganbalg's *Dictionarium Tamulicum* was written in 1712 ; a *Tamil Grammar*, by C. T. H. Walter, appeared in 1739 and the famous *Tamil Gra-mmar* of Fabricius and Breithaupt was issued in a second edition in 1789. Among these early missionaries, the scriptural system of instruction, the training of school masters and catechists, the

(*continued from the previous page*)

his *Vēdiar Oloukkam.* These are however not available. He is also credited with a *Tamil-French Dictionary* (1744). The popularity of the *Quadruple Dictionary* is evidenced by "the large number and the wide provenance of *cadjan* manuscripts of this work." Its title, as originally published by J. Vinson, is as follows :—" Thesaurum Linguae Tamulicae ad pleniorem planioremque scriptorum Tamulensium intelligentiam collegit ac quatuor in partes digessit Constantius Josephus Beschius e Societate Jesu, in regno Madurensi Missionarius ad usum ejus-dem Societatis Missionar-iorum A. D. MDCCXXXII." Its value is best summarised as follows :— "This Dictionary broke off completely from the methods of the ancient, indigenous works. Its introductory verse declared that the metrical form of the early *Nikaṇṭu* works was purposely abandoned, as it tended to obscurity, rather than clarity. A strictly alphabetical order was followed. In respect of the lexical matter, the ancient 'hard word' tradition was abandoned for the first time and several ordinary words were included." The 4 parts comprise (1) *peyar*, giving the several meanings of every word ; (2) *poruḷ*, grouping together words of the same meaning ; (3) *tokai*, showing the subordinate species of the technical and general terms o science and literature ; and (4) *toṭai*, forming a rhyming dictionary. This work contains an index treatment of all the special features of the *Nikaṇṭu* works. (see *The Tamil Lexicon*, University of Madras, Introduction pp. XXXVI *et seq.*

publication of manuals of the grammars of the vernaculars and of translation of the Bible, were the methods employed, and they opened not merely western education among the people, but also an era of critical study of these languages. Under the illustrious Christian Frederick Swartz, who laboured in the Chola country for nearly half a century from 1750, and his contemporaries and colleagues, Gericke, Kohloff and Kiernander, translation of scriptures and other works went on increasing, with large aids from the S. P. C. K. In 1779, appeared the 'Malabar and English Dictionary' of Fabricius and Breithaupt.

Government was not behind hand in the encouragement of Tamil literature. It undertook the publication of the works in the Dravidian languages, worked a press of its own attached to the College of Fort St. George, which was similar in character and function to the College of Fort William started by Wellesley. The College also supervised the instruction of *munshis* and of other persons who were trained as law officers and pleaders in the native courts. One of the chief objects of ths College was to promote the acquisition of " a knowledge of the general grammar and connection of the several languages of South India and of some acquaintance with the sources whence they spring. " One of the earliest scholars trained by the College was Muttuswami Pillai, the biographer of Beschi. Chidambaram Pandaram, the head Tamil master of the College, wrote a book on the Tamil language, entitled 'A Brief Exposition of the Tamil.' The translation of the *Vijñāneśvarīyam* and of the *Vyavahārakāṇḍam*, corresponded with the 8th and 9th books of Sir William Jones's translation of the *Institutes of Manu.* Government greatly helped the Rev. Mr. Rottler in the compilation of his famous Tamil Dictionary. The continued assistance rendered by the College Board to Mr. Rottler and his successor, Mr. Taylor, in the compilation of the former's Tamil-English Dictionary is seen in the association of T. Venkatachala Mudali, a certified teacher of the College, with the work of revision. This work refers nearly all words to their roots or primitives ; the synonyms were largely drawn from the *Śadur Agarādi*, while Beschi's manuscript dictionary, Tamil and French, by Du Bourges seem to have been

made use of to some extent, as well as Fabricius' *Tamil and English Dictionary.* [1]

In 1851, one Captain Ouchterlony solicited patronage for his Tamil-English Lexicon. In 1853 the College Board solicited from Government authority for retaining the Rev. Mr. W. Taylor's services for the formation of a *Catalogue Raisonnee* of the Oriental Manuscripts accumulated in the College Library. According to C. P. Brown, who had a hand in accumulating the Mackenzie Mss. in the Madras College Library, the method adopted by Taylor was unsatisfactory, as he was acquainted with colloquial Tamil alone and unskilled in chronology, and did not use the right method and phraseology in explaining the works. In 1854, the Rev. M. Winslow, American Missionary in Madras, solicited from Government patronage to his prospectus of a Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil. This work superseded all earlier works and helped in proving that " in its poetic form, the Tamil is more polished and exact than the Greek,

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[1] Rottler's work was valuable in several respects; but it was "too limited in its vocabulary and deficient in astrological, mythological and scientific terms." It was particularly lacking much that was in usage among the Tamils of Jaffna.

The epoch-making *Tamil and English Dictionary* of the Rev. M. Winslow (1862) was compiled with the help of well-known Tamil scholars like Rāmānuja Kavirāyar, Viśākapperumāḷ Iyer, Viraswami Chettyar, Ātimūlam Mudaliyar and Abraham Alliene and based on material collected by lexicographers like Percival, Spaulding, Tissera and Knight. This work included both the common and poetical dialects of the Tamil language and the principal astronomical, astrological and mythological, as well as the botanical, scientific and official terms as well as the names of many authors, poets, heroes and gods, besides information on the religion, philosophy and customs of the Tamils.

The development of Tamil lexicography was due to Dr. G. W. Pope, Visvanatha Pillai, the compiler of the *Jaffna Dictionary*, C. W. Katiraivel Pillai, A Kumaraswami Pillai and others, who developed both the unilingual and bilingual sides. The *Madura Sangham Dictionary* was based on the work of C. W. Katiraivel Pillai but it is not full throughout its course. The crowning achievement in Tamil Lexicography is *The Tamil Lexicon published under the authority of the University of Madras* (1924-1936 in six volumes and a supplement). Its fullness and erudition have illustrated the statement of Sir J. A. H. Murray that the growth of Lexicography develops slowly " adown the age."

and in both dialects with its borrowed treasures more copious than the Latin." About the same date Caldwell's work on *Dravidian Affinities* (*A comparative Grammar of the Dravidian on South Indian Group of Languages*) was published, Government rendering him also some help. Thus before the Company's rnle ended a brighter day had dawned for Tamil studies with the publication of the works of Winslow, Caldwell and others, both linguistic and literary.

Works undertaken on behalf of the Madras Government like Ellis, *Mirasi Tenure*, Robertson's *Glossary in Tamil and English of words used in the law-courts*, may also be mentioned in this connection, as having helped in the promotion of linguistic studies to some extent. Mr. Richard Clarke of the Madras Civil Service collected a great volume of material relating to terms used in Government records, including Muhammadan law-terms; and his Mss. were useful to Professor Wilson in the compilation of his valuable *Glossary*. The publications of the Madras School Book Society, started in 1820, formed a most enlightened development of vernacular literature. The abolition of the College of Fort St. George in 1854, and the constitution of a Board of Examiners instead, closed a most useful side of Governmental activity. Now that the critical study and promotion of the vernaculars is in full progress, it behoves us to remember gratefully and cherish the good pioneer work done by missionary enterprise and both directly and indirectly by Government agency also, which was promptly and willingly taken advantage of by Indian scholars and students. It is not necessary to pursue the history of the development of Tamil in these fields.

II

Turning to the development of modern prose, till we come to the exegetical period in ths history of Tamil literature which may be said to have lasted from about 1200 to 1400 A. D. we could scarcely hear of any prose work at all. The Jainas and the Brahman Vaiṣṇavas had some of their Purāṇas and religious works translated or rendered in prose. But these woks were mostly sectarian and were written in a composite or Sanskrit-Tamil style and in contrast to it the commentaries of great

scholars like Guṇasāgara, Nacchinārkiniyar or Adiyārkunallār were written in chaste Tamil.

Coming down to modern times, works written wholly and deliberately in prose and not reckoning commentaries as such, modern prose may be said to begin with Beschi's *Vēdiyar Oḷoukkam.* This famous missionary of the 18th century might be deemed to have been the father of the modern Tamil story also. He published two pieces of Tamil prose composition–*Aviveka Paripūrṇa Gurukathai* (Adventures of Guru Noodle) and *Vēdiyar Oḷoukkam*– addressed not to scholars, but to the common people ; and he made Tamil literary prose, for the first time, " come down to the level of the people at large, and in so doing, acquire simplicity in its diction, easiness and agility in its movements quite in consonance with their subjects." Beschi's prose style was in the colloquial as distinguished from the grammatical dialect and, though good, is not of 'pre-eminent excellence.' And now, after the lapse of two centuries, his prose works are in comparatively greater demand than his poetry, which, howsoever much admired by scholars, is not read largely.

According to the learned Dr. R. Caldwell, good colloquial prose in Tamil, so necessary for the story and the novel, began only in the 19th century as an entirely new style of composition and the father of this species of composition in Tamil was Tāndavarāya Mudaliar at one time a teacher in the college of Fort St. George, an institution that was mainly devoted to the training of civilian cadets in the languages and laws of the country. His Tamil prose version of the *Panchatantra* is marked by a flowing, elegant and yet perfectly intelligible style. Ārumukha Nāvalar, a scholar of Jaffana (1822–1876) took up the task and wrote a number of works in prose covering variety of topics, like biographies of saints, essays on miscellaneous subjects and readers for students, all written in a style which was " neither archaic nor foreign ... ... and free from the old monotony and mere agglomeration and capable of being used for a variety of purposes." The proper Tamil prose style was made by him, easy, clear and elegant with a very agreeable rhythm.

There has been a considerable amount of literary activity in Tamil from almost the beginning of the 19th century. The in-

troduction of printing which could be traced back, in the field of Tamil types, even to the first decade of the 18th century, gave a powerful impulse to the publication of classical works, and in a lesser measure, to the production of new works, the major portion of which was in prose. According to the Rev. J. Murdoch's *Classified Catalogue of Tamil Printed Books* (printed in Madras up to 1865) there were at that date 103 Tamil works in poetry and drama and 42 tales as against works in Bengali numbering 53 and 53 respectively. Though superior in point of numbers, Dr. Murdoch tells us that the Tamil publications were "merely reprints of old books or feeble modern imitations of them and that there was far more intellectual activity in Bengal."

The new Tamil school of novelists proper may be said to open with Vēdaṇāyakam Pillai (1824–89) who wrote a romance named *Pratāpa Mudaliār Charitram* and a story entitled *Suguṇa Sundari Charitram.* Both contain good maxims and the ideas conveyed are above any charge of being sectarian; and the style of the former work is regarded as a model for romance writers. Professor P. Sundaram Pillai of Trivandrum (1855–97) wrote the *Manonmaṇīyam*, a good Tamil drama in five acts, based on Lytton's 'The Secret Way', one of the Lost Tales of Miletus. It is "full of purple patches," rich in dramatic beauty and flowing with scientific and philosophical ideas; and its "Invocation to God" has become a household property among the Tamils.

Rajam Iyer, the editor of 'Awakened India,' a monthly journal devoted to religion and philosophy, wrote a very arresting novel 'Kamalāmbāḷ' or 'The Fatal Rumour,' depicting the vicissitudes of a middle-class Brahman family of the Tamil country and containing "vivid descriptions and brilliant character-sketches." A. Madhaviah, another talented writer, wrote an incomplete novel, by name, *Sāvitri Charitram*, in an early volume of the Tamil Journal, *Viveka Chintāmaṇi*, and some time later, brought out his great novel, *Padmāvatī*, in two parts. Mr. Madhaviah has been judged to be a typical realistic novelist. He himself writes in the preface to '*Padmāvatī*' that the first works really entitled to be called novels in Tamil were *Premakalāvatī* and *Pratāpa Mudaliār Charitram.* Of these two the former

may not deserve the name of novel proper on account of a number of features; while the latter may be said to belong more to the category of romance. Madhaviah holds that, in the novel proper, characters belonging to the lower orders of society may be made to speak in their broad brogue, but wherever the author has to describe the narrative or an incident or situation, his style must be grammatically faultless, easy and elegant.

One Saravaṇa Pillai, a native of Jaffna, wrote a realistic novel, *Mohanāngi*, based on Kingsley's *Hypatia*. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar wrote his *Kamalini*; and C. R. Srinivasa Aiyangar published several works, *Vidyāraṇya Nagar*, the *Tiller's Daughter*, *the Ungrateful Son*, etc. Rajavelu Chettiar has written the interesting story, *Anbānanthan*. In the last three decades and more the land has been flooded with hundreds of novels which are adaptations of detective stories of the west or renderings of erotic and exciting narratives like the novels of G. W. Reynolds and the French School of Flaubert, Zola, etc. They display in an abundant and even nauseating degree of the sensationalism, the lack of moral purpose and the catering to the vulgar passions of the ordinary readers that are characteristic of the novel of the present day in a large measure. The output of such novels in abundant. Vaduvur K. Doraiswami Aiyangar and Arni Kuppuswami Mudaliar have written novels by the dozen which have had a wide circulation; and there is, besides, the growing practice of issuing novels in serial parts in journals which are weeklies or monthlies. As one writer, Purnalingam Pillai, well remarks, " what was pure and instructive at first became lax and lewd, and though the plots are well knit, they cannot be placed in the hands of boys and virgins with safety. However questionable the morals of legions of novels and novel stories issued from the press, month by month, prose works are multiplying in Tamil, and the great want, once felt, is now being met, though not in the desired form and manner. In most cases the present day novelists care less for style than for producing impressions or tickling the readers."

Popular Journals, weekly and monthly, have become, in an increasing measure, the vehicles of serially published novels. The Swadesamitran Weekly and the very popular Ananta

Vikatan are outstanding examples of this class of service for the novel. *Kalaimagal* and *Kalki* are also popular and very effective in the imparting of instruction on various subjects, scientific, cultural and otherwise, to the youth and the women of our Tamil land.

The drama is but little removed from the novel. Sundaram Pillai's *Manonmaṇīyam* already referred to and the learned V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri's *Rupavatī*, *Kalāvatī* and *Manavijayam* are generally marked by a judicious mixture of prose and poetry. The prolific plays, both comic, farcical, moralistic and otherwise of Rao Bahadur P. Sambanda Mudaliar, a most popular play-wright and actor, still going strong, after an active career of nearly five decades, Lakshmaṇa Pillai's *Veela Nātakam* fashioned after Sophocles, his *Satyavati* modelled on Shakespear's *Cymbeline* and his *Ravi Varma*, a historical drama in verse and prose combined, may also be noticed, besides the *Rajabhakti* an adaptation from a Marathi drama by Mr. V. C. Gopalaratnam and the *Kattai Vandi* of Professor K. Swaminathan, modelled on Gilbert. These are but selective illustrations. This notice of the modern Tamil drama is necessary here, as the popular drama has been and is the twin of the popular novel also. The novel, like the drama, is in a large measure, a love tale or based on some striking plot or incident, fictitious or founded on some personal experience or historical incident. As in the drama, it has "a plot or plots and characters, donouements and catastrophes, and dialogues and narrations." In the field of novel-writing only English-educated Tamil writers have made a name and achieved success. It is as yet too early to predict the full effect and the future of the detective novels. In some the construction of the plot and the development of interest and vividness of style have a great value. The historic and domestic novel is still in its infantile stage of development and small in quantity. There have been translations and adaptations from Bankim Chander Chatterji, from Tagore and from a few other famous Indian writers.

Mr. T. M. Ponnuswami Pillai, who was for long an official at Rangoon, wrote a few novels with the purpose of giving a good social turn to Tamil life. These are held to be entirely devoid of

obnoxious elements. Rajam Iyer and Madhaviah already mentioned, Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastry, who was also well-known for his studies in Tamil Epigraphy, Rangaraju who wrote many novels, the well-known Vedanāyakam Pillai and the Dramatist P. Sambanda Mudaliar, who has given to the Tamil stage an entirely new turn both in the technique of acting and in the subject matter of plays, may be remembered in this connection.

The *Panchatantram* of Tāndavarāya Mudaliār is held by critics to be the best Tamil prose work extant and combines a happy choice of expression, a good selection of vocabulary and grammatical correctness. An ideal is found as regards the balance of style in the classic commentary on the *Jīvakachintāmaṇi* of Nachchinārkiniyar. A peculiar dignity of style is noticed in the prose of Sivagnana Yogi while lucidity of style contributes to the simple charm and excellence of Arumuga Navalar's prose. The new school of Tamil scholars would place particular stress upon choice of expression and on the preference of Tamil words wherever possible to words of Sanskritic origin. Word-coining for new sciences and branches of knowledge is going on; but the arrival at suitable formulaes for proceeding in this important field has been attended with numerous complexities and difficulties It is not fully realised in every quarter that a growing language cannot but take up words, expressions and idioms even from other languages with which it has been brought in close and enduring contact.

As regards biography proper it has not been well developed as one of the features of modern Tamil. A model work in this field has been set up on a learned and classic scale by Mahamahopadhyaya V. Swaminatha Aiyar, the 'Prince' of Tamil scholars and editors, fortunately yet spared to us, in his two-volumed 'Life of Minakshisundarm Pillai of Trichinopoly' and in his very informative *Autobiography* appearing in parts. Both these works may be held to embody, in one element or another, all the principal features in the revival of Tamil studies during the last century. As has been remarked by an emient authority, "A new impetus was given to prose composition only during the early part of the last century by the Tamil pandits of the early Madras University of whom Tāndavarāya Mudaliār, Vīraswami

Chettiyaṛ, and Saravaṇapperumāḷ Aiyar deserve special mention. In the latter part of the nineteenth century a number of Tamil prose works, translations as well as original productions, were published by learned Tamil scholars. The labours of the late T. E. Srinivasa Raghava Chariyar and Arumuga Navalar may still be in the memory of every lover of Tamil literature. And the foremost among the living writers of Tamil prose and scholarly commentaries is undobtedly Mahamahopadhyaya V. Swaminatha Aiyar Avergal...... who may be styled the Nachchinarkiniyar of the present day." [1]

Thus Tamil prose which first appeared in the shape of passages interspersed in lengthy poetical compositions, and subsequently in the shape of commentaries, was used by Jaina and Vaishṇava writers more fully in their works in what was known as the *manipravala* style. This development produced a literature of philosophical disquisitions, stories, translations and criticisms; and it is making itself felt in the sphere of the novel and the drama. Thus prose, as contrasted with the Tamil of poetry and and the Tamil of the stage, is coming into its own; and for Tamil prose a good time is ahead.

"There is a good time coming yet,
A good time coming,
The proper impulse has been given,
Wait a little longer." [2]

[1] M. Srinivasa Iyengar: *Tamil Studies (First Series)*, 1914, p. 230.

[2] V. S. Chengalvaraya Pillai: *History of Tamil Prose Literature*, 1928, p. 50.

The curious reader who cares to go into the details of the Tamil Literary figures, both writers and patrons, is referred to Mm. V. Swaminatha Aiyar's work, *Tamil of the Sangam Age and the Tamil of the later Ages*, (Madras 1929).

THE HARMONISING OF LAW WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ACCORDING TO THE ANCIENT INDIAN DHARMAŚĀSTRAS, ARTHAŚĀSTRAS AND GṚHYASŪTRAS[1]

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1. The particular rules of the law are always changeable. The History of Law shows that this change in the particular rules depends on the change of circumstances prevailing between one period and another and that this change of circumstances is in the first place to be found in the change of the economic situation. Depending as they do on the economic changes the legal rules have to be changed or rather have to be harmonised with the changed economical circumstances. This phenomenon is to be found in all the law-codes in which one can trace the development of legal rules. To trace the rules concerning the harmonising of the Law with the requirements of economic conditions according to the Ancient Indian Dharmaśāstras, Arthaśāstras and Gṛhyasūtras is not an easy task. No chronology exists in India. The whole problem becomes complicated because the sources were not written down in the same place and these lawbooks were applicable in different territories of India. Although it is possible to assign probable dates and places to the composition of these sources on basis of language we can never rely upon such a hypothesis. Probably the greater part of the rules which we find in the law-sources had been transmitted from mouth to mouth before they were written down by a writer. One of the writers may have written down all that he heard on the subject, although some of the rules which he gives are archaic and of no value. Another writer sometimes gives his own views, sometimes the views of other savants and law-schools and sometimes he combines his views with those of the savants and the law-schools. On the basis of the Ancient Indian Law-sources it is not possible to say with certainty that the laws which were valid at the time they were written down had not been progressively evolved. Therefore, from the point of view of law, the Indian law-system can be discussed only as a static and not as a dynamic law, although there is no doubt that the Indian Law, like all other laws, has its gradual development. Only the stages of the development are in the majority of cases not known. Therefore, it is necessary to restrict the scope of

1. The paper was presented to the XI th All India Oriental Conference in Hyderabad.

this thesis. But in Ancient Indian Law which contains the germ of all modern institutions of law, we can find some examples of the harmonising of Law with the requirements of economic conditions, although the Ancient Indian Law could be considered as static. We shall find here some interesting institutions which are related to this problem. I cite as a classical problem of this harmonising, the institution of interest. In no other law-system do we find so many important facts bearing upon this problem..

2. Although Megasthenes has stated that the notion of interest is unknown in Ancient India[1] there is no doubt that such a notion prevailed in ancient times. This can be deduced from the fact that the most ancient law-sources contained not only a mention of this institution but devoted much space to it.

The opposite of wealth (धन)is debt (ऋण). The development of this last notion is similar to that of the Roman debitum. The general meaning of 'obligation' is still preserved in the law-books through the doctrine of the three debts which consist of sacrifices, generation of a son and the recitation of the Vedas, which have to be dedicated to the gods, ancestors and *ṛṣis*. On the contrary the Vedas know already the word '*ṛṇa*' as meaning 'obligation of payment' just as Indian arithmetic expresses the term of 'minus' by '*ṛṇa*', plus by '*dhana*' or '*sva*'. The recovery of a debt *ṛṇādāna* is the first of eighteen titles of law and in the majority of prescriptions concerning the legal proceedings the action for debt occupies the first place. Even the entire legal proceeding in Mānava Dharmaśāstra and Nārada Smṛti forms only one part of the law of debt. Accordingly Jolly correctly states that the ancient age of the latter institution is manifested in the strong emphasis on religious motive,viz. that the unpaid debts pursue the debtor in his successive existence and that he will be born again as a slave in the house of his creditor in order to repay the debt by his labour.[2] Elsewhere it is stated from a strictly religious point of view that the profession of a money-lender *kusīdin* and especially of an usurer *vārdhuṣin* is not moral[3]. The usurer is compared to a thief.[4]

A. In India the caste-system has always been of great importance in the formulation of legal rules. It is the same in the case of interest. The Brahmans and in some cases the Brahmans as well

1 Ute daneizusi ute isasi daneizesthai. Fr. 27. B.

2 Nār. I–8

3 J. Jolly-Recht u. Sitte p. 97

4 Y. I–123, vide Vas. II–41.

as the Kṣatriyas are not allowed to lend money on interest[1]. This is not permitted even in case of need. It is so stated in one of the most ancient Dharmaśāstras i.e. in the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra[2]. But the Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra, a slightly more advanced Law-book is in this instance in favour of the harmonising of law wih the requirements of economic conditions and partially breaks the religious rules by determining that the lending of money on interest is for a Brahman a kind of maintenance in case of need[3]. According to the Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra a Brahman as well as a Vaiśya could in case of need lend money on interest for the purpose of gain.

According to some Law-books there exist six categories of interest.[4]

Kāyikā (कायिका) corporal interest i. e. the interest connected with manual labour or that which arises from the use of a pledged female quadrupede to be milked or of a male out to carry burdens[5].

Kālikā (कालिका) periodical interest i. e. the interest which is due every month[6],

Cakravṛddhi (चक्रवृद्धि) i. e. interest on interest[7] (compound interest).

Kāritā (कारिता) stipulated interest i. e. the interest promised by the borrower[8]. It has to be paid always and is stipulated by the debtor himself, over and above the ordinary rate of interest and was promised in times of distress[9],

Śikhāvṛddhi (शिखावृद्धि) hair interest i. e. interest which grows every day[10]. This interest is named 'hair interest' because it grows constantly like hair and does not cease growing except on the loss of the head that is to say, on payment of the principal[11].

Bhogalābha (भोगलाभ) interest by enjoyment i. e. the use of a mortgaged house or the produce of a field[12].

1 Vas. II-40
2 Mn. X-117.
3 Y. III-41, 42
4 Bṛh., G.
5 Bṛh XI-6, G. XII-35.
6 Bṛh. XI-5,6.
7 Bṛh. XI-6.
8 Bṛh. XI-6, G. XII-35, Kāty. 498.
9 Bṛh. XI-9.
10 Bṛh. XI-7, Kāty. 499.
11 Bṛh. XI-8,
12 Bṛh. XI-8, Kāty. 500.

It is obvious from these six categories of interest that even when only one kind of interest was known it was necessary for the institution of interest to adapt itself to the economic conditions. As long as the institution of interest was not widely spread it was enough to have one general term: interest. Economic conditions, commerce, economic life, etc. created the distinction for example between 'stipulated interest', 'hair interest' and 'corporal interest'. There is also the question of the determination of the day of payment and in 'stipulated interest' the question of admission of a higher rate of interest which ordinarily were admitted in the Law-books[1]. Generally the rate of interest was determined and laid down in the Law-books.

B. The rate of interest was determined in one way when a pledge was given and in another way when it was not given[2].

Concerning the rate of interest the majority of the Law-books refers to Vasiṣṭha's[3-4] quotation[5]. There it is reported that the legal interest for money lent is at the rate of five *Māṣas* a month for twenty *Kārṣāpaṇas*[6]. According to other Law-books the rate of interest amounts monthly to 1/80th part of the capital[7]. According to all Law-books the rate of interest in case of a pledged loan amounts monthly to $1\frac{1}{4}$ per-cent that is yearly to 15 per-cent.

There are many exceptions to this rule which as in the Roman Law refer to the harmonising of Law with the requirements of economic conditions.

And so although the rate of interest paid per month is in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra[8] considered just, we find there the following sentence: 'Five *paṇas* per month per-cent is commercial interest, ten *paṇas* per month per-cent is permissible in business which takes one across forests. Twenty *paṇas* permonth per-cent is permissible among sea-traders[9]. Also we read in the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti that he whose trade takes him across the forest has to pay ten per-cent and sea-traders twenty per-cent[10].

1 Vi.
2 Y. II-37, Mn. VIII-140.
3 Vas. II-51.
4 Vide G. XII-29.
5 Mn., Nār., and others.
6 Twenty *Kārṣāpaṇas* are equal to four hundred *Māṣās*.
7 Y. II-37, Mn. VIII-140, N.I-99, K. III, Ch. 3. Bṛh. XI-34.
8 K. III. Ch. 11.
9 K. III, Ch. 11.
10 Y. II-38.

It is clear that the rate of interest which in normal circumstances amounts to fifteen per-cent per year is much higher in cases when the borrower is expected to greater risk or danger. The increase in the rate of interest depends upon the greatness of risk. If it concerns commercial enterprises in which the debtor or his merchandise must travel through a forest, the rate of interest amounts to hundred and twenty per-cent per year and if it concerns commercial enterprises in which the debtor or his merchandise must travel by sea-two hundred and twenty per-cent per year[1]. It ought to be also noted that in these cases it was permissible to agree voluntarily upon the term of interest[2].

Therefore in such enterprises where the capital appears to be endangered it is not possible to advance loans with a fixed rate of interest which amounts to 1¼ per-cent per month because the lender realises that in such a contract he is running too great a risk.

Therefore the law harmonised with the requirements of economic conditions permits in such cases to receive higher rates of interest or to agree to higher rates of interest.

The same applies to the higher rates of interest in trade and commerce; and here the capital appears to be more endangered than in normally pledged loans. It is, however, connected with the rates of interest concerning to the not pledged loans.

Normally in the case of a commercial or trade loan the rate of interest amounts to two per-cent per month i. e. twenty four per-cent per year[2]. However, this principle is not anywhere clearly determined but it follows from Yājñavalkya's Smṛti[3]. Most of the ancient commentators agree to this viewpoint[4]. From this we can see that here is another example of the harmonising of Law with the requirements of economic conditions. Such a not pledged loan provided for in the Ancient Indian Law-books, like the Law-books of other nations, is more exposed to danger than a pledged loan. In order that not pledged loans may be granted, the Ancient Indian Law-books allow higher rates of interest, that is, instead of 1¼ per-cent per month—two per-cent per month, so as to safeguard against the risk.

1. It ought to be noted that in Ancient India the danger by travelling by sea was greater than the danger in travelling through forests.
2. Y. II-38.
3. Mn. VIII-141, N. I-101.
4 Vide Y. II-37, Mn. VIII-142, N. I-100, Vi. VI-2, Vas. II-48 in which according to the order of the castes two, three, four and five per-cent monthly can be taken as interest.

C. It can be also found in the Ancient Indian Law-books that on some loans no interest is to be raised or that interest can be raised only at a lower rate than the ordinary rates of interest as for example "loans out of friendship." It is a *pressumptio juris* that interest accrues on such loans only after the lapse of half a year, but after this lapse of time the debtor has to pay the normal rates of interest as prescribed in the Law-books; the lender has however the right to conclude an agreement in which any rate of interest may be stipulated[1], but as a rule it was not allowed to stipulate the rates of interest higher than was permitted in the Law-books. When the creditor claims back the capital with or without the interest and the debtor refuses to repay it on demand, the creditor who advanced the loan out of friendship is entitled to claim together with the capital interest of the rate of five per-cent per month.[2] And this rule is a further proof of the harmonising of Law with the requirements of economic conditions. We find here a kind of a conventional penalty which was introduced because of economic conditions (loans made out of friendship.)

D. It must be borne in mind that in the case of an agreement in which the pledge is used by the creditor no interest can be asked.[3] This rule is connected with the harmonising of Law with the requirements of economic conditions. According to Medh., Gov., Nār., and Rāgh,[4] the Law-books understand by pledge, that is being used, the field, the cattle and the slave. The field can be cultivated and the products of the field can be collected by the creditor. The cattle and the slaves can be usufructed. Instead of paying the interest it is more convenient to the contractors to agree to use the pledge and this because of economical circumstances.

E. Because of the economic conditions Kauṭilya too declares that 'interest on debts due from persons who are engaged in protracted sacrifices or who are suffering from a disease, or who are detained in the houses of their teacher for studies or who are either minors or too poor, shall not accumulate.[5] It is a debatable point whether the author speaks here of compound interest or of simple interest. However, for the purpose of the

1 N. I-108, 109. See also Kāty. 505.

2. N. I-109.

3. Y. II-59, Mn. VIII-143, Vi. VI-5, G. XII-32.

4. Vide S. B. E. XXV. P. 278; Loiseleur Des Longchamps: Lois de Manou, ad VIII-143.

5. K. III. ch. 11.

harmonising of Law with the requirements of economic conditions this is immaterial. It is worth while to note that even the most ancient Law-books do not contain a similar rule. In order to avoid any insecurity this rule was probably incorporated into the Law-books by Kauṭilya. Indeed the conviction existed that a sick man who can not earn was not liable to pay interest or compound interest.[1]

F. The Ancient Indian Law-books have limited the possibilities of a usurer not only by the determination of the admissible scale of the rates of interest but also by the determination of the duration of the obligation of paying interest. According to the Ancient Indian Law-books the maximum duration of the obligation of paying interest varies. And so, for example, the duration of the obligation of paying interest on corn ends in some instances after receiving half of the capital, in others after receiving the capital five-fold.[2]

Nārada rightly states that in some countries the loan may grow till twice the amount of the principal has been reached. In other countries it may grow till it becomes three, or four, or eight times the principal.[3] The difference depends on the customs of the countries.

For the problem of the harmonising of Law with the requirements of economic conditions these rules are of importance because the limitation of possibilities of a usurer emphasises the application of Law to the economic conditions. They are also important because the duration of the obligation of paying interest to the creditor is dependent also on the importance of the relative objects in the economic life. For example the capital which consists of gold can be only doubled while the capital which consists of spirituous liquors can be increased eightfold.[4]

In order to understand better this matter I specify it according to the Ancient Indian Law-books.

Principally on gold the interest may make the debt double[5], on

1. It is of great interest that K. further states that debts neglected for ten years, except in the case of minors, aged persons, sick persons, persons involved in calamities or persons who are sojourning abroad or have left the country except in the case of disturbances in the kingdom shall not be received back. We read here about the rules of debts and of exceptions from these rules which are very characteristic and throw light on the application of Law to the economic conditions. Vide also Vas. II–49.

2. K. & Bṛh.

3. N. I-106.

4. Bṛh.

5. *Y. I-39, Mn. VII-151,* Bṛh. XI-14, Vi. VI. 11, Vas. II-44, N. I-107.

clothes and base metals[1] treble[2] and according to other Law-books fourfold,[3] on grain it is allowed to raise the original amount four times. The same applies to edible plants,[4] beasts of burden and wool[5] though, according to other Law-books, treble.[6] After the debt has been double or treble etc. no further interest can be levied on the capital. Concerning the interest on stocks K.[7] regulates that interest on stocks shall be one half of the profit if it remains on the same place and has to be paid as each year expires. Borrowed money, which is lent for a long time abroad or is joined to the capital of the contractor has to give double of the contributed capital. We find here another good example of the harmonising of Law with the requirements of economic conditions which is similar to the rule of the higher rate of interest by travelling by sea etc. It also shows that the capital, which is more endangered i. e. which is sent for a long time abroad earns more interest than an ordinary loan. According to some Law-books, a loan of grain can rise four times[8] or five times[9]. According to Kauṭ.[10] interest on grain has to be paid after the ripening of the crops. It may rise to a mininum of half the loan dependent on the prices. In other words the scale of the percentage of the grain, which has to be paid, depends on the market price of the grain. Therefore, when the grain is cheaper at the time of harvest, than at the time of sowing, the debtor must pay the difference in the price of the grain.[11] For this purpose the interest has not to be paid until after the harvesting of the grain.

This is one more example of the harmonising of Law with the requirements of economic conditions. It ought to be emphasised that, here too, Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra is the only Law-book which deals with this question.

The interest on the produce of a field shall not increase more than five times the value of the object but[12] on rice and edible plants[13] not more than four times.[14]

1. Such as tin or lead.
2. Bṛh. XI-13.
3. Clothes. Y. I-39, Vi. VI-13, Vas. II-44, N. I. 107,
4. or fruit
5. Bṛh. I-13.
6. Y. I-39, Vi. VI-12, Vas. II-44, N. I-107.
7. K. III. ch. 11.
8. Mn. VIII-151,153.
9. *vide* Mn. VIII-153.
10. Bṛh. XI.-13.
11. K. III. ch. 11.
12. J.J. Meyer-Das altindische Buch vom Welt-und Staatsleben, Leipzig p. 275.
13. G. XII.-36.
14. Bṛh. XI.-13.

The interest on clothes shall not increase more than treble the capital according to Bṛh.[1] while many objects like wool increase fourfold[2] or fivefold.[3] On cotton[4] thread[5], leather[6] the interest is unlimited or no interest should be exacted[7].

On base metals[8], flavouring substances,[9] roots[10] it is treble.

According to some Law-books the interest on flowers shall not increase more than treble [11], according to other Law-books, in such a case no interest is allowed.[12]

The interest on fruits shall not increase more than treble,[13] and, according to other Law-books, not more than the fourfold[14] or fivefold[15] or in such cases no interest is allowed[16].

The interest on beasts or beasts of burden,[17] as well as products of animals[18] shall not increase more than fourfold and, according to other Law-books, more than fivefold.

The interest on salt,[19] oil,[20] sugar,[21] honey,[22] in other words all this what is sold by weight[23] shall not increase more than eightfold.

On spirituous liquor[24] the debt may incrase to eightfold while in the case of a loan on substances from which spirits may be extracted[25] no interest is allowed or the interest is unlimited.[26]

1 Bṛh. XI.-13.
2 Bṛh. XI-13.
3 G. XII-36, Mn. VIII-151.
4 Vi. VI-16.
5 Vi. VI-16, Bṛh. XI-16.
6 Vi. VI-16, Bṛh. XI-16.
7 S. B. E. XXXIII, ad Bṛh. XI-16.
8 Bṛh. XI-13.
9 Vas. II-45.
10 Vas. II-46.
11 Vas. II-46.
12 Bṛh. XI-16.
13 Vas. II-46.
14 Bṛh. XI-13.
15 Mn. VIII-151.
16 Bṛh. XI-13.
17 Bṛh.XI-13.
18 G. XII-36.
19 Bṛh. XI-14. Kāty. 510-512.
20 Bṛh. XI-14. Kāty. 510-512
21 Bṛh. XI-15. Kāty. 510-512.
22 Bṛh. XI-15.
23 Vas. II-47.
24 Bṛh. XI-14, Y. II-39, N. I-107, Vi. VI-14 Kāty. 510-512.
25 Bṛh. XI-16.
26 Vi. VI-16.

On grass and wood no interest is allowed,[1] on bricks no interest is allowed[2] or the interest is unlimited[3]. On weapons and charcoal the interest is unlimited[4].

Of female slaves and cattle the offspring shall be taken as interest[5] and on such objects as have not been referred to above the debt may double.

We see here that the possibilities of a usurer were limited:

(a) by the determination of the admissible scale of the rates of interest;

(b) by the determination of the duration of the obligation of paying interest.

G. But life is stronger than legal codes. For the Ancient Indian conditions the rates of interest determined by the Ancient Indian Law-books were too low. Under such circumstances the real economic conditions were an obstacle for the granting of a loan. Therefore, it was necessary to find an outlet. This outlet is a good example, perhaps the best example, of the harmonising of Law with the requirements of economic conditions.

The outlet is as follows: If a person can not pay the capital which was borrowed on the due date he can conclude in writing a new agreement and take a new loan if he pays all the interest which is in arrears[6], or if he can not pay all the interest, he can in the newly concluded agreement add this interest to the capital[7].(Capitalisation of interest.) Through this capitalisation it was possible to receive higher interest than was allowed by the law. In this way the grant of such loans, which, according to the Law, must remain without interest, is made easy and is made to yield larger and larger interest. It was only necessary to conclude a new contract in which the amount of the loan consisted of the original amount of the loan plus the additional interest.

In such a manner the rule of the determination of the duration of paying interest is made null and void. Life and economic conditions have once more asserted themselves.

3, We find another example of the harmonising of Law with the requirements of economic conditions in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.

1 Bṛh. XI-16.
2 Bṛh. XI-16.
3 Vi. VI-16.
4 Vi. VI-16.
5 Y. I-39, Vi. VI-15, N. I-107.
6 Mn. VIII-154
7 Mn. VIII-155.

Kauṭilya even regulates the price for merchandise which is produced in the country and that which is imported from abroad. In Ancient India, some foreign merchants and therefore some foreign merchandise were considered necessary[1]. Sometimes this was not so much for economic reasons as for political reasons, as this made it possible for the king to receive taxes for the import of foreign merchandise. But this consideration is of no value for us, because here we are not concerned with the motive, but the principle; the fact remains that such merchandise was not available in the country[2]. The economic conditions of that time which were joined inseparably with the interest of the king necessitated the granting of privileges to foreigners.

However, according to the local economic conditions it was not desirable that the prices for the merchandise should fluctuate. That was the reason for the introduction of special regulations. Also through the introduction of special regulations it was possible for the king to regulate the prices which were of great importance for the regulation of market-prices indirectly had a great influence on the economic conditions of an agricultural state.

We find in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra that 'the Superintendent of Commerce shall ascertain demand or absence of demand for, and rise or fall in the price of, various kinds of merchandise which may be the products either of land or of water and which may have been brought in either by land or by water centralisation path. He shall also ascertain the time suitable for their distribution, purchase and sale.[3]

We find there further the following sentence: 'That merchandise, which is widely distributed shall be centralised and its price enhanced. When the enhanced rate becomes popular, another rate shall be declared.

That merchandise of the king which is of local manufacture shall be centralised; imported merchandise shall be distributed in several markets for sale. Both kinds of merchandise shall be sold to the people at favourable rates.

He shall avoid such large profits as will harm the people.

There shall be no restriction as to the time of sale of those com-

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1 J. J. Meyer–Das altindische Buch vom Welt–und Staatsleben, Leipzig, p. 149/42 V.

2 K. II. ch. 16.

3. K. II. ch. 16. According to the translation by Shamasastry.

modities for which there is frequent demand; nor shall they be subject to the evils of centralisation.[1]

'The superintendent shall show favour to those who import foreign merchandise. They shall be favoured with remission of the trade-taxes, so that they may derive some profit[2].

It results from Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra that the bestowal of privileges on the foreigners, who have imported merchandise was made for the purpose of obtaining foreign merchandise which was necessary for the daily use and therefore for the purpose of regulating the economic conditions. We find in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra the following sentence: 'As regards the sale of the king's merchandise in foreign countries: Having ascertained the value of local produce as compared with that of foreign produce that can be obtained in barter, the superintendent will find out by calculation whether there is any margin left for profit after meeting the payments to the foreign king such as toll, road-cess, conveyance-cess, tax payable at military stations, ferry-charges, subsistence to the merchant and his followers and the portion of merchandise payable to the foreign king. If no profit can be realised by selling the local produce in foreign countries, he has to consider whether any local produce can be profitably bartered for any foreign produce.'[3]

We also find in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, what all the superintendent of Commerce has to do to amass and to preserve foreign merchandise[4].

The prohibition of import and export with reference to the economic conditions is treated also in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra treated and some other Dharmaśāstras[5].

Principally these deal with the question of the exclusion of the import merchandise which causes harm or is useless to the country and of the import of merchandise which is useful. Such a merchandise has to be imported free of duty[6].

As it is necessary for the normal economic life that commodities of daily use must be sold at a fixed price, the Ancient Indian Law-books regulate the prices of such merchandise by fixing of price-taxes. We find in Yājñavalkya's Smṛti a sentence which states

1. K. II. ch. 16. According to the translation by Shamasastry.
2. K. II. ch. 16. According to the translation by Shamsastry.
3. K. II. ch. 16. According to the translation by Shamasastry.
4. K. II. ch. 16.
5. K. II. ch. 21. Vide Mn. III-399, Y. II-261, Vi. V-130.
6. K. II. ch. 21.

that the sale and purchase shall be conducted daily according to the value fixed by the king[1]. It is even punishable to demand a higher price. For such people who agree upon the determination of the price to the disadvantage of the workmen and artists, although the fluctuations of the price are known to them the highest fine is applicable[2]. The same punishment will be applied for those merchants who do not purchase the foreign articles at the price fixed by the king and who buy them cheaply and those sell them at a higher price[3].

4. As the motive for the bestowal of special facilities on foreign merchants was the necessity of foreign merchants for the economic conditions of Ancient India so also the motive for the laying out of reservoirs and irrigation-dams was the necessity of such constructions for the economic conditions of Ancient India.

That the irrigation-dams, tanks etc. were of great importance for the economic conditions of Ancient India is obvious from Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra[4], and also indirectly from Yājñavalkya's Dharmaśāstra[5].

From them it is possible to understand the special Laws concerning the construction of irrigation works. We find especially in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra that, in the case of construction of new works such as tanks, lakes etc., taxes on the land below such tanks shall be remitted for five years. For reparing neglected or ruined works of similar nature, taxes shall be remitted for four years. For improving or extending water-works, taxes shall be remitted for three years. In the case of acquiring such newly started works by mortgage or purchase, taxes on the lands below such works shall be remitted for two years.[6] These laws concerning the reduction of taxes are similar to the exemption from taxes of new buildings, known to recent times. Because of economic conditions then prevailing special facilities for payment of taxes were granted in Ancient India and are even now granted for the purpose of economic welfare. Now-a-days the multiplication of new buildings was intended to prevent the hoarding of money, in Ancient India it was the creation of new irrigation works for the purpose of improving the fertility of the fields which was the highest aim of the economic policy.

1. Y. II-251. Vide Mn. VIII-402.
2. Y. II-249. Vide K. II. ch. 6.
3. Y. II-250.
4. K. V. ch. 6.
5. Y. II-157
6. K. III. ch. 9. according to the translation by Shamasastry.

That this was the true aim is seen from the fact that the duration of the exemption of taxes depends on the scale of expenses.

5. We have seen that the motive for the bestowing of facilities on foreign merchants was the need of foreign merchants for the economic life in Ancient India. The case is similar where the formation of villages is concerned. A deserted land is from the point of view of Ancient Indian economics–a negative entry in the balance of the Ancient Indian State, or rather of the Ancient Indian Kings. Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra understands well that an increase of the wealth of the citizens increases the universal prosperity and therefore increases also the wealth of the State i. e. of the king.[1] Therefore, Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra tries,–although from a machiavelistic standpoint,–to enrich the king and especially by populating the deserted land. The suggestion for such a colonisation is supported by the introduction of special laws, which once more point to the harmonising of Law with the requirements of economic conditions.

As regards the colonisation of a deserted land, Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra asks which land has to be colonised: a plain or watery land ? [2]

The answer is: 'A limited tract of land with water is far better than a vast plain[3]. Plains, which are suitable for the growth of both early and late crops and which require less labour and less rain for cultivation are better than the reverse of these[4]. Watery lands, that are suitable to the growth of grains are better than those which are suitable for crops other than grains.' [5]

'Of two watery tracts, one of limited area and suitable for the growth of grains, and another, vast and suitable for crops other than grains, the latter is better, inasmuch as its vast area may not only be used to grow spices and other medicinal crops, but also to construct forts and other defensive works in large numbers: for fertility and other qualities of lands are artificial[6]. Of the tract of land with forts and that which is thickly populated, the latter is better; for that which is thickly populated is a kingdom in every sense. What can a depopulated country like a barren cow be productive of. ?'[7]

1. K. II. ch. 1.
2. K. VII. ch. 11.
3. K. VII. ch. 11 according to the translation by Shamasastry.
4. See Note 3.
5. See Note 3.
6. See Note 3.
7. See Note 3.

'Such a land which was recognised as most suitable for colonisation has to be colonised by the king either by inducing the inhabitance of other tracts to immigrate or by causing the thickly-populated centres of his own kingdom to send forth their surplus population.'[1]

By this way of trying to attract people in such a country we see very well how the Law was applied to the requirements of economic conditions. Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra determines: 'Those who perform sacrifices, spiritual guides, priests, and those learned in the Vedas shall be granted Brahmadaya lands yielding sufficient produce and exempted from taxes and fines. Superintendents, Accountants, Gopas, Sthānikas, Veterinary surgeons, Physicians, Horse-trainers, and Messengers shall also be endowed with lands which they shall have no right to alienate by sale or mortgage'.[2]

When the colonisation takes place the king has to grant exemption from taxes. He shall regard with fatherly kindness those who have passed the period of exemption from taxes.[3] The king 'shall carry on mining operations and manufacture, exploit timber and elephant forests, offer facilities for cattle-breeding and commerce, construct roads for traffic both by land and water, and set up market towns. He shall also construct reservoirs.'[4] The king has to regulate too the internal conditions of a colonised village. 'Owing to the fact that the newly colonised villages had to look after their own interest and the men found pleasure in the fields, the king's treasury, free labour, commodities, grain and liquids have become enriched.'[5]

It ought to be noted that the land may be confiscated from those who do not cultivate it and given to others. Lands prepared for cultivation shall be given to tax-payers only as personal property.[6] Unprepared lands shall not be taken away from those who are preparing them for cultivation.[7] Lands which were not cultivated may be given for cultivation to village labourers and traders; owners of lands which are not quite suitable for cultivation might pay less to the government. Those owners may be also favourably supplied with seeds, cattle and money.[8] Kauṭilya's

1. See Note 3 p. 541.
2. See Note 3 p. 541.
3. K. II. chol.
4. K. II. ch. 1, according to the translation by Shamashastry.
5. K. II. ch. 1.
6. K. II. ch. 1.
7. K. II. ch. 1.
8. K. II. ch. 1.

Arthaśāstra regulates too that the king has to give the cultivators seeds, cattle and money.[1]

It is to be noted that the author of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra is in this case also out to increase the king's treasure.

In connection with the kings duty to support the cultivators Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra says that 'the king shall bestow on cultivators only such favour and remission as will tend to swell the treasury, and shall avoid such as will deplete it. A king with depleted treasury will eat into the very vitality of both town and country people.'[2] This principle we find in recent times too.

It has to be accepted that according to this principle the conquered country is exempted from taxes[3]. The same applies to a poor country and country in great danger. It applies especially to people who have to suffer much from hostile neighbour i. e. people 'who live on the border of the kingdom or who have not enough subsistence'[4] There is no doubt that this principle shows us a good example of the harmonising of Law with the requirements of economic conditions.

6. I have given some examples of the exemptions of taxes which for the purpose of economic conditions were introduced in Ancient Indian Law-books. These exemptions of taxes can be divided into personal and impersonal exemptions. It was said that these exemptions which point to the harmonising of Law with the requirements of economic conditions were introduced not for the purpose of protecting the subjects but for the purpose of enriching the treasury of the king. In the epics and in these law-books, which are free from the Machiavelism of Kauṭilya's tax-policy, we can find rulings on tax-policy of the king, which are not only very praiseworthy but also very suitable. These rulings take into consideration the economic condition of the tax-payers i.e. the king's subjects. Below there are some such examples from the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra, Mahābhārata etc.

'Out of affection for his subjects, he must not bring about his own ruin by forswearing to collect his revenue from them, nor cause their ruin by his greed ; by so bringing about his own ruin, he will become an oppressor of his own self, as well as of his subjects'.[5]

1 K. V. ch. 2. & V. ch. 3.
2 K. II. ch. 1. according to the translation by Shamasastry.
3 K. XIII. ch. 5.
4 K. V. ch. 2.
5 Mn. VII-13, See Y, I-338-339.

'As leeches, calves and bees, little by little draw their respective sustenances, so the king shall draw his revenue from his realm little by little, each year'.[1]

'The king has to milk the cow as a bee collects honey from the flowers. He has to do what a herdsman, who receives the milk from his cow does. He neither worries the udders nor lets the cow go hungry'.[2]

'A good king has to milk his country as a calf sucks the milk of the cow. Because, when the calf sucks from the cow it becomes strong and can bear burdens'.[3]

'But if it is otherwise and the cow is milked to excess, the calf becomes meagre and useless for the owner'.[4]

'It is said that an avaricious king who imposes unjust taxes which are not sanctioned by law on his subjects causes damage to himself'.[5]

'The king shall never exact taxes from those, who can not pay. He has to get them gradually, with goodness, and by lawful methods'[6], [7].

Many things can easily be acquired by a king ' who supports his country and grants facilities to his subjects and is satisfied with that which is within easy reach'[8]. 'Does not the king then receive enough of wealth to satisfy his claims, then his whole land will be his treasury and his treasury his bed-room '[9].

'Like he who needs milk, never gets it, if the udders of his cow are cut, so the king will never be in a position to use his kingdom if he does not impose taxes in a legitimate manner '[10].

'The king has to be clever and should milk the country every day like a cow, but he should not cut the cow's udders.[11] 'He who treats the cow well, will always receive fresh milk; In the same way it will be possible for the king to enjoy the fruits of his country, if he reigns over his country in an orderly manner.'[12] 'The country which is

1 Mn. VII–129. See Mārkaṇḍeya (Parās. p. 404.)
2 MBh. XII-88--4.
3 MBh. XII-87--20.
4 MBh. XII-87--21.
5 MBh. XII--7--15.
6 righteous rules.
7 MBh. XII--88--12.
8 MBh. XII-87-22.
9 MBh. XII-87-23.
10 MBh. XII-71-16.
11 MBh. XII-120-33.
12 MBh. XII-71-17.

protected by the king bears fruits and money like a mother who willingly gives her breast to her child'.[1-2]

Those rules are not only found in Mānava-Dharmaśāstra and Māhabharāta but also in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra[3]; they were applicable only if the king possesses a treasure. A king who finds himself in great financial trouble and needs money may collect taxes in another way.[4] The economic situation does not allow him to act in a manner in which a good king ought to act. On account of the economic situation the king has to act like a thief, in the manner prescribed by the machiavelistic school of Kauṭilya. From the motive,[5] 'the enrichment of the treasure of the king', it can be accepted that he could act in the following manner not only against traitors and the godless but also against his subjects.[6]

I quote some sentences found in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, which are a good example of the harmonising of Law with requirements of the economic conditions especially when they are compared with the above mentioned rules about the correct way of collecting the taxes.

It is not possible to inflict twice the taxes. 'The Collector General shall seek subscriptions from citizens and country people alike under false pretences of carrying this or that kind of business. Persons taken in concert shall publicly pay handsome donations and with this example, the king may demand of others among his subjects. Spies posing as citizens shall revile those who pay less. Wealthy persons may be requested to give as much of their gold as they can. Those who, of their own accord or with the intention of doing good, offer their wealth to the king shall be honoured with a rank in the court, an umbrella, or a turban or some ornaments in return for their gold. Spies under the guise of sorcerers, shall, under the pretence of ensuring safety, carry away the money not only of the society of heretics and of temples, but also of a dead-man and of a man whose house is burnt, provided that it is not enjoyable by Brāhmans.

The Superintendent of Religious Institutions may collect in one place the various kinds of property of the gods of fortified cities and country parts and carry away the property to the king's treasury.

Or having on some night set up a god or an altar, or having

1 MBh. XII–71–19.
2 *vide* MBh. XII–8–15, 17, 18. Nītiviv. 61–12., Śukran. VI–2–220/240.
3 K. II. ch. 1.
4 K. V. ch. 2.
5 K. II. ch. 2 *in fine.*
6 *vide* K. V. ch. 2. and K. II. ch. 1.

opened a sacred place of ascetics or having pointed out an evil omen, the king may collect subsistance under the pretence of holding processions and congregations to avert calamities.

Or also he shall proclaim the arrival of gods, by pointing out to the people any of the sacred trees in the king's garden which has produced untimely flowers and fruits.

Or by causing a false panic owing to the arrival of an evil-spirit on a tree in the city, wherein a man is hidden making all sorts of devilish noises, the king's spies, under the guise of ascetics, may collect money with a view to propitiate the evil-spirit and send it back.

Or spies may call upon spectators to see a serpent with numberless heads in a well connected with a subterranean passage and collect fees from them for the night. Or they may place in a borehole made in the body of an image of a serpent, or in a hole in the corner of a temple, or in the hole of an ant-hill, a cobra, which is, by diet, rendered unconscious, and call upon credulous spectators to see it on payment of a certain amount of fee. As to persons who are not by nature credulous, spies may sprinkle over or give a drink of such sacred water as is mixed with anaesthetic ingredients and attribute their insensibility to the curse of the gods. Or by causing an outcast person (*abhityāktā*) to be bitten by a cobra, spies may collect revenue under the pretext of undertaking remedial measures against *ominous phenomena.*

Or one of the king's spies in the garb of a merchant, may become the partner of a rich merchant, and carry on trade in concert with him. As soon as a considerable amount of money has been gathered as sale-proceeds, deposits and loans, he may cause himself to be robbed of the amount.

Or else a spy, in the garb of a rich merchant, or a real rich merchant famous for his vast commerce, may borrow or take on pledge vast quantities of gold, silver, and other commodities, or borrow from corporations bar gold, or coined gold for various kinds of merchandise to be procured from abroad. After having done this he may allow himself to be robbed of it the same night.

Prostitute spies under the garb of chaste women, may cause themselves to be enamoured of persons who are seditious. No sooner are the seditious persons seen within the abode of the female spies than they shall be seized and their property confiscated to the Government. Or whenever a quarrel arises between any two seditious parties of the same family, poisoners, previously engaged

for the purpose, may administer poison to one party; and the other party may be accused of the offence and deprived of their property.

An outcast, under the guise of a high-born man, may claim from a seditious person a large amount of money professed to have been placed in the latters custody by the claimant, or a large debt outstanding against the seditious person; or a share of parental property. An outcast may pretend to be the slave of a seditious person; and he may represent the wife, daughter, or daughter-in-law of the seditious person as a slave-woman or as his own wife: and when the outcast is lying at the door of the seditious person's house at night or is living elsewhere, a fierce spy may murder him and declare:—'The claimant of his own property or wife has been thus killed. And for this offence others i. e., the seditious person and his followers shall be deprived of their property.

Or a spy, under the garb of an ascetic, may offer inducements to a seditious person to acquire more wealth by taking in aid the art of witchcraft, and say:—'I am proficient in such witchcraft as brings inexhaustible wealth, or entitles, a man to get admission into the king's palace, or can win the love of any woman, or can put an end to the life of one's enemy, or can lengthen the duration of one's life, or can give a son to any one, if desired.' 'If the seditious person shows his desire to carry on the process of witchcraft securing wealth, the spy may make rich offerings, consisting of flesh, wine, and scent to the deity near an altar in a burial-ground wherein a dead body of a man or of a child with a little quantity of money has been previously hidden. After the performance of worship is over, the hidden treasure may be dug out and the seditious person may be told that as the offerings fell short, the treasure is proportionately small, that the richest of offerings should be made to acquire vast amount of treasure, and that he may purchase with the newly-acquired wealth rich offerings. Then he may be caught in the very act of purchasing commodities for offering.

A female spy, under the garb of a bereaved mother, may in connection with the above case, raise an alarm crying that her child was murdered for the purpose of witchcraft.

When a seditious person is engaged in sorcery at night or in a sacrificial performance in a forest, or in sports in a park, fiery spies may murder him and carry away the corpse as that of an outcast.

Or a spy, under the garb of a servant of a seditious person, may mix counterfeit coins with the wages he has received from his master and pave the way for his arrest.

Or a spy, under the garb of a goldsmith, may undertake to do some work in the house of a seditious person, and gather in his employer's house such instruments as are necessary to manufacture counterfeit coins.

A spy, under the garb of a physician, may declare a healthy person of seditious character to be unhealthy and administer poison. Or a spy, attending as a servant upon a seditious person may not only call for an explanation from another fraudulent spy as to how certain articles necessary for the installation of a king and also the letters of an enemy came into the possession of his master, but also volunteer an explanation himself[1].

7. No doubt we can find in the Ancient Indian Law-books many more examples of the harmonising of law with the requirements of economic conditions, but I believe that the above-mentioned examples are the most interesting and for that reason I have dealt with only a few legal institutions.

1. K. V. ch. 2. according to the translation of Shamasastry.

EPIC QUESTIONS

BY

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

II. *The Parvasaṁgraha Figures.*

The Parvasaṁgrahaparvan (Ādi, adhy. 2) is a document of considerable importance.[1] But its value has been unduly exaggerated by some scholars, a circumstance which has led to some highly misleading results and some curious conclusions. It is thus supposed that Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa had himself counted and noted down the number of ślokas he had composed, and that our Parvasaṁgraha was composed by Vyāsa himself. No doubt it is sometimes stated in the Parvasaṁgraha chapter that that sage had stated the extent of each of the eighteen parvans. But this attribution to Vyāsa is naturally only pūjārthe (*honoris causa*). It is nowhere suggested in the work itself that the first two adhyāyas of our epic were composed by Vyāsa. They could not be, because they are obviously only a report of the conversation which took place between the Sūta (Ugraśravas, son of Lomaharṣaṇa) and the sages assembled at Śaunaka's twelve-year sacrifice in the Naimiṣa Forest. The erroneous supposition regarding the authorship of this adhyāya has led to the naïve attempt on the part of some scholars to produce a text—a so-called critical text—of the Mahābhārata containing the same number of adhyāyas and ślokas as that given in the Parvasaṁgraha[2]. Such an attempt is already negatived by our manuscripts and testimonia, which contain many variants of the figures in the Parvasaṁgraha. Thus the figures for the Ādiparvan itself vary, according to different sources, between 7984 (Kaśmīrī Version and the Critical Edition) and 9984 (Āndhra-Bhāratamu). That is sufficient to discourage any attempt at too close a reliance on the data of this adhyāya of the Ādiparvan. It has been common experience that figures in ancient works, if at all complicated, seldom come out right, and the figures of the Parvasaṁgraha are probably no exception to this rule.

1. Cf. my Prolegomena to the Ādiparvan, pp. XCVII ff.; "Epic studies *(III)*" *ABORI*, vol. 11, pp. 277 ff.

2. Cf. P. P. S. Sastri in the Introduction to vol. 15 of his Mahābhārata (Southern Recension), p. xxii: "Vyāsa's description of his Mahābhārata that he composed it in 18 parvas of 2,000 chapters and 100,000 stanzas is not a fanciful account but an accurate statement. And I have tried to substantiate this in this edition of the Principal Text of the Southern Recension."

The figures given in the Parvasaṁgraha could have been obtained in one of many different ways. The most probable suggestion has been that they were arrived at, not by actual *counting* of the stanzas, as we should ordinarily do now, but by *computing* the extent in some other way. Even now we speak of a story of 5000 words or a broadcast talk of 1500 words, and so on. The individual words are never counted in such computations; the figures are only approximations. The figures given in our Parvasaṁgraha chapter must be approximations of that type. They are not "ślokas" or stanzas as we ordinarily understand them; but are, properly speaking, what are technically known as, "granthas", a grantha being a unit of measurement of written matter equal to 32 akṣaras.

Assuming this to be the case, the first difficulty is that the figures given in the lists appear not as round numbers, as we should expect them to be, but are apparently correct to the last digit; for instance, the extent is given not as 8000 ślokas, but as 7987. We actually come across such figures as these: 6698, 7998, 8909, 14525, where true approximations would be 6700, 8000, 8900, 14,500, and so on. The approximation seems to me to have been reached by some such process as this. First, an average was obtained by counting carefully all letters in a certain number of lines. This average was then multiplied by the number of lines in a page and the total number of complete pages. The number of " granthas " of the last page, which was rarely fully written out, seems to have been computed separately, and added to the previous total. The grand total of letters (*akṣaras*) was then divided by 32 to give the number of " ślokas " or " granthas, " fractions being omitted. That is how figures like those mentioned above must have been obtained. They are careful approximations, but approximations all the same. Moreover, as has been pointed out by me elsewhere,[3] it would be impossible to count the exact number of *stanzas* in a composite text made up of ślokas, triṣṭubhs, " fancy metres " and prose passages, which we actually find in many of the parvans of the Mahābhārata, as for instance in the Ādi, Āraṇyaka and Anuśāsana.

The figures we find in the Parvasaṁgraha chapter are fairly old; we cannot say now exactly how old. They are certainly prior to 1000 A.D., when the Javanese Bhārata and the Āndhra Bhāratamu were composed; because both these works contain similar lists, which agree in many particulars with our list.

Here are the figures given in three different sources.

3. Prolegomena, p. xcix.

TABLE I

Adhyāyas			Parvan	Slokas		
C	B	A		A	B	C
South. Rec.	Jav. Version	Crit Ed.	—	Crit. Ed.	Jav. Version	South. Rec.
218	818	218	I. ĀDI	7984	8884	9884
72	**72**	**72**	II. SABHĀ	2511	2511	4511
269	272	269	III. ĀRAṆYAKA	11,664	11,224	11,664
67	—	**67**	IV. VIRĀṬA	2050	2015	3500
186	**186**	**186**	V. UDYOGA	6698	6928	7998
118	117	117	VI. BHĪṢMA	**5884**	**5884**	**5884**
170	**170**	**170**	VII. DROṆA	8909	8984	8909
69	**69**	**69**	VIII. KARṆA	4900	4970	4900
59	121	59	IX. SALYA	**3220**	**3220**	**3220**
18	**18**	**18**	X. SAUPTIKA	**870**	**870**	**870**
27	70	27	XI. STRĪ	775	770	775
339	333	339	XII. SĀNTI	**14,525**	**14,525**	**14,525**
156	—	146	XIII. ANUSĀSANA	6700	—	12,000
133	**133**	**133**	XIV. ĀŚVAMEDHIKA	3320	4420	4420
42	92	42	XV. ĀSRAMAVĀSIKA	1506	1508	1906
8	**8**	**8**	XVI. MAUSALA	**300**	**300**	**300**
3	—	**3**	XVII. MAHĀPRASTHĀNIKA	120	123	120
5	—	**5**	XVIII. SVARGĀROHAṆA	**200**	**200**	**200**
1959		1948	**Total**	82,136		95,586

[The average number of " ślokas " per adhyāya is about 45.]

The above is a conspectus of the figures for the adhyāyas and ślokas of the eighteen parvans of the Mahābhārata according to (1) the Critical Edition, (2) the Javanese Version,[4] and (3) the Southern Recension by Professor P. P. S. Sastri.

Observations on the figures of the above Table.

I. *Ādi*: The first figure (8) of the Javanese number for the *adhyāyas* of the Ādi (818) is obviously wrong; the other digits agree in the three texts. So we may take as correct the figure 218[5], which is given us by the Critical Edition and Southern Recension, the Vulgate reading (227) being certainly a mistake.—The number of *ślokas* is no doubt a problem. I have adopted the figure given by the Śāradā MS. and one " K " MS. (K1)[6], which is confirmed by the Rajaguru MS. from Nepal[7], and I am still inclined to suppose that that was the original figure. The Javanese and Southern figures 8884 and 9884 respectively differ by 1000 exactly, the Javanese figure being the same as that of the Mid-Indian group (Bengali-Devanāgarī).

II. *Sabhā*: The numbers are here absolutely certain. As regards the *adhyāyas*, there is perfect agreement between the three sources, all of them giving 72, which is also the exact number of adhyāyas of our Critical Edition of the Sabhā now passing through the press. The Vulgate figure (78) for the *śloka* is therefore unquestionably wrong.—The *śloka* number is also certainly 2511, as the Southern Recension, in which the first figure has been increased to 4, is demonstrably inflated to make it conform with the interpolated text, and the additional stanzas of the Southern Recension do approximately amount to 2000. The correct figures for Sabhā are therefore 72 and 2511.

4. The figures for the Javanese Version have been taken from Juynboll's *Ādiparwa, Oudjavaansch prozageschrift*, Gravenhage, 1906. pp. 5-6. The passage is reproduced in a note by H. Kern, "Inhoudsopgave van 't Mahābhārata in 'T Kawi" in *Bijdragen*, ser. III, Vol. IV, pp. 92-95. Kern has given in this paper a comparative table of the Indian and the Javanese figures.

5. Kern, *op. cit.* p. 95 also remarks that the Javanese figure 818 is incorrect, and that it should be 218.

6. See the Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan, p. 878.

7. See my "Epic studies (VII)," *ABORI*, vol. 19 (1938), pp. 215 ff.

III. *Āraṇyaka* (commonly known as *Vana*): As regards the *adhyāyas*, the Javanese records 272 against the concordant figure 269 of *all* Indian versions. The latter may be taken to be the right figure, the discrepancy of the Javanese, which is negligible, remaining unexplained.—The same is true of the figure for the *ślokas*, the concordant figure (11,664) of all Indian versions being the original Parvasaṁgraha figure.

IV. *Virāṭa* : The Javanese figure for the *adhyāyas* is unfortunately missing. But as our Critical Edition of the Virāṭaparva has successfully identified the adhyāyas on the basis of the colophons given in MSS., there is no reason to doubt that the correct figure is 67, as given by the Sanskrit Parvasaṁgraha.—The three sources give three different figures for the *ślokas*. The Southern Recension is obviously inflated, and may therefore be ignored, its figure having been revised—as in Sabhā—to accord with its interpolated text. It is likely that the Javanese translator has confused the Sanskrit words for 50 and 15 (*pañcāśat* and *pañcadaśa*). The first two digits of the figures given in the Critical Edition and the Javanese Version do agree. We may therefore reasonably assume the original figure to be 2050, which is given by the Critical Edition of the Parvasaṁagraha, though the two last digits naturally remain somewhat uncertain.[8]

V. *Udyoga* : The three sources agreeing exactly as regards the number of *adhyāyas* of the Udyoga, the figure 186 may be taken as certain.—The figures for the *ślokas*, on the other hand, are in a chaotic condition, the three texts giving three different figures 6698, 6928, 7998; which agree only in respect of the last digit ! The figures for the ślokas remain, therefore, doubtful.

VI. *Bhīṣma* : The number of adhyāyas in the Bhīṣma is given by the Critical Edition and the Javanese Version as 117, but the Southern Recension gives their number as 118. In any case, the difference is not very significant, and the number may be assumed to be 117 or 118.—There is no such doubt regarding the number of *ślokas*, which is unanimously given as 5884.

VII. *Droṇa* : There is likewise considerable agreement as regards the adhyāyas and ślokas of the Droṇa. The *adhyāya* number

8. See Raghu Vira, Virāṭaparvan, Indroduction, p. XXIV; and Sukthankar "Epic studies (III)," *ABORI* vol. 11, pp. 277 ff,

is 170.—As regards the number of *ślokas*, the first two digits (89) are certain. And since both the Critical Edition and the Southern Recension agree on the figure 8909, that is indicated as the correct figure. The probability in favour of this figure is strengthened owing to the circumstance that the last two figures of the Javanese Version (84) are in all probability due to contamination with the previous śloka-figure 5884, which ends in 84. We may therefore adopt with confidence the concordant figure of the Indian versions 8909, the difference between the Javanese and the Indian numbers being 75 ; the error is in any event not more than 1 per cent.

VIII. *Karṇa*: The figures for Karṇa are exactly of the same type. The three sources agree in giving 69 as the number of *adhyāyas.*—The Javanese MSS. give the number of *ślokas* as 970, which is obviously wrong, it being almost certain that the word for 4000 has been omitted by the scribe by oversight ; [9] so we get the original Javanese figure as [4]970. We may tentatively adopt the figure 4900, on the concordant evidence of Indian versions. The difference between the Indian and Javanese figures being only 70, the discrepancy is only about 1.4 per cent.

IX. *Śalya*: In this parvan there is fortunately no doubt about the *śloka* number, which is unanimously given as 3220.—And again, fortunately, as regards the *adhyāya* number, the discrepancy between the Indian (59) and Javanese (121) figures is so great that the Javanese may be ruled out as hopelessly corrupt. There is another test we may apply, the Javanese figure[10] (121) for adhyāyas gives the average of about 27 ślokas to an adhyāya, while the Indian average is 54. Now the total number of adhyāyas in the Mahābhārata is supposed to be 2000, and the number of stanzas 100,000 (śatasahasrāṇi[11]), which gives the average of ślokas to an adhyāya as 50 and that is much nearer the average for the Indian figure for the adhyāya number of the Śalyaparvan than the Javanese figure.

X. *Sauptika*: The figures for the Sauptika call for no remarks. They are uniformly given in all the three sources as 18 and 870 respectively.

9. Kern, *loc. cit.*, also recognizes that the first figure has been omitted by mistake in the Javanese text.

10. Kern, *loc. cit.*, likewise considers the Javanese figure (121) as very suspicious.

11. See the Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan, additional passage No. 486*, given on page 241.

XI. *Strī*: The sources do not agree as regards the number of *adhyāyas*, but the Javanese figure (70) which is nearly two and half times as large as the Indian (27) is extremely improbable.[12] We may therefore tentatively take the concordant Indian figure (27) as correct.—The difference between the Javanese and Indian figures for the *ślokas* is only five. It should seem that the last digit was lost in the Javanese tradition; if that be so, the correct number is 775, as given unanimously by the Indian MSS.

XII. *Śānti*: The *śloka* figure for Śānti (14,525) is given unanimously by all the three of our sources, which is a fortunate coincidence and also a remarkable proof of the reliability of our tradition. The Vulgate figure (14,725) for the ślokas is positively wrong.—There is a difference of only six between the Javanese and Indian figures for *adhyāyas*, the Indian tradition giving the figure as 339, the Javanese as 333. The agreement between the different Indian versions is a weighty point in favour of 339, which we may tentatively assume to be the correct figure.

XIII. *Anuśāsana*: The evidence of the Javanese Version is unfortunately missing, the version ignoring this parvan altogether, for some reason which it is hard to guess. It cannot be argued that it is included in the Śānti, since there is no appreciable increase in the number of adhyāyas or ślokas of the Javanese Version of the Śānti, as there would surely have been, had the two parvans been amalgamated as is done sometimes.[13] There being also no agreement between the various Indian versions, the figures for both adhyāyas and ślokas of the Anuśāsana remain uncertain.

XIV. *Āśvamedhika*: The number of *adhyāyas* is unanimously given as 133, which may therefore be accepted as the correct figure. —There is a discrepancy as regards the number of *ślokas*: the Critical Edition gives the figure as 3320, while the Javanese and the

12. As in the case of the Śalyaparvan, Kern (*loc. cit.*) regards the Javanese figure as very doubtful.

13. It is perhaps worth noticing that so late a commentator as Vādirāja (cf. P. K. Gode, *ABORI*, vol. 17, pp. 203–210, who assigns him to the seventeenth century), treats the Śānti and Anuśāsana as one parvan and has colophons like:

इति श्रीमहाभारते शतसाहस्रिकायां संहितायां वैयासिक्यां **शान्तिपर्वणि आनुशासनिके** भीष्म-स्वर्गारोहणं नाम षट्षष्टिद्विशततमोऽध्यायः ।। इति शान्तिपर्व समाप्तम् ।।

—which is quoted by Professor P. P. S. Sastri in the Introduction to vol. 17, (Anuśāsana Parvan, part 2,) p. xxiv.

Southern Recension agree in giving the figure as 4420, this being one of the rare instances in which the Javanese and the Southern Recension agree against the Northern Recension. The Southern Recension contains here an additional sub-parvan, comprising 23 adhyāyas and about 1700 ślokas, known as the Vaiṣṇavadharma parvan. There is no mention of any such parvan in the list of 100 parvans, given in the Parvasaṁgraha, though some Southern MSS. do insert, in another place, a line which mentions the Vaiṣṇavadharma among the contents of the Āśvamedhika. In this Section, Yudhiṣṭhira is instructed by Śrī-Kṛṣṇa in the Dharma of the Vaiṣṇavas, which seems hardly necessary, after the instruction he had received from Bhīṣma in more than 21,000 stanzas on general Dharma (Śānti and Anuśāsana). The higher Southern number must therefore be regarded as due to this inflation, and can in any case not be accepted. Nevertheless the peculiar agreement between the Javanese and the Southern is a disturbing factor. The number therefore may be regarded as doubtful.

XV. *Āśramavāsika* : There is not much doubt about the *adhyāyas* of this parvan, though the Javanese Version has a high figure (92) against the unanimous Indian figure 42, which may be assumed to be the correct figure.[14]—As regards the number of *ślokas*, there is a slight discrepancy of 2 between the Critical Edition and the Javanese Version, the former being 1506, the latter 1508. But the last digit in this number is not in doubt; it must be six. The Southern Recension gives the figure 1906, which must be regarded as extremely doubtful, since even Professor Sastri, who has edited the Southern Recension, could not find more than 1108½ stanzas for this parvan.[15] There has been clearly a mistake in the counting of the stanzas of this parvan, and the Southern figure being palpably incorrect, we may utilize the approximate agreement between the Critical Edition and the Javanese Version and adopt 1506 as the probable original Parvasaṁagraha figure for the Āśramavāsika.

XVI. *Mausala* : All sources agree in giving the number of *adhyāyas* as 8 and the number of *ślokas* as 300, which may accordingly be taken as the correct figures. The text also seems to con-

14. Kern (*loc. cit.*) likewise suggests reading 42 for 92 of the Javanese.

15. It is interesting to note, as pointed out by Professor Sastri, Nannaya's Āndhra-Bhāratamu gives 1106 as the figure of ślokas in the Āśramavāsika parvan. That probably is due to a fresh count.

tain actually 300 stanzas. Consequently the vulgate reading 320, in the Parvasaṁgraha chapter, is clearly faulty and has been properly rejected.

XVII. *Mahāprasthānika* : The Javanese figure for the number of *adhyāyas* is missing; but the Indian sources, including the MSS., uniformly divide this short parvan into three adhyāyas; and the unanimous Indian reading cannot be called into question.—The number of *ślokas* may also be regarded as correctly given in the Critical Edition, which is supported by the Southern Recension, though the Javanese Version adds, erroneously, three to the number, giving the figure as 123. I surmise that this addition of three to the śloka number is a wrong transposition from the adhyāya number, which is missing in the Javanese Version. The Vulgate figure (320) for the ślokas is absurd and unquestionably incorrect.

XVIII. *Svargārohaṇa* : As in the previous case the *adhyāya* number is lost in the Javanese Version; but there cannot be any doubt that the correct figure is 5, which is given by all editions and MSS. of the Mahābhārata.—The *śloka* number is unanimously given, by our three sources, as 200, which is a sufficiently correct approximation of the actual extent of this last parvan of the Great Epic; and the Vulgate figure (209) may be unhesitatingly rejected.

The table on the following page gives the figures for the adhyāyas and ślokas, book by book, arrived at by a collation of the various extant versions of the Parvasaṁgraha chapter of the Ādiparvan.

TABLE II

Table giving the authentic figures for the Adhyāyas and Ślokas of the eighteen Parvans of the Mahābhārata, based upon a collation of the MSS. of the Sanskrit Parvasaṁgrahaparvan and of the Javanese Version (ca. 1000 A.D.).

Parvan		Adhyāya	Sloka
I, ĀDI	...	218	?
II. SABHĀ	...	72	2511
III. ĀRAṆYAKA	...	269	11,664
IV. VIRTĀṬA	...	67	2050
V. UDYOGA	...	186	?
VI. BHĪṢMA	...	117 (or 118)	5884
VII. DROṆA	...	170	8909
VIII. KARṆA	...	69	4900
IX. SALYA	...	59	3220
X. SAUPTIKA	...	18	870
XI. STRĪ	...	27	775
XII. SĀNTI	...	339	14,525
XIII. ANUSASANA	...	?	?
XIV. ĀŚVAMEDHIKA	...	133	?
XV. ĀSRAMAVĀSIKA	...	42	1506
XVI. MAUSALA	...	8	300
XVII. MAHĀPRASTHĀNIKA	...	3	120
XVIII. SVARGĀROHAṆA	...	5	200

DEVĪ-BHĀGAVATA OR BHAGAVATĪ-PURĀṆA?

BY

S. N. TADPATRIKAR

One of the long-contested points, in Puranic literature, is the claim set forth by the Devībhāgavata to be included among the eighteen major Purāṇas—the claim contested by those attached to Śrīmadbhāgavata; and a substantial literature [1] has grown round this problem. Although it is not proposed to deal with this point at great length, it may be noted, in passing, that the Devībh. has, all through its text, claimed this status, while the latter, i. e. Śrīmadbh., quite unconscious of any such necessity, does not seem to have put forth any such claim, in the whole body of its text.

These references, in the body of the text have been sufficiently dealt with and discussed by scholars, but, I am afraid, no manuscript-evidence has so far been set forth by anybody, and it is mainly to this important side of the evidence that I wish here to draw the attention of scholars. I do not propose to take notes from the Mss. of Śrīmadbhāgavata, as that Purāṇa does not seem to have troubled itself about its status; but it is the Devī., which has, off and on, so scrupulously and promiscuously, set its claim, as the Bhāgavata, mentioned as one of the 18 major Purāṇas; and so I give below some suggestive evidence that I found in studying the Mss. of Devībh.

The Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute has, in its collection, only two Mss. of Devībh., and curiously enough, both these Mss., in their way, supply us with data that would lead us to re-consider this important problem, from another point of view, untackled, so far, by any scholars, I mean, a detailed study of the adhyāya colophons, as we find them in these two Mss. Printed editions may, I think, be safely left out here, as

[1] For details see भागवताचा उपसंहार (Marathi) pp. 385–403; also Winternitz (Hist. Ind. Lit. p. 555) refers to this controversy.

all of them would uniformly have the name Devībh. in their adhy. colophons.

First we take Ms. No. 114 of A 1881-82. This Ms., though placed under one number, consists, properly speaking, of two Mss, both incomplete. Skandhas 1 and 2, having the date Śake 1715 and the name of the copyist as Tryambak Dhundiraj Navathe, at the end of the Skandhas and having both the name and date deleted by use of yellow pigment, give the adhy. colophons as : श्रीमद्भागवते महापुराणे...स्कंधे ; while the second part of the Ms. having Skandhas 7, 8, 10-12 reads the adhy. colophons as देवीभागवते महापुराणे...स्कंधे. This part, having quite different sort of paper and a different style of handwriting, too, gives at the end of Skandha 12, the date Śake 1734 and the name of the copyist as Madhav Rayarikar. Let us call these two parts D^1 and D^2.

The second Ms., which bears No. 115 of A 1881-82, is unfortunately a fragment and contains Skandhas 2 (complete), 3 (fol. 23-52 missing), 4 (having only the first 12 fol. and breaking off at 7. 39), 5 (complete) and 6 (breaking off at fol. 49) the last in this fol. being an incomplete adhy. colophon इति श्रीभगवती.

This copy, though a fragment, has, in its adhy. colophons, all sorts of permutations and combinations of the four items or more precisely, two items, with two alternatives for each item : a) the name of the purāṇa, which is either भागवत महापुराण or भगवती पुराण, and (b) name of the different parts, which is either स्कन्ध or अंश. I give below a statement of these adhy. colophons, so as to make this important point clear.

—*Skandha 2* has (a) भागवत generally with महापुराण, and (b) स्कन्ध for all its 12 adhys.

—*Skandha 3* has for its adhy. 28, इति श्रीभगवतीपुराणे तृतीयस्कंधे ; for adhy. 30, which is the last in the Skandha, the colophon has still another epithet : इति श्रीभगवतीपुराणे अष्टादशसाहस्र्यां संहितायां तृतीयस्कंधे ; while adhy. 29 gives the name as देवीपुराण, having Skandha for (b). At the end of adhy. 2 we have भगवती महापुराणे...स्कंधे while adhys. 1, 3-11 and 26 27 have श्रीभागवते महापुराणे...स्कंधे; adhy. 6 and 9 and 27 having the epithet अष्टादश साहस्र्यां संहितायां, also, colophons of adhy. 12-25 are lost on missing folios.

—*Skandha 4* is incomplete and has only six adhy. colophons ; of these adhys. 1, 2 and 5, have (a) भगवतीपुराणे and (b)

चतुर्थस्कंधे ; while adhys. 3, 4, 6 have (a भागवते महापुराणे and (b) चतुर्थस्कंधे.

—*Skandha 5* presents still more interesting varieties in this respect and the following tabular statement will give a correct idea of the different combinations of (a) and (b).

Name of Purāṇa	Name of Part	No. of Adhys
श्रीभगवती पुराणे	अंशे	1, 4–6, 8, 13, 15, 17, 18–24, 26, 29, 31 35
—do—	omit	2, 14, 16, 25, 27.
—do—	स्कंन्धे	34
श्रीभागवते महापुराणे	—do—	3
—do—	अंशे	7, 9, 12, 30, 32
—do—	omit	10, 28, 33
श्रीभागवते (om. महा०)	अंशे	11

—*Skandha 6* has, as stated above, complete colophons for 25 adhys. ; colophon for adhy. 8 is lost on a missing folio, while that of adh. 27 is incomplete and hence of doubtful use, for our scrutiny. Of the 25 adhys. only 4 and 7 have ' श्रीभगवतीपुराणे षष्ठेंशे ' ; but for the rest, the colophons read भगवतीपुराणे and स्कन्धे.

It would be considered as impatient to arrive at some definite conclusion on the authority of a single fragmentary Ms., yet in the face of the interesting and important data presented above, it is very difficult for the present writer to put aside the temptation of placing before the interested readers some ideas by way of suggestion, and they may be taken for what they are worth.

Let us first consider the question of this Ms., as a copy of some exemplar. The professional scribe, who copied Mss. for centuries past, was not, as the Mss. themselves would now show, a very learned man, and usually tried to write out his copy of the exemplar as faithfully as he could, *without* making any intentional changes in the body of the text. Thus we can safely say that the present Ms. was copied from another and an *older one*, which read its adhy. colophons, as we find them here. Against this mixed tradition of adhy. colophons, we have the present tradition presented in printed editions and Mss. of the type of D² above, which read श्रीदेवीभागवते महापुराणे···

स्कंधे, uniformly. Is it not possible to conclude from the fragmentary Ms. above that the mixed tradition, presented there, shows some intermediate transitionary state of nomenclature, when the old tradition was trying to preserve its existence against aggression of the new one.

Add to this some facts put forth by the supporters of Śrīmad-Bhāgavata, in course of the controversy of the last century. They give numerous extracts from the present text of the Devī-Bhāgavata, asserting, off and on, its claim to be regarded as the Bhāgavata of the 18 major Purāṇas. This tendency apparently led to adhy. colophons being purposely made to read श्रीमद्भागवते महापुराणे...स्कंधे, as we find them in D[1] and also in some places in the fragmentary Ms.

With a little help of imagination, the following state of things can easily be conceived:

The purāṇa was originally called, fittingly, श्रीभगवतीपुराण and each of its parts was called अंश.

Then with the growing popularity of Śrīmad-Bhāg. comes in the period of controversy, when the devotees of Devī at once went to the other extreme and named their Purāṇa श्रीमद्भागवत महापुराण with the name स्कंध for its parts. The name was boldly asserted to be grammatically derived from भगवती as

Then the two extremes mixed indiscriminately, and we come across all different sorts of adhy. colophons, as in the present fragment before us.

And last comes the present order of things, where, to distinguish this purāṇa from its rival, the word देवी was added to the name भागवत and we have the adhy. colophons, as we find them, in this last stage, in printed editions.

This arrangement of different stages would be readily accepted as conclusive if, to the evidence of these adhy. colophons, we were to come across some Ms. of this भगवतीपुराण, whose text is free from all its persistent assertions about its being the major Purāṇa, the Bhāgavata; but till then this, it is hoped, would serve as some sort of a leader to the final goal.

APABHRAMŚA AND THE ĀBHĪRAS.

BY

G. V. TAGARE

References to Ābhīrokti as a vibhāṣā in Bharata[1] and as 'Ap. in Daṇḍin[2] seem to have led Dr. Gune[3] to posit that Ap. is the corruption of Pk.s in the mouth of the foreigners (Ābhīras), as " the results as to the age of Ap. accord well with the history of Ābhīra migration in India which caused such a change in the spoken language of the country".

We have a number of purāṇic, inscriptional and literary references to Ābhīras and their migration and location and the remnants of their name are found all over Aryan India. To mention a few :

The Mahābhārata classes them with Śūdras dwelling on the banks of the Indus.[4] As a tribe they are mentioned with Draviḍa, Puṇḍra and Śabara[5], again with the Barbara, Yavana, Garga.[6] They encamped on the Sarasvatī which disappeared in abhorrence of them[7]. A prominent place was given to them in Droṇa's suparṇa–vyūha[8]. They attacked Arjuna when he entered the Pañcanada with Kṛṣṇa's widows.[9]

The Rāmāyaṇa classes them with Surāṣṭra, Vāhika and

1 Nāṭyaśāstra XVII–49 (Kāvyamālā Ed.).

2 Kāvyādarśa I. 36.

3 Intro. to Bh. K. pp. 59–60.

4 Mbh. Bhīṣma Parvan 305 (Cal. Ed. ii p. 344).

5 evaṃ te Draviḍābhīrāḥ Puṇḍrāś ca śabarais saha । Vṛṣalatvaṃ parigatā Vyutthānāt kṣatradharmataḥ । Mbh. XIV. 30. 16. This seems to be an attampt to class them with Kṣatriyas.

6 Mbh. II. 78. 99.

7 Mbh. II. 35. 10.

8 Mbh. IX. 37. 219 (2119 ?). } As quoted by Gune in his Intro. to Bhavisattakahā.

9 Mbh. XVI. 7. 223 or 211 (?). }

Bhadra[1] and the Maru, Anumaru and Śūra[2]. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa[3] mentions it along with Parāta, Surāṣṭra and Śūra.

Nothing definite is known as to the dates of these works and the genuineness of these passages. Manu's attempt to classify them (X, 15) and identify them with Kṣatriyas (X. 43, 45) leaves us equally in darkness as to the origin, home or history of the Ābhīras and their position in Hindu society in ancient times.

That they were a warlike tribe is admitted by all. Probably they were a nomadic people as they are associated with various peoples and provinces. Ancient Indian sociologists were puzzled as to what position should be allotted to them after assimilating them into Hinduism. Even at the time of Patañjali it was a debatable point [4] whether Ābhīras are a subcaste of Śūdras or a separate class, in which Patañjali subscribed to the latter view [5], which perhaps was included later among the Vaiśyas. [6]

Ptolemy (100 A. D.) regards them as a tribe dominating the district 'Abiria' on the Indus.[7] In 181 A. D. Kṣatrapa Rudrasiṁha speaks of his general Rudrabhūti as an Ābhīra.[8] Bharata[9] classes them with wild tribes e. g. Śabara, cāṇḍāla etc. He refers to their dialect as an uncultured dialect (a vibhāṣā) spoken by pastoral people, and locates them probably on the Indus, Sindha and the foot of the Himalayas. The Nasik cave Inscription [10] of 300 A. D. speaks of the reign of an Ābhīra prince called Īśvarasena, son of Śivadatta. In about 360 A. D. the Allahabad pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta mentions the Ābhīras together with Mālavas as powerful tribes occupying

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1 Rām. IV. 43. 5.

2 Rām. IV. 43. 19.

3 II. 3. 16.

4 Vide the discussion on the compound 'Śūdrābhīram' in the Mahābhāṣya i. 2. 3 on Pāṇini I. 2. 73.

5 iha tāvat śūdrābhīram iti Ābhīra-jātyantarāṇi । Mahābhāṣya 1. 2. 3.

6 Vaiśyabheda eva Ābhīro gavādyupajīvī । Hemacandra-Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 522.

7 Quoted by Wilson in 'Indian Caste' Vol. I, p. 111.

8 Inscriptions of Rudrasiṁha as quoted by D. R. Bhandarkar, IA, 1911, p. 16 (?) and Enthoven : Tribes and Castes of Bombay, I. p. 121.

9 Nāṭya Śāstra XVII, 49, 55, 61.

10 Quoted by Bhandarkar and Enthoven in Tribes and Castes of Bombay I.

Rājasthan, Malwa, South-western and Southern provinces just beyond the limits of the Gupta Empire.[1] Thus in the 4th cent. A. D. some Ābhīras seem to be permanently settled in Malwa and had their own ruling dynasties.

Bhandarkar-Enthoven[2] think that Purāṇas refer to the paramount sovereignty of this period after the Āndhrabhṛtyas and this sovereignty disappeared by the 6th cent. A. D. Dr. Gune thinks that, during this period and subsequently, Ap. must have begun to develop a literature of its own—a fact in keeping with the literary evidence when the Ap. appears as an important literary language. [3] They were a supreme power in Surāṣṭra as, when the Kāṭhis invaded it in circa 8th century, the country was under the sway of the Ābhīras. [4] Ferista [5] mentions a tradition that the fort of Aśirgad was built by Asa Ahir. Udbhaṭa, a Kaśmiri rhetorician of the 8th century, refers to the beauty of Ābhīra women.[6] Dhanañjaya [7] (10th cent. A. D.), Namisādhu [8] (11th cent. A.D.) and Hemacandra [9] (12th cent. A.D.) also refer to Ābhīras and their speech.

The main problem is : can we identify the speech of the Ābhīras with Ap. as we now understand it ? Or to put it in other words : is not Ap. an outcome of the normal evolution of the IA ? I admit that, being a ruling tribe for some time, they must have contributed something of their own to the development of the IA. But so were the Greeks, Śakas and Hūṇas and a number of other tribes who entered India in the early centuries of the Christain era or thereabout.

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1 Quoted by Bhandarkar and Enthoven—Ibid. V. Smith. Early History of India, p. 286. Dr. Gune thinks that Ahriwar (Sk. Ābhīravāṭa) to the south of Jhansi is perhaps the principality mentioned in the above Inscription.

2 Tribes and Castes of Bombay, I. p. 23.

3 Daṇḍin—Kāvyādarśa I. 36.

4 Enthoven—Tribes and Castes of Bombay, I. p. 24.

5 Ibid.

6 Ābhīra-vāma-nayanāhṛta-mānasasya dattaṃ mano Yadupate tadidaṃ gṛhāṇa । quoted by Apte in his Sanskrit Dictionary.

7 Daśarūpa II. 42.

8 On Rudraṭa's Kāvyālaṁkara.

9 Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi (vide 15 above).

The Ap. of Pk. grammarians shows the following peculiar features of its own:

(1) Vowel changes–a general weakening of pronunciation e. g. o>u, m>v̐.

(2) Smoothening of Prākrit conjuncts.

(3) Change of s to h in morphology.

(4) Analytic tendency in declension and conjugation resulting in reduction of cases, conjugational forms etc.

(5) Pleonastic affixes e. g. ka, ḍa, la etc.

(6) Abundance of Deśi words and Dhātvādeśas.

Being unacquainted with the Dravidian and Austro-asiatic philology I am not in a position to say anything on the last point. But are not the remaining features indicative of the normal growth of the IA? There is no necessity of assuming a foreign influence for the change of s to h for in the IA s is closely allied with h.[1]

Like some other linguistic tendencies which are not represented in literature this must have been regarded as an un-literary feature during the centuries when Pk. literature was predominant (though we have a number of cases showing the existence of this in Pk. literature) till at last it became popular with the elite and was freely used during the so-called Ap. stage of the IA.

General weakening in pronunciation resulting in vowel changes and smoothening of conjuncts and analytic tendency in declension and conjugation are in no way peculiar to Ap. Inscriptional and literary Pks. (including Pali and Amg.) show them (vide Bloch : L'Indo-Aryen). Pleonastic affixes e. g. -ka, -al (e. g. bālaka, dayālu, kṛpālu) are an inheritance from Sk.

So there is nothing peculiar to Ap. which we must attribute to foreign tribes. That Ābhīrī might have been a dialect of Ap. in which literature was composed is understandable and we have the authority of Namisādhu,[2] who records a traditional classifi-

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[1] Vide Bloch : L'Indo-Aryen on L'Aspiree.

[2] tathā Prākṛtam evā 'pabhraṃs' aḥ । sa cānyair upanāgarābhīr-grāmyatva-bhedena tridhoktas tannirasanārtham uktaṃ । etc. on Rudraṭa II. 12.

cation of Ap. in which Ābhīrī is a dialect and finally adds that Ābhīrī though a sub-dialect of Ap. is also seen in Māgadhī. So Māgadhī also seems to have one dialect of this name as noted by Namisādhu.[1]

At this stage of my studies I am inclined to believe that Ābhīrī is *one* of the dialects of Ap.; its identification with Nāgara i. e. literary or cultured Ap. (not necessarily of the Nāgara Brahmins of Gujrat) is doubtful. A bulk of Ap. literature, though composed out of Gujrat, is regarded as Nāgara Ap. Lyrics etc. must have been composed in the Ābhīrī just as there are a number of songs etc. in the Ahirāṇī of today. But its identification as a synonym for Ap. is doubtful.

Ābhīrī-bhāṣāpabhraṃśasthā kvacid Māgadhyāṃ api dṛśyate। Ibid

X^V AĒTVA-DAθA IN AVESTA.

BY

IRACH J. S. TARAPOREWALA

In *SBE*. 18 (pp. 389–430) E. W. West has a long dissertation on the practice of *x^vaētūk-das* as mentioned in the Pahlavi works. It is a very exhaustive dissertation and the author has mentioned practically every passage in Pahlavi literature known to him in which the word occurs, or where the practice is referred to.

In modern times among the Zoroastrians, both of Iran and of India, the word means " marriage of near relatives " i. e. of first cousins. This certainly seems to have been the sense in some of the passages quoted by West. But in the majority of the passages quoted the meaning is very clearly, and in explicit words, that given to it by European scholars, viz., " incestuous marriage between father and daughter, mother and son or brother and sister ". Greek, Roman, Armenian, Arab and Chinese writers have mentioned this practice as having been in vogue amongst the Iranians. So shocking is the very idea to our modern sense of decency that Parsi scholars have made valiant attempts to prove that the word *x^vaētūk-das* means merely " marriage of near relatives " i. e. of first cousins and that it never meant the incestuous marriages such as have been described by Greek, Roman and other " foreign " writers. The most notable attempt in this direction has been that of Dastur Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana in his paper entitled " The Alleged Practice of Next of Kin Marriages in Old Iran " (London, 1888)[1].

1. This paper has been reprinted as an appendix to his book, *Zarathushtra in the Gâthâs and the Classics* (pp. 205–226). It is also included in his *Collected Works* (Bombay, 1932, pp. 462–499). Mention might also be made of Dastur Darab's other dissertation on "The Position of Zoroastrian Women in Remote Antiquity" (*Collected Works*, pp. 506–524) where also this matter has been touched upon. A. V. W. Jackson in his *Zoroastrian Studies* (New York, 1928) gives a useful bibliography of this subject (p. 139, ftn. 19). He mentions there, besides Dastur Darab, the following: E. W. West in *SBE*., 18, pp. 389–430; L. C. Cassertelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnan Religion under the Sassanids*, pp. 156–160; J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, i, pp. 126–134; H. Hübschmann, " Ueber die persische Verwandtenheirath " in *ZDMG*., 43 (1889), pp. 308–312; Rapp, " Die Religion und Sitte der Perser und den übrigen Iranier nach den griechischen und römischen Quellen" in *ZDMG*., 19 (1865), pp. 1–89 and 20 (1866), pp. 49–143; Buch, *Zoroastrian Ethics*, pp. 129–132; and L. H. Gray in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 8, pp. 456–459. The last named is particularly illuminating.

The contention of West is fully borne out by the evidence he has collected, and he asserts emphatically that " in the Pahlavi translations and writings of the better class, which, in their present form, probably range from the sixth to the ninth century, we find many references to Khvêtûk-das between those next of kin[2], and only one obscure reference to the marriage of first cousins ". He goes on to say that " marriages between the nearest relations are defended chiefly by reference to mythical and metaphysical statements regarding the creation, and to the practice of the progenitors of mankind; they are also advocated with all the warmth and vehemence that usually indicate much difficulty in convincing the laity, and this zealous vehemence increases as we descend to the dark ages of the Pahlavi Rivâyat, the compilation of which may perhaps be attributed to some writer of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Unless, therefore, the Parsis determine to reject the evidence of such Pahlavi works as the Pahlavi Yasna, the Book of Ardâ Vîrâf, the Dînkard, and the Dâdistân-î Dînîk, or to attribute those books to heretical writers, they must admit that their priests, in the later days of the Sasanian dynasty, and for some centuries subsequently, strongly advocated such next-of-kin marriages, though, probably, with little success. That a practice now reprobated by all Parsis should have been formerly advocated by their priests, need not excite the surprise of those who consider how slavery was advocated by many Christians, on spiritual grounds within the present generation[3], and how the execution of supposed witches was similary advocated a few generations ago".[4]

In later days, in the Persian Rivāyats, "which may have commenced from the fifteenth century", we find that the word x^v*aētūk-das* means the marriage of first cousins and that there are "obscure allusions made to the other forms as being long extinct".[5]

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2. West means here union between father and daughter, mother and son, or brother and sister, as the context clearly shows.

3. *SBE.* 18 was published in 1882.

4. The quotations are from West in *SBE.* 18, pp. 427-428.

5. Quotations from West, loc. cit. The marriage of first cousins (specially of the children of two brothers) is regarded as particularly desirable among orthodox Zoroastrian Iranis even to this day. Until quite recently such married

It would be interesting to investigate the use of the word in the extant Avesta texts. Hübschmann has treated the question fairly well in the *ZDMG.*, 43 (1889), pp. 308–312. But the subject might be treated *de novo.*

The corresponding Avesta word is x^v*aētva-daθa*. It is obviusly a compound formation of which the first member (x^v*aētva*) is from the pronoun x^v*a-*. This pronoun is found as x^v*a-*, *hva-*[6] or *hava-* and it means "one's self" or when it is used adjectivally it means "one's own";[7] cf. Skt. स्व, Lat, *su-us* etc. The Sanskrit translations almost always render this by स्व (or some compound formation with स्व) wherever the word occurs, for the Pahlavi almost always has x^v*ēś-* (Mod. Pers. خویش *khwēsh*). As compounds with x^v*a* as first member may be quoted x^v*a-δāta* (natural, lit. self-created) in contrast to *sti-δāta*[8]; x^v*a-θwarəśta* (self-produced) etc. We also get the adverbial x^v*atō* (स्वतः) several times in the Vendidād.

From this pronoun we find other derivative words: x^v*aēta*, x^v*aētāt* and x^v*aētav* (°*tu*). Of these x^v*aēta* is found only once in the Gāθā Ahunavaiti (Yas. 34.12). Bartholomae, rather strangely, it seems to me, translates the word as "good to follow",[9] deriving it from x^v*a* (regarded as variant of *hu*) and *-ita*, past participle of *i*, to go. The x^v*a* as a variant of *hu* is quite possible, especially as the *u* changes to *v* in combination with the following vowel;[10] but still there are other difficulties in the way of accepting this explanation of Bartholomae. The corresponding Sanskrit form would be सुवित. In the first place the *guna* grade in the Avesta would be hard to explain, for with the past participial ending *ta* the root is

(*Continued from privious page*)

couples were regarded as even sacred, so much so that one could recite one's prayers in front of such persons in the absence of other lights.

6. *hva* has been often used in the Avesta as an emphatic pronoun, in the sense of "even he" or "he alone", as in Yas. 29.4,8 etc. See Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 1844 f.

7. Barth., *Wb.* 1783 ff., 1845 f., 1858.

8. Ven. 2,40; the Skt. rendering, quoted by Barth. (*Wb.* 182), is स्वयंदत्तः

9. *Wb.* 1858 (gut zu gehen, wohlgangbar).

10. Cf. x^v*afna* in Yas. 30.3, which I take to mean "well-working" or "skilful". Cf. Skt. स्वपसः in RV. 10.63.3 and 78.1, see Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*, 1627.

always in the weak grade. But a more formidable difficulty would be the construing with the *past* participle. The actual passage (Yas. 34. 12) is:

sīšā nāo Ašā paθō Vaŋhəuš x^v*aētəng Manaŋhō*

Bartholomae translates thus: "Teach us through Aša the paths of Vohu Manah (which are) good to follow".[11] The rendering "good to follow" (wohlgangbar) for a past participle seems to me rather strained.

Spiegel seems more on the right lines when be renders this as "the paths which belong to Vohu Manō" i. e. which are his own, taking x^v*aētəūš* as from x^v*a-*. The sense seems to be "the paths that are specially pointed out by Vohu Mano ".

The next derivative, x^v*aētāt*, occurs twice (Yas. 20. 1 and 39. 5) and in both places with the third derivative x^v*aētav-(°tu).* Yas. 20.1 reads :

para ahmāi vohu vahištəm cinašti, yaθa x^v*aētave* x^v*aētātəm.*

All scholars, though differing somewhat in the exact details, are agreed in regarding both the last words as derived from x^v*a-*(स्व) "oneself" and the general sense of these two words seems to be "the most special (i. e. precious) possession of one's own self".[12]

The other passage (Yas 39. 5) is from Yasna Haptaŋhāiti, a fairly ancient text of the Avesta,[13] and is as follows :

vaŋhəuš x^v*aētātā* x^v*aētuš vaŋhəuš Ašahyā θwā pairi-jasāmaide.*

Here too the phrase x^v*aētuš* x^v*aētātā* should have the same sense as in the former passage; the wish expressed is to "reach Thee (Ahura Mazda) through the x^v*āētāt* of the good x^v*aētuš* and of holy Aša ".

And so we must now try to make out the sense of x^v*aētav-(°tu).* This word is found in a number of passages besides the two just

11. Moulton (*Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 363) renders this rather freely as "blessed to go in ", but even thus the difficulty of construing the *past* participle remains.

12. Barth. (*Wb.* 1859) says "dem Zugehörigen als Zubehör"; Harlez. (*Avesta*², Paris, 1881, p. 305) translates "une qualité essentielle à celui qui la possède."

13. Through internal evidence of language and contents it seems to be next to the Gāθās in age. It comprises chapters 35-42 of the Yasna.

considered, which, it may be noted, are from the older Avesta texts. There are altogether nine other passages in which the word occurs and seven of these are from the Gāθās, one from the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti (Yas. 40. 4) and one is a rather pointless quotation from Yas. 33. 4 (Gāθā Ahunavaiti) in the Vīṣtāspa Yaś.[14] So this last may be left out of consideration completely. It is further to be noted that in only two of these passages is the word used by itself, these are both from the Gāθās, viz., Yas. 46. 5 (Spentāmainyu) and Yas. 53. 4 (Vahiṣtoiśti). In the remaining six the word is associated with *vərəzena* and *airyaman.*[15]

Hence we should first consider the meaning of the three words *x^vaētav-*, *vərəzana* and *airyaman* and then try to make out why these three have been mentioned together so often. Bartholomae thinks that these three words refer to the three chief "classes" of Zoroastrian society and that they represent warriors, agriculturists and priests respectively. But among the passages where these three words appear (Yas, 32. 1; 33. 3; and 48. 4; 46. 1; and 49. 7) there is only one (Yas. 49. 7) where these words occur in the proper order (priest, warrior, agriculturist) if Bartholomae's suggestion is accepted. In all the rest *x^vaētav-* is first and except in Yas. 46.5 *vərəzena* always comes before *airyaman.* This in itself would go against Bartholomae's suggestion that these three words denote the three "classes" of the Aryans.[16] Throughout all literature, both in Iran as well as in India, the order has always been – priest, warrior, agirculturist.

It seems moreover intrinsically impossible that Zarathushtra should mention these "classes" in ths Gāθās. Moulton has doubts if "there was any priestly order at all in Zarathustra's system". He thinks that "the exclusion of the old Aryan *āθravan* from the

14. Barth., *Wb.* 1859 (under *x^vaētav-*), note 1.

15. In Yasna Haptaŋhāiti (Yas. 40.4) *haxeman* has been used instead of *airyaman.*

16. Commenting on this Moulton remarks that in these passages *airyaman* always stands last, "a modesty which the priestly class has nowhere else shown" (*EZ*, p. 355, ftn. 2). He also points out that Justi has noticed this as well.

Gāθās can hardly be accidental".[17] Moulton also notes that perhaps the earliest hint of a priestly class, as such, is in Yasna Haptaŋhāiti (Yas. 42. 6).[18] The " four classes " are mentioned by name in Yas. 19. 17, where the name for " caste " is *piśtra*,[19] which, like the Sanskrit वर्ण, has originally the meaing of "colour" and "suggests the presence of distinct races". Moulton therefore comes to the conclusion that " we can hardly understand the Gathas on the assumption that Zarathushtra himself belonged to a separate and higher priestly caste". I fully agree that no teacher of a new faith, certainly not a teacher of the eminence of Zarathushtra, would ever arrogate to himself a special position in a class higher than that of the people whom he addressed. Probably the germ of the caste-system did exist in ancient Aryan polity, but neither in the Gāθās nor in the contemporary portions of the Vedas is there any evidence of the caste-system as we know it in later history.

It seems, however, that the three words *x^vaētav* (*°tu*), *vərəzəna* and *airyaman* do refer to different groups of people. They are most probably groups of the disciples of the prophet. We might be almost justified in regarding them as the various " orders " of the disciples arranged by the Prophet in the order of their spiritual knowledge and their ability to help actively in the work of the Teacher. We have various similar orders of the disciples of the Buddha, and we also read of the *Asḥāb* (Companions) and various other groups associated with Muhammad. Of the three the most worthy and the most helpful seem to have been the *x^vaētav* and the *vərəzəna* and the *airyaman* are evidently next in importance.

The word *airyaman* occurs also as the name of a divine being both in the Avesta and in the Veda. In the Ṛgveda, though the name occurs quite a hundred times, still the deity "is so destitute of individual characteristics that in the *Naighaṇṭuka* he is passed over in the list of gods ".[20] The word has often the connotation of "comrade"

17. Moultion, loc. cit.
18. Op. cit., p. 116.
19. Barth, *Wb*. 908.
20. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 45.

or " friend " and is apparently used in that sense both in the Veda and in the Avesta. The one Ha of the Yasna (54) specially devoted to Airyaman as a deity is appropriately recited during the Zoroastrian marriage service, because this ancient Aryan deity represents comradeship. Hence it seems to me that very appropriately the general " brotherhood " of Zoroaster's followers has been called *airyaman.*

Among the believers there must have been some active workers, people who took a share in the establishment of the new order and who worked actively in opposing the ancient "faith of the Daēvas".[21] These active workers among the followers of Zarsthushtra would rightly be named *vərəzena*, from the root *vərəz*, to work, to be active.

Finally came the x^{v}*aētav*, a word which is cognate with the Sanskrit स्वतवस्, which is used several times in the Ṛgveda in the sense of " powerful within oneself " or "self-reliant".[22] These were the people who had been following the methods of spiritusl culture taught by the Master, and they built up a sort of " spiritual noblesse " within the fold.

Thus the three, *airyaman*, *vərəzena* and x^{v}*aētav*, represent three grades among the followers of Zarathushtra. I would provisionally render these names by Friends, Co-workers and Self-reliant respectively. And these renderings fit the passages where they occur.[23]

Now we come to the compound x^{v}*aētva-daθa*, which occurs both in the masculine and the feminine forms, °*daθa* and °*daθā* (°*daiθi*). This compound occurs several times in the Avesta, but *not* in the Gāθās. Its two chief occurances are in Yas. 12. 9 (which is linguistically the earliest) and Vis. 3. 3. The latter passage is repeated in Gāh 4. 8 with only the change of the verb *āstāya* (I instal) to *yazamaide* (we worship, or revere). This same passage is also repeated in the Vīštāspa Yašt (17) with the cases changed from the accusative to the genitive.

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21. In Yas. 32.1 there is a mention of the Daēvas side by side with these three groups of Zarathushtra's followers. The word *daēva* here (as also elsewhere in the Gāθās) merely means a follower of the older form of worship.

22. Grassmann, *Wb*. 1622.

23. A good discussion of these three is also to be found in P. Thieme, *Der Fremdling in Rigveda* (Leipzig 1938), chap, 4 (pp. 101-107).

The most remarkable occurrence of *x^vaētva-daθa* is in Ven. 8. 13, where it is found twice, once as masculine and once as feminine. This passage is clearly a later one and the clause in which both these forms occur is probably a later interpolation. This passage has been discussed in some detail in the Appendix.

In the Pahlavi version of all these Avesta passages the word *x^vaētva-daθa* has been rendered by *x^vaētuk-dak.* This seems to be merely a transcription of the Avesta word and therefore it gives us no clue as to the original meaning of the word in the Avesta.[24] The Pahlavi word however is always translated, as we have already seen, as " marriage with next of kin " or, if used as an adjective, it means " one who has consummated such a union. "

Bartholomae derives *x^vaētva-daθa* from *x^vaētav-*(one's own kin) and *vadaθa* (marriage), and he gives to it the sense "one who marries his (or her) next of kin, " or where it applies to the religion (as in Yas. 12. 9) he takes it to mean " where next of kin marriage is ordained ".[25] In this derivation the *vadaθa* is only a hypothetical word postulated from the root *vad-*, to lead, which with *upa* means " to marry ". Bartholomae gives as cognates Church Slavic *veda-* and Lithuanian *vedu*, I marry. He also quotes two occurrences of *upa- vad* from Ven. (4.44 and 14.15)[26]. This derivation, however, has been disputed by Justi[27], who maintains that the Pahlavi form *x^vaētūk-das* or *x^vētūk-das* is a mere transcription and that if it had been derived as suggested it should have been *x^vaētōdaθa.*[28]

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24. Nairyosang's Sanskrit version of Yas. 12.9 also merely transcribes the Avasta word षुअप्तुअद्थवतीम् which he explains further as षुअप्तुअद्थं पतस्याः प्रकटं किल युज्यते पव कर्तुम् (i. e. the religion in which the *x^vaētva-daθa* is performed in a large measure). Note that x^v is transcribed as षुअ.

25. *Wb.* 1860.

26. Ibid, 1343 f. Barth. has made this suggestion of deriving the word in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, i. l. 268.12 (p. 155.) By the ordinary rules of Avesta orthography *x^vaētu-vadaθa* would become *x^vaētvadaθa.*

27. See *Grund. d. iran. Phil.*, ii. p. 434 and ftn.

28. See specially his remarks (loc. cit., ftn. 6) where he seems to agree with Dastur Darab.

Hence he suggests that the Avesta word does not mean any sort of marriage at all[28].

If we examine all the passages (except Ven. 8.13) dispassionately and without prejudice[29] it would be clear that the meaning sought to be given to *x^vaētva-daθa* by Bartholomae does not fit in at all. In Yas. 12.9 the context is about the finest traits of the Māzdayasna Faith of which *x^vaētva-daθa* is one of the epithets. The passage says:

" I solemnly dedicate myself to the excellent religion of Mazda-worship, which is quarrel-removing, weapen-lowering, *x^vaētva-daθa* and holy... "

Common sense should suggest that in accord with the high ethical sense of the rest *x^vaētva-daθa* should be something equally elevating. It is strange that Western scholars have been content to give the *Pahlavi* sense to the Avesta word and thus have dragged in the next-of-kin marriage which is entirely unsuited to the context. Kanga, I think, has struck the right note when he renders this word by " self-devoted " or " patriotic ", i. e. " devoted to the welfare of his native country ". He also gives another sense पोतावतपणुं आपनार " giving relationship or family connection ", which suggests the development of family affections rather than next-of-kin marriages[30].

Among European scholars Hübschmann is the one who has approached this question " dispassionately and without prejudice ".[31] In discussing this passage he definitely says that the dragging in next–of–kin marriage is out of the question. He also quotes Geldner in support.[32]

29. By " dispassionately and without prejudice " I mean here not being led away by the meaning of the seeming Pahlavi derivative like *x^vaētūk-das*. It is obviously wrong to understand a word in an earlier text in the sense it acquired at a later period.

30. See his *Dictionary of the Avesta Language*, p. 158.

31. In his article mentioned above in ftn. 1.

32. Geldner in his *Studien zum Avesta* has translated this passage (p. 134) where he has put in the usual next-of-kin marriage, but in a note (p. 137) he doubts whether this rendering is quite suitable and correct.

The other passage where the word occurs is Vīsparad 3.3, which is repeated with slight changes in Gāh 4.8 and in Vīśtāspa Yaśt 17. Here too the context is against dragging in next–of–kin marriage. This passage (Vīs. 3.3) may be translated thus :

" I instal the youth of good thoughts, of good words, of good deeds and of good conscience. I instal the youth, the declarer of the message. I instal (the youth who is) *x^v aētva-daθa.* I instal him who goes about (teaching) through the land. I instal (him) full of wisdom, who travels about (teaching)".

Here too the whole spirit of the passage rules out entirely the bringing in of next–of–kin marriage.

We have already seen above that *x^v aētav–* (°*tu*) can be best translated as " self–reliant " or " independent in spirit ". The meaning has to be something uplifting and ethical. The word *x^v aētva-daθa* may therefore best be taken as made up from *x^v aētu-* or some cognate form with the addition of *daθa* a derivative from the root *dā*, to give, or *dā*, to hold. The meaning of the whole compound would therefore be " which holds to self–reliance ", when applied to the faith (i. e. teaching this virtue), and when applied to the youth it would mean " who is self–reliant " (i. e. independent in spirit). This sense suits the context of both passages far better than next–of–kin marriage. One of the fundamental teachings of Zarathushtra is the complete " spiritual independence " of man.[33] Spiritual perfection is to be attained by every person's own effort,[34] and self–reliance is therefore a cardinal virtue.

By way of supporting the idea that next-of-kin marriages were ordained even in the earlier texts, Bartholomae mentions as an instance Queen Hutaosa, the wife of King Vīśtāspa, who, he asserts, was also his sister.[35] But Moulton has shown that this view will not stand critical examination, and that there is nothing in the text quoted by Bartholomae (Yaśt 15. (Rām Yt.) 35) to support this contention.[36]

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33. Another suggestion is to take *x^v aētva* as equivalent to Skt. स्वत्व i. e., independence (selfhood), or realisation of the self.
34. Cf. Yas. 30.2.
35. *Wb.* 1822.
36. *EZ.*, pp. 206 f.

From all this discussion it seems quite clear that the word x^{v}*aētva-daθa* in the Avesta does *not* refer to "next-of-kin" marriage, but that it means "holding to self-reliance". This is in consonance with Zarathushtra's teaching that every man is free to choose his own path in life and that consquently each must develop the virtue of self-reliance.

In later Pahlavi writings the word x^{v}*aētūk-das* did certainly mean "next-of-kin marriage", and it would seem that in Ven. 8. 13 the Avesta word is also used in the same sense. But that passage is certainly an interpolation of the Pahlavi days and as evidence it is absolutely worthless, It is obviously illogical to give to a word used in some of the earlier texts the secondary meaning it came to acquire at a period when the spirit of the ancient faith had deteriorated and a lot of questionable practices had crept in.

APPENDIX.

Vendidād, 8. 13.

Ths passage of the Vendidād in which the word x^{v}*aētva-daθa* occurs is a very wierd one. Its contents mark it out as belonging to a very late period of Zoroastrian history and as depicting a very much degraded form of the faith.

The passage concerns the purification of corpse-bearers after having handled the dead body and a question is asked as to what urine is to be used for the purpose. The reply is:

āat[1] *mraot*[2] *Ahurō*[3] *Mazdāo*[4] :

"*pasvąm*[5] *vā*[6] *staōram*[7] *vā*[8]; *nōit*[9] *naram*[10] *nōit*[11] *nāirinam*[12], *paragət*[13] *dvaēibya*[14], *yōi*[15] *aŋhən*[16] x^{v}*aētva-daθaś*[17]*-ca*[18] x^{v}*aētva-daiθiś*-[19]*ca*[20]: *aēte*[21] *maēsma*[22] *maēzayanta*[23], *yaēibyē*[24] *aēte*[25] *nasu*[26]*-kaṣa*[27] *frasnyāonte*[28] *varəsāos*[29] *-ca*[30] *tanūm*[31]*-ca.*[32]"

Translation :

Thereupon said Ahura Mazda[37] :

37. It was the common practice of the later writers of Zoroastrian Theology to put their dogmas in the form of questions and answers. The question is usually put in the mouth of Zarathushtra *pərəsat Zaraθuśtrō Ahurəm Mazdam...* (Zarathusthra asked Ahura Mazda...) and invariably Ahura Mazda answers as in the passage quoted. Thus the composers of the Vendidād sought to get a double sanction and sanctification for the wierdest of dogmas and religious practices.

"(The urine should be) either of small cattle or of large cattle; not of men nor of women, except the two who are a man who is x^v*aētva-daθa* and a woman who is x^v*aētva-daiθi*: let them discharge urine, in which these corpse-bearers may wash (their) hair and (their) bodies".

The whole tone of the subject-matter as also the language of the passage shows clearly that it was composed during the period of the degradation of the Zoroastrian religion.[38] The very idea of the passage is so very wierd and revolting that the late Ervad Kavasji Edalji Kanga was constrained to twist the words and the construction in order that he may not shock his readers. His translation is original as well as ingenious.

Upto the words "not of men nor of women" he agrees with all other translators. Then he goes on in his peculiar fashion:

"(of the cattle large or small) which he has got in his stalls (lit. which he has kept for himself) both male and female, he should collect the (fresh) urine coming out of their bodies, he should make them pass urine, in which..."(The rest agrees with the others.)

The difficulty for Kangaji begins with the 13th word *paragət*. He begins by saying that the word is "puzzling" and after a rather fanciful derivation he concludes that the word would mean "exuding or coming out of the body". Then he construes it as an adjective qualifying the 22nd word *maēsma*, and he adds that the phrase *paragət maēsma* might mean "fresh exuded urine". Connecting up two far saparated words is palpably absurd. Then again he renders the words x^v*aētva-daθa* and x^v*aētva-daiθi* most ingeniously as male and female animals "which he has got in his stalls" (lit. which he has kept for himself).[39] But in the glossary appended to the first edi-

38. "The grammatical chaos which prevails so often in the prose parts of the Avesta demonstrates that the later Avestan dialect was dead when these belated efforts at composition were made. They may therefore very well be due to the Sassanian editors themselves, to whom in any case we owe the collection and preservation of our Avesta" (Moulton, *EZ.*, p. 34).

39. See his Gujarāti translation of the Vendidād (1st ed. 1874), part i, pp. 91-92.

tion of the Vendidād he gives the usual meaning "marriage with relations" adding in brackets the words "original sense".[40]

This is certainly most ingenious, but it is not at all convincing and it goes against all principles of grammar. It must, however, be mentioned in justice to Kangaji, that he was practically forced to resort to such methods because he had made up his mind to defend the teaching of the Vendidād against the attacks of Dr. John Wilson and other Chriatian missionaries and therefore he had to produce a translation which would not shock the orthodox feelings of the Zoroastrians of his day.[41]

The time has now arrived, however, to face the truth squarely and to admit that there is much that is undesirable in the Avesta and Pahlavi writings which had hitherto passed as "sacred revelations". Many passages represent later degraded beliefs or ancient forms of magic and superstition, which had been actually denounced by the Prophet but which had crept in again during the period of decay. A careful investigation of the history and origin of these beliefs and of the circumstances in which they were introduced within the body of Zoroastrian dogma should be undertaken, for thus alone could we hope to get a truer perspective of Zoroastrian culture.

Except Kangaji no other scholar (certainly no western scholar) has tried to gloss over this passage from the Vendidād. Spiegel translates x^{v}*aētva-daθa* here as "relatives" (Verwandten).[42] Harlez is more explicit, for he translates: "excepté de deux genere de personnes, ceux et celles qui ont épousés des parents du premier degré". He also adds a very clear footnote:[43] "Ce genre d'inceste, recommandé par la loi religieuse de l'Eran faisait obtenir un mérite supérieur á ceux qui l'avaient commis; de là, la singulière faveur dont ils sont ici les objets".

40. Op. cit., part ii, p. 70.

41. At the end of his translation (part i, pp. 251–303) he replies at length to the various attacks made by the missionaries on the Parsi religion, particularly on the Vendidād.

42. Spiegel, *Avesta die heiligen Schriften der Parsen* (1859), I, p. 142; in Bleeck's English rendering (1864) it is on p. 70.

43. Harlez, *Avesta*, p. 91, and ftn. 4.

Bartholomae's rendering is also quite explicit, he renders *x^vaētva-daθa* as " in Sippenehe lebender (Mann)" (a man living in consanguinous union).[44]

The translation should therefore be :

Thereupon[1] said[2] Ahura[3] Mazda :[4]

"(The urine should be) either[6] of small cattle[5] or[8] of large cattle;[7] not[9] of men[10] nor[11] of women,[12] except[13] the two[14], who[15] are[16] the man-who-has-married-his-next-of-kin[17] and[18] the woman-who has-married-her-next-of-kin :[19] let them[21] discharge[23] urine,[22] in which[24] these[25] corpse[26]–bearers[27] shall-wash-clean[28] (their) hair[29] and[30] (their) bodies.[31] (ca[20] and ca[32] have been left out in the translation.)

Annotations :

paraqᵊt–This is the word which had " puzzled " Kangaji. It is the acc. sg. neu. of *parāonk* or *parāk* and it has been used here adverbially ;[45] cf. Skt. पराञ्चू (पराक्), which is itself derivable from परा and अञ्चू (अन्चू). The word literally means " going beyond " or " getting away from ", hence the meaning is here " being outside (a general rule) ", i. e. "excepting ". The meaning suggested by Kangaji might be fitted in but certainly not his construction.

maēsma maēzayaūta – The two words are cognate, the first being the acc. plu. and meaning " urine ". [46] The second word is the causal form of the root *maēz* which is cognate with Skt. मेहते, Grk. *miasma* (soiled) and Homeric *mi inō* (to sully, to make dirty). [47] The word is used in the Avesta for " urine " used as a means of ritual purification, The word is often defined specifically as *gao-maēza* or " bull's urine ".

It may be added here that Hübschmann definitely thinks that the words *paragᵊt.... x^vaētva-daiθiś–ca* are a later interpolation. [49] I fully agree with him and think that this interpolation was made by one of the priests of the degraded form of Zoroastrianism which prevailed in the last days of the Sasanians and continued for two or three centuries after the Arab conquest.

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44. In Wolff's rendering *Avesta, die heiligen Bücher der Parser* (1924), based on Barth.'s *Wb.*, this passage occurs at p. 366.
45. Barth., *Wb.* 860.
46. Ibid. 1180. The word is always used in the plural.
47. E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire ètymologique de la langue grecque.*
48. For the ritual use of urine see Schrader, *Reallexicon*, 1021.
49. Op. cit., p. 309.

THE SHEET ANCHOR OF INDIAN HISTORY

BY

D. S. TRIVEDA

It was Sir William Jones[1], the founder of the Royal Asiatic Society, who in 1795 supplied the so-called sheet-anchor of Indian Chronology. He was struck with the resemblance between the name of Candragupta and that of Sandracottus of the Greeks. He assumed the date of Candragupta to be the same as that of Seleucus and thus reduced those of preceding events to a form more consistent with the European notions of history and chronology. Professor H. H. Wilson puts forth the following arguments[2] to support 'fully and fairly' the above supposition. They are: the resemblance among the names of Candragupta, of Xandrames by which Diodorus calls Sandracottus, and of Candramas by which he is sometimes designated by Indian authors; his low birth, and his usurpation, the situation of his kingdom as described by Megasthenes; the name of his people Prasii with the Greeks, corresponding to Prācyas, the term applied by Hindu geographers to the tract in which Magadha is situated; and his capital, which the Greeks call Palibothra, and the Hindus call Pāṭaliputra.

Jones gave no argument for his identification. It was just and proper that he should have only pointed it out, as he was not then acquainted with any other Candragupta but Candragupta Maurya of Viśākhadatta's Mudrārākṣasa. Professor Wilson entered the controversy and tried to give weight to Jones's conjecture but did not go deep into the matter. Mount Stuart Elphinstone declared[3] that the effect of the inconsistency (regarding Candragupta's date) would not be sufficient to prevent our retaining a strong conviction of the identity of Candragupta and Sandracottus even if no further proof had been obtained.

It was Professor Max Müller who took up the subject[4] seriously and considered at length the problem of Indian chronology. In spite of his vast learning and sincerity of purpose he could not es-

1. Asiatic Researches, IV. p. xxxii; p. 11.
2. Hindu Theatre, III. 3.
3. History of India, London, 1911, p. 152.
4. A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature by F.Max Müller, (Pāṇini Press Edition), pp. 134-154.

cape his natural bias and temperamental predilection towards Greek veracity and authority and the consequent poor opinion of the Hindu, Buddhist, and Jaina historians and chroniclers of India. To him it seemed useless to find out which of the chronological systems (of the northern Buddhists, of the southern Buddhists, and the system of the Purāṇas) is the most plausible; and it would make confusion worse confounded if we attempted a combination of the three. 'According to Chinese chronology Aśoka would have lived 850 or 750 years before Christ, and according to Ceylonese chronology, 315 years B.C. Either of these dates is impossible because it does not agree with the chronology of Greece, and hence both the Chinese and Ceylonese dates must be given up as equally valueless for historical calculations. There is but one means through which the history of India can be connected with that of Greece, and its chronology can be reduced to its proper limits. Although we look in vain in the literature of the Brāhmaṇas or Buddhists for any allusion to Alexander's conquest, and although it is impossible to identify any of the historical events, related by Alexander's companions, with historical traditions of India, one name has fortunately been preserved by classical writers who describe the events immediately following Alexander's conquest, to form a connecting link between the history of East and West. This is the name of Sandracottus or Sandrocyptus, the Sanskrit Candragupta.'

According to Prof. Max Müller the identification admits of no reasonable doubt. If it is objected that the Greeks called the king of the powerful empire beyond the Indus, Xandrames, or Aggramen, the learned professor would suggest that Aggramen is a mere misspelling for Xandrames. He maintained at first that the two names Xandrames (= Candramas, a synonym of the moon) and Sandracottus (=Candragupta, the protected of the moon) were intended for one and the same king. But later on he admitted that Xandrames was undoubtedly intended as different from Candragupta and Xandrames must have been a king of the Prasii before Sandracottus, and during the time of Alexander's wars. At the time of Alexander's invasion Sandracottus was very young, and being obliged to fly before Alexander, whom he had offended, he collected bands of robbers, and with their help succeeded in establishing the freedom of India. Plutarch says distinctly that Sandracottus reigned soon after Xandrames, and according to Justin it was Sandracottus and not Xandrames who waged wars with the captains of Alexander and hence Xandrames must

be a different king from Sandracottus. According to Mccrindle[5], Diodorus distorts the name of Sandracottus into Xandrames and this again is distorted by Curtius into Agrammes. The name of Candragupta is written by the Greeks as Sandrokottos, Sandrakottas, Sandrakottos, Androkottos and Sandrokuptus. Prof. Max Müller is compelled to remark that 'every attempt to go beyond, and to bring the chronology of the Buddhists and Brāhmaṇas into harmony has proved a failure' and yet he concludes 'whatever changes may have to be introduced into the earlier chronology of India, nothing will ever shake the date of Candragupta (Maurya). That date is the sheet-anchor of Indian chronology.'

The identification of Candraupta Maurya with Sandracottus of Greeks seems to have been the greatest mistake ever committed in the field of Indian chronology, literature and history. This sheet-anchor of Indian chronology has been accepted by many historians of repute without examining it seriously. Texts have been amended and distorted, dates changed and traditions trampled under foot to suit this identification since A. C. 1795. Troyer in his valuable edition of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, Coopiah in his Ancient History of India and T. S. Narayan Sastri in his Age of Śaṁkara tried to refute this identification and suggest that the Sandrakottus of the Greeks was really Candragupta the founder of the Gupta Dynasty. The last tried to tear off this wrong synchronism to pieces but the untimely icy hands of death separated him from us and in him India lost a scholar of an independent school of research. I would try to show that the three sets of names, viz. Xandrames, Sandrocottus and Sandrokuptus represent different kings and Alexander invaded India in the time of Candragupta I of the Gupta Dynasty and not during the early days of the Mauryan Empire.

The Greeks are uniform in their account in applying the name Xandrames, Andrames or Agramen to the last king of the empire conquered and superseded by the founder of the new dynasty at Pāṭaliputra, who was actually reigning there at the time of Alexander's invasion. Quintus Curtius (IX. 2) says, 'that the father of Xandrames had murdered the king, and under the pretence of acting as guardian to his sons got them into his power and put them to death; that after their extermination he

5. Translation of the Fragments of the Indica of Magasthenes, collected by Dr. E. A. Schwanbeck : Bonn, 1846, edited by J. W. McCrindle, 1877, p. 45 n. and further references in the same book.

begot the son who was then king, and who, more worthy of his father's consideration than his own, was odious and contemptible to his subjects.' The names have been hopelessly confused. Here Xandrames stands for Samudragupta whose father Candragupta I had murdered the king Candraśrī (=Xandrames) who was the penultimate king of the Āndhra Dynasty. This king Candraśrī had a very short reign of 3 years only. Candragupta I as a Senāpati acted as the guardian of the sons of Candraśrī[6] who was murdered along with his sons. He begot a son of the queen of Candraśrī and perhaps the son was named Pulomā who was odious and contemptible and was a king merely in name for 7 years only. Thereafter putting this his own child also to death, he became the king himself and founded a new dynasty of the Guptas. The name Androkottos also may point to the Āndhra Dynasty meaning Āndhragupta i. e. the protector of the Andhras–a title that might have been assumed in his early years by Candragupta I. Moreover, the Purāṇas ascribe to Candragupta I also a period of 7 years only and a similar number of years is ascribed to Pulomā (Kalyāṇavarman of the Kaumudī–Mahotsava) the last of the Āndhras.[6a] According to K. P. Jayaswal, Candragupta I, having his caste against him and being somewhat of a usurper, was disliked by the Magadhans of his day, particularly as he failed to adapt himself to the traditional Hindu way of government. He showed a hostile, repressive attitude to the people of Magadha. The Kaumudī–Mahotsava records that Caṇḍa–Sena (Candragupta) had put leading citizens into prison. Candragupta I had thus several elements arrayed against him. A cry was raised that he was not a kṣatriya, he had killed his aged adoptive father, he had called in the aid of the hereditary enemies of Magadha, the Licchavis, he had married a lady who was neither a Magadhan nor a Brahmanical Hindu. (To this we may add that he had defied the imperial authority of Kalyāṇavarman–Puloman of the Āndhra dynasty). Alberuni, therefore, recorded a true and historical tradition when he said that the king associated with the Gupta era was cruel and wicked.

Prof. Max Müller does not differentiate between the two words Sandrokottus and Sandrokuptus. It seems plausible that the word Sandrokuptus refers to a distinct king altogether and according to

6. Magadha Rājāon ki Nayi Vaṁśāvali, Sahitya, Patna, Vol. III, part II, pp. 37–52.

6.a History of India (150 A. D. to 350 A. D.), p. 117.

McCrindle this is the best form. This Sandrokuptus (Justin XV. 4) seized the throne of India after the prefects of Alexander had been murdered. Seleucus crossed the Indus and waged war on Sandrokuptus, king of the Indians who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him. It was not long after that Sandrokuptus presented Seleucus with five hundred elephants, and with six hundred thousand men attacked and subdued all India. He was a distinguished general and a brave soldier. The Hindu accounts represent Candragupta Maurya as all but overwhelmed by foreign invasion, and indebted for his preservation to the art of his minister more than to the forces of his kingdom. Samudragupta was made of a different mettle. According to Megasthenes's account he overran the whole of India and his dominion extended from the mouths of the Ganges to the regions beyond the Indus as far as the Parapanisos range. In fact the king surpassed Heracles in courage and the greatness of his achievements. No such deeds are ascribed to Candragupta Maurya who was a mere puppet in the hands of Cāṇakya, who, by his Machiavellian policy, destroyed the Nanda dynasty and placed Candragupta on the throne. The Buddhist accounts[7] also are agreed that he owed his sovereignty entirely to Cāṇakya and was not ' called to royalty by the power of the gods and by prodigies ' as stated by Justin.

Serious Discrepancies.

The Great Indian War[8] was fought in B. C. 3137. Jarāsandha, the Great Emperor of Magadha, was killed at the hands of the Pāṇḍavas, and thereafter his son Sahadeva became an ally of the Pāṇḍavas. He was killed in the Bhārata battle and his son Mārjārī came to the throne of Magadha. He belonged to the Bṛhadratha dynasty. Since then 32, 5, 12 and 9 kings of the Bṛhadratha,

7. Cf. The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, as edited by Dr. K. P. Jayasval in his 'An Imperial History of India', Lahore, 1934.

चाणाक्य इनि विख्यातः क्रोधसिद्धस्तु मानवः ।
ममान्तको नाम वै क्रोधः सिद्धस्वरूप च दुर्मतेः ॥ 454
तेन क्रोधाभिभुतेन प्राणिनो जीविताद्धता ।
कृत्वा तु पापकं तीव्रं त्रीणि जन्मानि वै तदा ॥ 455
दीर्घकालाभिजीवीसौ भविता द्विजकुत्सितः ।
तेन मन्त्रप्रभावेन स देहमासुरीं भजेत् ॥ 456
आसुरीं तनुमाविष्ट दीर्घकालं स जीवयेत् ।

8 (a) Journal of Indian History, Madras, XVI, pp. 239–48.
(b) P. V. Kane Volume, 1941, pp. 515–25.

Pradyota, Śiśunāga, and Nanda dynasties ruled for 1005, 138, 362 and 100 years respectively.[9] Thus Candragupta Maurya came to the throne in B. C. 1532. The Macedonian Empire itself did not exist at such an early date. Hence it can in no way be the date of the invasion of Alexander who flourished some 1200 years later. The word Maurya occurs nowhere in the accounts of the Greeks. The Mudrārākṣasa mentions neither the Yavana king nor his marriage alliance with the daughter of Seleucus Nicator.

Low Birth.

Justin remarks 'Candragupta was born of humble life.' One may be humble in two ways, either by birth or by position. Candragupta Maurya[10] was neither. He belonged to the warrior tribe of the Mauryas who are mentioned in the Durgāsaptaśatī of Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. The Buddhists also mention the Mauryas of Pippalivana who shared the remains of Buddha along with the other Kṣatriya tribes of India. The Guptas would seem to belong to a low class for none but a low-born person would feel himself proud of his mother's ancestry[11]. Candragupta I was formerly a Senāpati of the Āndhars and in all probability he belonged to a low class by birth[12]. Even Samudragupta always takes pride in being a 'grandson of the Licchavis' (Licchavidauhitra).

No Mention of Buddhism

'It is indeed a remarkable circumstance that the religion of Buddha should never have been expressly noticed by the Greek authors, though it had existed for two centuries before Alexander.' Elphinstone's explanation[13] that the appearance and manners of Buddhist followers were not so peculiar as to enable a foreigner to distinguish them from the mass of the people, does not seem to be convincing, for Megasthenes, with assiduous observation and inquiry, collected the materials from which he composed his famous work

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9. See my forthcoming book ' The pre-Mauryan History of Bihar.'

10. See my article 'Candragupta Maurya ki Jāti, Kuśavāhā Kṣatriya Mitra, Kasi, 1993. v. s.

11. Cf. उत्तमा आत्मना ख्याताः पितुः ख्याताश्च मध्यमाः ।
मातुलेनाधमाः ख्याताः श्वशुरेणाधमाधमाः ॥

12. Dr. K. P. Jayasval in his 'An Imperial History of India', pp.155–6 says : "We have thus evidence from different sources converging at one point, i.e. that the Guptas were Kāraṣkara Jāṭs–originally from the Punjab. Kakkar Jāṭs in my opinion are the modern representatives of the original community of the Guptas. "

13. Elphinston's History of India, p. 227.

on India, called the Indica, the merits of which were so conspicuous that it became of paramount authority and the main source whence subsequent writers derived their accounts of India. Megasthenes makes a division of the philosophers in two classes, saying that they are of two kinds, one of which he calls the Brachmanes and the other the Sramanes. The Brachmanes are best esteemed, for they are more consistent in their opinions. Of the Sarmanes he tells us that 'those who are held in most honour are called Hylobioi. They live in the woods, where they subsist on leaves of trees and wild fruits, and wear garments made form the bark of trees. They abstain from sexual intercourse and from wine. They communicate with the kings, who consult them by messsengers regarding the causes of things, and who through them worship and supplicate the deity.' The Hylobioi corresponds with the Sanskrit Vānaprastha (proceeded to the woods). Next in honour to the Hylobioi are the physicians,[14] since they are engaged in the study of the nature of man. According to Elphinstone the habit of the physicians seems to correspond with those of the Brāhmaṇas of the fourth stage (i. e. Saṁnyāsin). It is a capital question who the Sramanes were, some considering them to be Buddhist, and others denying them to be such. Weighty arguments are adduced on both sides, and Lassen contends that the description of the Sramana agrees better with the Brāhmaṇa ascetics. The Sramanas are called Germanes by Strabo and Samanaeans by Porphyrius. They may have belonged to the sect of Jina or to another as Colebrooke thinks.

The Boutta.

We read: 'Among the Indians are those philosophers who follow the precepts of Boutta whom they honour as a God on account of his extraordinary sanctity.' The passage admits of a different rendering: 'They (the Hylobioi) are those among the Indians who follow the precepts of Boutta.' Some think that here the followers of Buddha are clearly distinguished from the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas. But it is clear that the word Boutta does not and cannot refer to Buddha at all but to the Bhautikas–the worshippers of nature (Bhūtas) or the followers of Sāṁkhya who recognise the elements only.

It seems Buddhism was already extinct in India long before Alexander's invasion of India. Brahmanism with all its antecedents

14. Is the Greek word used equivalent to the word Yogī (Yoga = combination of medicines) ?

had come into vogue and had been established on a firm footing by Śaṁkarācārya the greatest propagator of Vedānta. Megasthenes rightly says that the Indians do not raise monuments to the dead, but consider the virtue which men have displayed in life and songs in which their praises are celebrated, sufficient to preserve their memory after death. The Buddhists were very fond of caityas and still it is stated that the Indians did not raise monuments to the dead. Buddha attained Nirvāṇa[15] in B. C. 1790 and with the advent of Kumārila and Śaṁkara in the sixth century B.C., the Buddhists could not hold their own against Brahmanism and Colebrooke is right when he says,"It may therefore be confidently inferred that the followers of the Vedas flourished in India when it was visited by the Greeks under Alexander and continued to flourish in the time of Megasthenes who described them in the fourth century before Christ."

No Synchronism.

It is impossible to seek an identification of Amitrochades (ami tracchid) with Bimbisāra to whom no heroic deeds are attributed by any of the authorities. It would be a more befitting title for Samudragupta who overran the whole of India and crushed his enemies. The Greek writers do not mention Cāṇakya who was such a prominent figure in the court of Candragupta Maurya. Professor K. Cattopādhyāya's explanation[16] that he soon retired to the forest may be a plausible conjecture, but requires definite proofs in absence of which it falls flat. Cāṇakya in his Arthaśāstra[17] does not speak of the Śramaṇas.

Megasthenes says:" For when by his insolent behaviour, he had offended Nandrus and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he sought safety by a speedy flight." Here the Editor adds in the footnote, " Nandrus has been substituted for the Common reading Alexandrum." It shows how the historians have been working under preconception and have even tried to modify or alter the readings to suit this identification. Alexander–Sandracottus synchronism has thus unfortunately become in the course of the innumeral decades the only starting point for the historians to calculate backward and forward, although there is hardly any justification to accept this wrong synchronism.

15. A New Date of Lord Buddha, B. C. 1790 (in Press).

16. The Date of Kālidāsa, Indian Press, 1926.

17. The Arthaśāstra according to Drs. A. B. Keith and Beni Prasad is a very late production probably of the fourth century A. C. In that case would not the non-mention of Śramaṇas be natural ?

No Allusion.

There is absolutely no allusion or veiled reference to any foreign invasion in any Indian account at the fall of the Nanda dynasty and the foundation of the Mauryan dynasty. But subsequent to the downfall of the Andhras[18] (B. C. 327) according to the Purāṇas there was great anarchy throughout the country and the whole country was divided into minor principalities. The Purāṇas do refer to the invasion of the Mlecchas at the close of the Āndhra dynasty[19]. These invaders would seem to be none other than the Persians under Darius and the Greeks under Alexander.

According to Megasthenes, the 'Satī' system was widely prevalent in India when he visited it whereas the Arthaśāstra is silent on the point. The Greek ambassador speaks of seven castes, whereas Kauṭilya mentions only four. Of course, historians have always tried to reconcile the statements of these two narrators who were separated from one another by a thousand years by advancing suggestions and arguments which carry no conviction.

The Āndhras.

Although it may look strange, yet the Āndhras are mentioned by the Greek writer as a powerful race. He says, "Next come the Andarae a still more powerful race, which possesses numerous villages and thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and which supplied its kings with an army of 1,00,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry[20] and 1,000 elephants." 'The Āndhras of Dekhan, before the time of Megasthenes had spread their sway towards the north as far as the upper course of the Narmadā and the lower districts of the Gangetic basin.' In fact, the Āndhras had only recently been dislodged from the throne of Magadha and were still very powerful. Neither the Indian accounts nor the Greek ones ever hint at any struggle between the Āndhras and Candragupta Maurya. But the Allahabad Pillar Inscription and the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa do speak of the invasion of Kaliṅgadeśa (which includes a great part of the Āndhradeśa) by the Magadha Emperor.

Evidence of the Purāṇas.

According to the Paurāṇika authority the Āndhra dynasty

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18. Journal of Indian History, XIX, p. 14.

19. Cf. आन्ध्राणामेव काले तु बहवो म्लेच्छवंशजाः ।
सिन्धुमतीत्यायास्यन्ति भारतश्रीजिघृक्षया ॥

20. If Śātavāhanas are meant, they are said, according to the Kathāsaritsāgara, to have had no cavalry.

came to end[21] in B. C. 327 and was succeeded by the Gupta dynasty of which Candragupta I was the first king. Candragupta, I the Sandracottus of the Greeks, ruled for 7 years only and was succeeded by Samudragupta who had a long reign of 51 years. The Allahabad Pillar inscription hints[22] that he was welcomed by the courtiers with deep sighs for he came to the throne after setting aside the claims of the other sons of Candragupta I. Megasthenes says that the king, in addition to his family name, must adopt the surname of Palibothra as Sandracottus, for instance, did. We know that none of the kings of the Maurya dynasty had any ending added to their names. But about the kings of the Gupta dynasty it is well known that the names of all the kings ended in Gupta and besides that all the kings of the dynasty held the title of āditya as a mark of their prowess. The Allahabad Pillar inscription refers to the present of girls[23] by many kings to Samudragupta.

Some modern historians place Candragupta Maurya's accession in B. C. 326 and others bring it down to B. C. 312. This faulty calculation would seem to be due to the acceptance of this wrong synchronism and it may be easily questioned if Alexander invaded India just before the foundation of the Mauryan Empire, and learned Indologists must find out some other Candragupta in whose reign Alexander might have invaded India. Consequently it may be said that Megasthenes did not visit the court of Candragupta Maurya.

I would suggest that Alexander invaded India in the time of Candragupta I and it was Samudragupta who defeated Seleucus Nicator who offered the hand of his beautiful daughter as a token of submission and the so-called Piyadasi inscriptions[24] may be ascribed to Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty.

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21. See the references under foot-notes 6 and 18.

22. Cf. आर्यो हीत्युपगुह्य भावपिशुनैरुत्कर्णितै रोमभिः
सभ्येषूच्छ्वसितेषु तुल्यकुलजम्लानाननोद्वीक्षितः ।
स्नेहव्याकुलितेन बाष्पगुरुणा तत्त्वेक्षिणा चक्षुषा
यः पित्राभिहितो निरीक्ष्य निखिलां पाह्येवमुर्वीमिति ॥ ४

23. Cf. आत्मनिवेदन-कन्योपायनदान.

24. See my article : The Piyadasi Inscriptions—Do they belong to Candragupta II, Daily Herald, Lahore, 16 Feb. 1936.

HARIṢEṆA'S DHARMAPARĪKṢĀ IN APABHRAMŚA

BY

A. N. UPADHYE

[(1) Various Dharma-parīkṣās (*DP*). (2) *DP* of Amitagati. (3) *DP* of Vṛttavilāsa. (4) *DP* of Padmasāgara. (5) Apabhraṁśa *DP* of Hariṣeṇa: (*a*) Its Mss. (*b*) Its extent and aim. (*c*) Information about Hariṣeṇa, his date and the composition of *DP*. (*d*) Predecessors of Hariṣeṇa. (*e*) Works of Hariṣeṇa and Amitagati compared with regard to their plot, general contents, descriptions, common expressions etc. (*f*) Prākritisms in Amitagati's *DP* and the possibility of its being indebted to a Prākrit original. (*g*) Whether Amitagati is directly indebted to Hariṣeṇa's *DP*. (*h*) Crucial difference in the two texts. (*i*) Sanskrit quotations in Hariṣeṇa's *DP*. (*j*) Dhūrtākhyāna and *DP*.]

1. Referring to consolidated lists of Mss., we come across a large number of Jaina texts bearing the title *Dharmaparīkṣā*[2] (*DP*). We may enumerate especially those that can be distinguished with some specific details. (1) *DP*, in Apabhraṁśa, by Hariṣeṇa who composed it in Saṁvat 1044 (–56 = A. D. 988). (2) *DP*, in Sanskrit, by Amitagati, the pupil of Mādhavasena; it was completed in Saṁvat 1070 (–56 = A. D. 1014). (3) *DP*, in Kannaḍa, by Vṛttavilāsa who is assigned to circa A. D. 1160. (4) *DP*, in Sanskrit, by Saubhāgyasāgara of Saṁvat 1571 (–56 = A. D. 1515). (5) *DP*, in Sanskrit, by Padmasāgara, the pupil of Dharmasāgara-gaṇi of the Tapāgaccha; it was composed in Saṁvat 1645 (–56 = A. D. 1589). (6) *DP*, in Sanskrit, by Mānavijayagaṇi, the pupil of Jayavijaya; it was composed by him in the middle of the 18th century of the Vikrama era for his pupil Devavijaya. (7) *DP* with Vṛtti, in Sanskrit, by Yaśovijaya, the pupil of Nayavijaya of the Tapāgaccha; he was born in Saṁvat 1680 and passed away at the

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1. As the Springer Research Scholar, University of Bombay, when I was inspecting some Prākrit Mss. in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, I came across this Apabhraṁśa *Dharmaparīkṣā* of Hariṣeṇa. I showed this work to Pt. Premi and Prof. Hiralal; and they have expressed their wish that this text should be published at an early date.

2. The most exhaustive and upto date thesaurus in this respect is the *Jinaratnakośa* of Prof. H. D. Velankar. It is in the Press being published by the B. O. R. I., Poona. Thanks to the single-handed labours of Prof. Velankar that this Kośa, when published, would certainly prove a magnificent source-book of superlative importance. It is very kind of the Author and the Publisher that I could use the advance-formes of this Kośa on which this list of *Dharmaparīkṣās* is mainly based.

age of 53 years.[3] (8) *DP* by Jinamaṇḍana, the pupil of Somasundara of the Tapāgaccha. (9) *DP* by Pārśvakīrti. (10) *DP*, in Sanskrit, composed by Rāmacandra at the request of Devacandra, the pupil of Padmanandi, a descendant of Pūjyapāda. Though the Mss. are available, and some of them are lately printed, most of them are names to us, as long as their contents are not exhaustively and critically studied in comparison with other works.

2. It is Amitagati's *DP* that has been most exhaustively studied.[4] Mironow has given a detailed analysis of the contents, besides adding critical remarks on the language and metres of the work. The plot of the story is not in any way complicated. Manovega, who is a confirmed Jaina, wants to convert his friend Pavanavega whom he takes to Pāṭaliputra to the assembly of Brāhmaṇas. He gets himself assured that the Brahman disputants do not belong to any of the ten classes of foolish people, about whom ten stories are narrated, the last story including the sub-stories of four rogues that tell marvellous tales full of lies. In different sessions with the Brahman disputants, Manovega tells incredible stories and absurd incidents about himself; and when they feel astonished and are not ready to believe him, he tries to justify his details by quoting similar stories from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other Purāṇas. Being present at all these sessions, Pavanavega is convinced about the unnatural and inconsistent character of the Purāṇic stories, and he is duly converted to the faith of Manovega. The contents of the work clearly show three divisions distributed all over the text. Whenever there is an occasion, Amitagati adds lengthy didactic discourses profusely using Jaina dogmas and terminology. Secondly, there are popular stories of amusing motives which are not only instructive but also highly humorous; and they are intelligently woven into the body of the work. And lastly, a great bulk of the work is devoted to different stories

3. See also *Jaina Sāhityano Saṁkṣipta Itihāsa* by Mr. M. D. Desai, Bombay 1933.

4. N. Mironow: *Die Dharmaparīkṣā des Amitagati*, Leipzig 1903; also Winternitz; *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 561 ff. The Sanskrit text of this *DP* has been published by Pannalal Bakaliwal with his Hindī Translation, Bombay 1901. Another edition giving the Marāṭhī translation of Pt. Bahubali Sharma and the Sanskrit text in the Appendix has appeared lately, Sangli 1931. It is claimed that the translation is mainly based on the Kannaḍa text of Vṛttavilāsa and Amitagati's work is casually used. On comparison I find that the claim is not justified. The translation does not show any trace of Vṛttavilāsa's text. It closely follows the Hindī rendering of Bakaliwal, and the text also is reprinted from the earlier edition.

from Purāṇas that are to be attacked as unworthy of any belief; and at times the Jaina recensions of the popular stories are also added just to demonstrate how reasonable they are.

As seen from his other works and from the didactic stratum of his *DP*, it is evident that Amitagati can write chaste Sanskrit; but in the *DP*, especially in the stratum of popular anecdotes, we come across a large proportion of Prākritisms. This has led to the surmise that he might have been indebted to some Prākrit work. The method of exposing the inconsistency of Purāṇic tales was already handled by Haribhadra in his *Dhūrtākhyāna*.[5] These popular anecdotes, stripped of their religious back-ground, are genuine pieces of Indian folklore; and they show an ingenious insight into human psychology.

3. The *DP* of Vṛttavilāsa (circa A. D. 1160) is a Campū work in Kannaḍa[6]. It is divided in ten chapters. The author says that his work is based on an earlier Sanskrit composition; and on comparison we find that he follows Amitagati. The plot is the same, though there are differences in details. The Kannaḍa *DP* is still in Mss.; but from the selections published in the *Prākkāvyamālike*, I find that Vṛttavilāsa writes graceful Kannaḍa both in prose and verse.

4. The *DP* of Padmasāgara, composed in Saṁvat 1645, has been subjected to a searching study by Pt. Jugalkishore[7] who arrives at the following conclusions: Padmasāgara has taken over bodily 1260 verses from Amitagati's *DP*; and other verses are adapted with minor changes here and there. He has added a few verses of his composition. He does not admit the division of cantos. All the references, direct or indirect, to Amitagati are carefully omitted; and nowhere does the author refer to Amitagati. His plagiarism has not been thorough from the sectarian point of view, because some details, not quite consistent with Śvetāmbara dogmas, have remained in this work. Thus Padmasāgara

5. See the concluding paragraphs of this Paper.

6. R. Narasimhacharya : *Karnāṭaka Kavicarite*, Bangalore 1904, p. 169. Exhaustive selections from this Kannaḍa *DP* have been published many years back in a Poetical Anthology, *Prākkāvyamālike* (pp. 405–532). The face page etc. being torn in the copy of my uncle, I am unable to give the place and year of publication. From the typography it appears to have been printed at Mangalore. I have with me a palm-leaf Ms. of this text and it is written in Śaka 1342 (+ 78 = A. D. 1420). It is not in a good condition: still I shall be glad to lend this Ms., if any Kannaḍa scholar undertakes a critical edition of this work.

7. *Jaina Hitaishī* XIII. 7, pp. 314–324.

not only entirely follows Amitagati, but also bodily copies from his *DP*.

5. Leaving the remaining *Dharmaparīkṣā* texts whose Mss. or editions have not been accessible to me as yet, I propose to discuss in this paper about Hariṣeṇa's *DP* the special features of which are that it is in the Apabhraṁśa language and that it is composed twenty-six years earlier than Amitagati's *DP* in Sanskrit. In fact, among the *DP* texts, so far discovered, it is the earliest; and besides it mentions a still earlier *DP* in Prākrit by Jayarāma which has not come to light as yet.

(*a*) There are two Mss of Hariṣeṇa's *DP* (Nos. 617 of 1875-76 and 1009 of 1887-91) in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Though the date is not given, No. 1009 is comparatively modern as indicated by the paper and hand-writing. It is well-preserved, but it has unwritten space on folios 56*a*, 57, 69 and 69*a*, with gaps in the text. No. 617 is older in appearance. The edges are brittle, the paper also shows signs of earlier age, and now and then *paḍimātrās* are used in its writing. It bears a date, Saṁvat 1595, in an incomplete remark written in a different hand which indicates that the Ms. is older than A. D. 1538. Page No. 137 is partly broken and folio No. 4 is missing. Both the Mss. together supply the complete text; and from a close comparison of the first Saṁdhi, I find that they are sufficiently independent and not the copies of each other.

(*b*) The work is divided into eleven Saṁdhis, and each Saṁdhi has 17 to 27 Kaḍavakas. The actual number of Kaḍavakas stands thus in different cantos: I = 20, II = 24, III = 22, IV = 24, V = 20, VI = 19, VII = 18, VIII = 22, IX=25, X=17 and XI=27. The total number of Kaḍavakas is 238, and they are composed in different Apabhraṁśa metres some of which are specifically mentioned in the body of the text. The total Granthas, as given in the Ms., come to 2070. The colophons state that Budha[8] Hariṣeṇa is the author of this *DP* which propounds Caturvarga, viz., Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa. The colophon, for instance, at the close of the work, runs thus:

इय धम्मपरिक्खाए चउवग्गाहिट्ठियाए
बुह - हरिसेण - कयाए एयारसमो संधि सम्मत्तो ।

(*c*) Hariṣeṇa like some other Apabhraṁśa poets gives good many details about himself in the opening and the concluding

8. Budha appears to be an honorific designation something like our present-day Paṇḍita.

Kaḍavakas. In the territory of Mevāḍa there was one Hari, expert in various arts, in the Dhakkaḍa-kula of Siri-ujaüra (*v. l.* Siri-ojapura).[9] He had a pious son Govaḍḍhaṇa (Sk. Govardhana) by name. Guṇavatī was his wife, and she was devoted to the feet of Jina. They had a son Harisena who became famous as a learned poet. He left Cittaüḍu (Sk. Citrakūṭa) and came to Acalapura on some business (*ṇiya-kajjē*). There he studied metrics and rhetorics, and narrated or composed this *DP* when 1044 years of the Vikrama era had elapsed (i. e. A. D. 988). The relevant lines are quoted below:

Saṁdhi XI, Kaḍa. 26:

इह **मेवाड**–देसि जण–संकुलि सिरिउजउर–णिग्गय–**धक्कड**–कुलि ।
पाव–करिंद–कुंभ–दारण–हरि जाउ कलाहिं कुसलु णामें **हरि** ।
तासु पुत्त पर-णारि-सहोयरु गुण-गण-णिहि कुल-गयण-दिवायरु ।
गोवड्ढणु णामें उप्पण्णउ जो सम्मत्त-रयण-संपुण्णउ ।
तहो गोवड्ढणासु पिय **गुणवइ** जा जिणवर-पय णिच्च वि पणवइ[10] ।
ताए जणिउ **हरिसेण**-णाम सुउ जो संजाउ विबुह-कइ-विस्सुउ ।
सिरि-**चित्तउडु** चइवि **अचलउरहो**[11] गउ णिय-कज्जें जिण-हर-पउरहो ।
तहिं छंदालंकार पसाहिय **धम्मपरिक्ख** एह तें साहिय ।
जे मज्झत्थ-मणुय आयण्णहिं ते मिच्छत्त-भाउ अवगण्णहिं ।
तें सम्मत्त जेण मलु खिज्जइ केवलणाणु ताण उप्पज्जइ ।
घत्ता—तहो पुणु केवल-णाणहो णेय-पमाणहो जीव–पएसहिं सुहडिउ ।
बाहा-रहिउ अणंतउ अइसयवंतउ[12] मोक्ख-सुक्ख-फलु पयडियउ ।

Saṁdhi XI, Kaḍa. 27:

विक्कम-णिव-परिवत्तिय-कालए[13] ववगयए वरिस-सहस-चउतालए ।
इउ उप्पण्णु भविय-जण-सुहयरु डंभ-रहिय-धम्मासय-सायरु ।

The occasion of the composition is explained thus by Budha Harisena. Once it struck him that the human intelligence is wasted, if an attractive poem is not composed. It is quite likely that a man of mediocre intelligence, like a coward on the battle-field, might be ridiculed. But still, knowing full well his weakness in metrics and rhetorics, he wrote this work, without any hesitation as to how it would be entertaining, on account of his attachment for Jainism and through the favour of Siddhasena.

9. Is it that Siri is a part of the name of that town? It is to be noted that Dhanapāla, the author of the *Bhavisatta-Kahā* in Apabhraṁśa also belonged to Dhakkaḍa family.

10. v. l. जा जिणवरमुणिपयपिय गुणवइ.

11. v. l. चपवि अवलउरेहो.

12. v. l. अइसयदंतउ.

13. v. l. परियात्तियकालए.

(*d*) Amongst his predecessors Hariṣeṇa mentions Caturmukha, Svayambhū and Puṣpadanta. The mouth of Caturmukha was the very home of the goddess of learning; Svayambhū was a great divinity as it were, knowing both Loka and Aloka; and Puṣpadanta was a super-man whom the goddess of learning never abandoned. As compared with them, Hariṣeṇa says that he is a man of meagre intelligence. Puṣpadanta completed his Mahāpurāṇa in A. D. 965; and Caturmukha and Svayambhū are also referred to by him. Caturmukha flourished earlier than Svayambhū.

The *Dharmaparīkṣā* was formerly composed by Jayarāma in Gāthā metre, and the same Hariṣeṇa is narrating in Paddhaḍiyā metre here.

The above details are found in the opening Kaḍavaka which runs thus :

Saṁdhi I, Kaḍa. 1 :

सिद्धि-पुरंधिहि कंतु सुद्धें तणु-मण-वयणें ।
भत्तिए जिणु पणवेवि चिंतिउ बुह-**हरिसेणें** ॥

मणुय-जम्मि बुद्धिए किं किज्जइ मणहरु जाइ कव्वु ण रइज्जइ ।
तं करंत अवियाणिय आरिस हासु लहहिं भड रणि गय-पोरिस ।
चउमुहुं कव्व-विरयणि **सयंभु** वि **पुप्फयंतु** अण्णाणु णिसुंभिवि ।
तिण्णि वि जोग्ग जेण तं सीसइ **चउमुह**-मुहे थिय ताव सरासइ ।
जो **सयंभु** सो देउ पहाणउ अह कह लोया-लोय-वियाणउ ।
पुप्फयंतु णवि माणुसु वुच्चइ जो सरसइए कयावि ण मुच्चइ ।
ते एवंविह हउं जडु माणउ तह छंदालंकार-विहूणउ ।
कव्वु करंतु केम णवि लज्जमि तह विसेस पिय-जणु किह रंजमि ।
तो वि जिणिंद-धम्म-अणुराएं बुह-सिरि-**सिद्धसेण**-सुपसाएं ।
करमि सयं जि णलिणि-दल-थिउ जलु अणुहरेइ णिरुवमु मुत्ताहलु ।
घत्ता—जा **जयरामें** आसि विरइय गाह-पबंधिं ।
साहमि **धम्मपरिक्ख** सा पद्धडिया-बंधिं ॥

It appears that Siddhasena is the preceptor of Hariṣeṇa, and he is remembered thus in the last canto also :

Saṁdhi XI, Kaḍa. 25 :

घत्ता—**सिद्धसेण**-पय वंदहिं दुक्किउ णिंदहिं जिण **हरिसेण** णवंता ।
तहिं थिय ते खग-सहयर कय-धम्मायर विविह-सुहइं पावंता ॥

(*e*) In view of the facts that the works of both Hariṣeṇa and Amitagati have the same title and that one preceded the other by 26 years, one is naturally led to compare these two texts in details. The two texts show remarkable agreement; and, so far as the sequence of events is concerned, the different

cantos of Amitagati's *DP* can be roughly apportioned in correspondence with the various Saṁdhis of Hariṣeṇa's *DP*:[14] H I=A I. 17–III. 43; H II=A III. 44–VII. 18; H III=A VII. 19–X. 51; H IV=A X. 52–XII. 26; H V=A XII. 27–XIII; H VI=the details given by Hariṣeṇa about Lokasvarūpa are not found to that extent in any one place in Amitagati's *DP*; H VII=A XIV. I–XV. 17; H VIII=A XV. 18 etc.; H IX=A XVI. 21 etc.; H X=for the description of Kalpavṛkṣas see XVIII in A; and H XI=A XX, a few opening verses.

In some places the exact correspondence cannot be marked out for the simple reason that the didactic and dogmatic topics are not to be found to the same extent and at the same place in both the texts. The details of Logaṭhiī (Lokasthiti) given by Hariṣeṇa in Saṁdhi VII are not included at the corresponding place by Amitagati; nor does he give all those details to that extent in his work at any one place. In the canto VIII Hariṣeṇa devotes a few Kaḍavakas to the Jaina version of Rāma-legend; but all these details are ignored by Amitagati. Similarly a special Kathā, about Rātribhojana-viramaṇa, with some local colour, added by Hariṣeṇa in canto XI is dismissed with a few theoretical remarks by Amitagati who, however, adds more didactic discourses on other rules of conduct in that context. But for such sections here and there, it has been possible for me to mark out bunches of verses in Amitagati's text in correspondence with the Kaḍavakas of Hariṣeṇa. Amitagati's division of the text into twenty cantos is more unnatural than Hariṣeṇa's division into eleven Saṁdhis. So far as the events of the plot and their sequence are concerned, both the works are in close agreement. The ideas are the same, and the manner of handling them is very often identical. Amitagati has a special aptitude for didactic exhortations and pithy remarks containing moral maxims and worldly wisdom; he is more eloquent in his condemnation of sense-pleasures and worldly temptations; he grips at every opportunity to propound the particular view of life according to Jaina ethical rules meant for house-holders and monks; and even the dry dogmatic details he dresses in a fluent style. In the contexts of such topics we get more details in Amitagati's *DP* than in Hariṣeṇa's *DP*. Despite the identical plot, they differ in the extent of their didactic and dogmatic details.

The descriptions of Amitagati are of the pattern of ornate poetry of classical Sanskrit writers, while those of Hariṣeṇa are

14. H stands for Hariṣeṇa's *DP* and A for Amitagati's *DP*.

moulded under the influence of Apabhraṁśa poets like Puṣpadanta; so we do not find any significant parallel ideas and common words in the description of towns etc. The method of narrating the Madhubindu Dṛṣṭānta (H. I. 13-4 and A. II. 3 etc.) is somewhat different, though the details are identical.

In a few places it is possible to detect nearly common phrases in contexts not necessarily of traditional dogmatics :

(i) Hariṣeṇa I. 19 -
तं अवराहं
खमसु वराहं ।
तो हसिऊणं
मरुवेएणं ।
भणिओ मित्तो
तं परधुत्तो ।
माया-णेहिय
अप्पाणे हिय ।

(i) Amitagati III. 36-7 -
यत्त्वां धर्ममिव त्यक्त्वा
तत्र भद्र चिरं स्थितः ।
क्षमितव्यं ममाशेषं
दुर्विनीतस्य तत्त्वया ॥
उक्तं पवनवेगन
हसित्वा शुद्धचेतसा ।
को धूर्तो भुवने धूर्तै-
र्वञ्च्यते न वशंवदैः ।

(ii) Hariṣeṇa II. 5 -
इय दुण्णि वि दुग्गय-तणय-तणं
गिण्हेविणु लक्कड-भारमिणं ।
आइय गुरु पूर णिएवि मए
वायउ ण उ जायए वायमए ।

(ii) Amitagati III. 85 -
तं जगाद खचराङ्गजस्ततो
भद्र निर्धनशरीरिभूरहं ।
आगतोऽस्मि तृणकाष्ठविक्रयं
कर्तुमत्र नगरे गरीयसि ॥

(iii) Hariṣeṇa II. 11 -
णिद्धण जाणेविणु जारएहिं
तप्पिय-आगमणासंकिएहिं ।
मुक्की झड त्ति झाडे वि केम
परिपक्क पंथि थिय बोरि जेम ।
णिय-पिय-आगमणु मुणंतियाए
किउ पवसिय-पिय-तिय-वेसु ताए ।

(iii) Amitagati IV. 84-85 -
पत्युरागममवेत्य विटौघैः
सा विलुण्ट्य सकलानि धनानि ।
मुच्यते स्म बदरी दरयुक्तै-
स्तस्करैरिव फलानि पथिस्था ॥
सा विबुध्य दयितागमकालं
कल्पितोत्तमसतीजनवेषा ।
तिष्ठति स्म भवने त्रपमाणा
वञ्चना हि सहजा वनितानाम् ॥

(iv) Hariṣeṇa II. 15 -
भणिउ तेण भो णिसुणहि गहवइ
छाया इव दुगेज्झ महिला-मइ ।

(iv) Amitagati V. 59 -
चौरीव स्वार्थतन्निष्ठा
वह्निज्वालेव तापिका ।
छायेव दुर्ग्रहा योषा
सन्ध्येव क्षणरागिणी ॥

(v) Hariṣeṇa II. 16 -
भणिउ ताय संसारे असारए
को वि ण कासु वि दुह-गरुयारए ।
मुय-मणुएं सहु अत्थु ण गच्छइ
सयणु मसाणु जाम अणुगच्छइ ।

(v) Amitagati V. 82-5 -
तं निजगाद तदीयतनूज-
स्तात विधेहि विशुद्धमनास्त्वम् ।
कंचन धर्ममपाकृतदोषं
यो विदधाति परत्र सुखानि

धम्माहम्मु णवर अणुलग्गउ
गच्छइ जीवहु सुह-दुह-संगउ ।
इय जाणेवि ताय दाणुल्लउ
चिंतिज्जइ सुपत्ते अइभल्लउ ।
इट्ठ-देउ णिय-माणि झाइज्जइ
सुह-गइ-गमणु जेण पाविज्जइ ।

पुत्रकलत्राधनादिषु मध्ये
कोऽपि न याति समं परलोके ।
कर्म विहाय कृतं स्वयमेकं
कर्तुमलं सुखदुःखशतानि ॥
कोऽपि परो न निजोऽस्ति दुरन्ते
जन्मवने भ्रमतां बहुमार्गे ।
इत्थमवेत्य विमुच्य कुबुद्धिं
तात हितं कुरु किंचन कार्यम् ॥
मोहपास्य सुहृत्तनुजादौ
देहि धनं द्विजसाधुजनेभ्यः ।
संस्मर कंचन देवमभीष्टं
येन गतिं लभसे सुखदात्रीम् ॥

(*f*) Amitagati has a thorough mastery over his expression, and his *Subhāṣita-saṁdoha*[15] is a fine specimen of ornate poetry composed in a pretty chaste style. He 'feels himself quite at home in the grammar and lexicography of Sanskrit, and the formation of different verbal forms offers him no difficulty.' Many Prākritisms have been detected in his *DP*; but they are comparatively few, and not in any way striking, in his *Subhāṣita-saṁdoha*. The Prākrit influence seen in the *DP* is not of a superficial nature confined to a few loan-words here and there, but has reached the use of verbal forms as can be seen from the facts that 'most frequently the verb is found in the form of Past Passive Participle, which, in later Prākrit, nearly replaces the active forms;' and 'worthy of note is the use of the Indicative for the Imperative (in dual and plural). The latter arises out of some identical terminations in Prākrit. Further, in view of the fact that 'Amitagati uses without much ado Prākritisms for which he could have easily found Sanskrit equivalents[16]. Mironow arrives at the conclusion that certain parts of this work are based on a Prākrit original. Some of the proper names like Chauhāra (VII. 63) and Saṁkarāṭa-maṭha (VIII. 10) lend support to the view that some stories must have been inherited from a Prākrit source. In one place he offers the etymology of *yoṣā*; and the expressions do indicate that they are being re-written from a Prākrit original, otherwise there is no propriety in tracing Sanskrit *yoṣā* to the root *juṣ–joṣ*. Those verses (VI. 16-17) run thus :

15. Edited in the Kāvyamālā, No. 82; edited with German translation by R. Schmidt, Leipzig 1908; and published with Hindī translation by Siddhānta-pracāriṇī-sabhā, Calcutta.

16. *Die Dharmaparīkṣā des Amitagati*, pp. 7-9.

यतो जोषयति क्षिप्रं विश्वं योषा ततो मता ।
विदधाति यतः क्रोधं भामिनी भण्यते ततः ॥
यतश्छादयते दोषैस्ततः स्त्री कथ्यते बुधैः ।
विलीयते यताश्चित्तमेतस्यां विलया ततः ॥

The above indications are sufficient to lead us to the conclusion that Amitagati is working with a Prākrit original : the didactic sections, of course, are freely shaped by him. Not only we feel convinced but even Amitagati also was confident of his command over Sanskrit : he tells us that he finished the *DP* within a couple of months and his Sanskrit *Ārādhanā* in four months.[17] If such a Śīghrakavi thought of composing certain works in Sanskrit following the Prākrit models, there is nothing surprising. Moreover Amitagati was a contemporary of Muñja and Bhoja who had given great patronage to Sanskrit learning of the age. His *Ārādhanā* is as good as a close Sanskrit rendering of Śivārya's Prākrit *Ārādhanā* and his *Pañcasaṁgraha* is mainly based on the Prākrit *Pañcasaṁgraha* a Ms. of which has been lately brought to light by Pt. Paramanand .[18] Thus there is every likelihood in Amitagati's composing his Sanskrit *DP* based on some earlier Prākrit original.

(*g*) With the discovery of Hariṣeṇa's *DP* in Apabhraṁśa, which was written 26 years earlier than Amitagati's *DP* and with which Amitagati fully agrees so far as the sequence of the details and the events of the plot are concerned, it has been necessary to tackle the question whether Amitagati is indebted to Hariṣeṇa for his plot. In this connection we should not forget that Hariṣeṇa has given out an important fact that he only wrote in Paddhaḍiyā metre what was already there composed by Jayarāma in Gāthā metre. This means that even Hariṣeṇa had before him a *DP* written by Jayarāma in gāthās, the dialect of which might have been Māhārāṣṭrī or Śaurasenī. No Ms. of this Prākrit *DP*, as far as I know, has come to light; nor is it possible to identify this Jayarāma with other authors of that name known to us.[19] As long as this work is not discovered and compared with the subsequent works of Hariṣeṇa and Amitagati, any answer to the above question is only tentative. The way in which Hariṣeṇa refers to the earlier

17. On Amitagati's date and works see the latest article by Pt. Premi, *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara* Vol. VIII. 1, pp. 29–38.

18. *Anekānta*, III. 3, p. 258.

19. See the Index of the *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* by M. Krishnamachariar Madras, 1937.

DP indicates that almost all his material was present in Jayarāma's work. This naturally induces us to take the position that the entire plot of *DP* should go back to Jayarāma, and the question of Amitagati's borrowing it from Hariṣeṇa should not arise. It is quite possible that Amitagati might have composed his *DP* based on the Prākrit original of Jayarāma, just as he has composed his *Pañcasaṁgraha* and *Ārādhanā* based on the earlier Prākrit works of the same name. In writing a Sanskrit work it is easier to use a Prākrit (i. e. Māhārāṣṭrī or Śaurasenī) original than an Apabhraṁśa one.

(*h*) In order to answer the above question, I would like to adopt one more approach to the problem. There are many passages in Amitagati's *DP* where we get palpable Prākritisms. If these are found in Hariṣeṇa's *DP*, no legitimate conclusion follows, because both Hariṣeṇa and Amitagati might have worked with Jayarāma's text before them. But if they are not found in Hariṣeṇa's work in that context, we are led to say that Amitagati is indebted to some other earlier Prākrit work, possibly that of Jayarāma. I am putting together some such cases below:

(i) At III. 6 Amitagati uses the word *haṭṭa*.	(i) In the corresponding enumeration of places Hariṣeṇa has not used that word: see I. 17.
(ii) At V. 39 Amitagati uses the root *jem*, so also at VII. 5 which runs thus: ततोऽवादीन्नपो नास्य दयिते यदि भूषणम् । न जेमति तदा साधो सर्वथा किं करोम्यहम् ॥	(ii) Inspecting the corresponding passages we find that Hariṣeṇa does not use that root in the Kaḍavaka II. 14; and in the second passage (II. 24) he uses the root *bhuñj* thus – ता दुद्धरु पभणइ णउ भुंजइ जइ तहो णउ आहरणउ दिज्जइ ।
(iii) Amitagati gives the etymology of *yoṣā* thus (IV. 16): यतो जोषयति क्षिप्रं विश्वं योषा ततो मता । विदधाति यतः क्रोधं भामिनी भण्यते ततः ॥	(iii) There is no doubt that Amitagati's etymology is based on a Prākrit original; but Hariṣeṇa gives no such etymology in the corresponding passage. See II. 18.
(iv) At XIII. 23 Amitagati uses the word *grahila*.	(iv) In the corresponding passage (V. 14) Hariṣeṇa has not used the word *gahilla*.

(v) At XV. 23 Amitagati uses the word *kacāra.*	(v) In the corresponding Kaḍavaka (VIII. 1) this word is not used by Hariṣeṇa.

The above test is enough to exclude the possibility that Amitagati is working with this Apabhraṁśa work alone before him. Moreover we find some differences too here and there. Hariṣeṇa gives the name of the town Vijayāpurī (Apabh. Vijayāüri) at I. 8, but in the corresponding passage (1. 48) Amitagati has Priyāpurī.[20] In another context Hariṣeṇa gives the name of the village Maṁgālaü (II. 7), while Amitagati reads Saṁgālo (IV. 8).[21] I quote below the passages, and I feel that the original Prakrit passage is somewhat differently understood by Hariṣeṇa and Amitagati.

Hariṣeṇa's *DP*, II. 7—	Amitagati's *DP*, IV. 7*b*–8—
तो मणवेउ भणइ सुक्खालउ अत्थि गामु मलए मंगालउ । भमरु णामि तहिं णिवसइ गिहवइ तासु पुत्तु णामें महुयरगइ ।	उवाचेति मनोवेगः श्रूयतां कथयामि वः ॥ देशो मलयदेशोऽस्ति संगालो गलितासुखः । तत्र गृहपतेः पुत्रो नाम्ना मधुकरोऽभवत् ॥

In view of the above discussion, it is a reasonable conclusion that both Hariṣeṇa and Amitagati have worked with a common Prākrit original before them; and, as far as the facts are available, it might have been Jayarāma's Prākrit *DP*. Hariṣeṇa has plainly mentioned this source, though Amitagati is silent on that point. If a few common phrases are detected, as noted in paragraph No. *e*, it only means that they are independently inherited from the common source. Amitagati being completely silent about his source, we cannot dogmatically say that he might have used this Apabhraṁśa text also beside the earlier Prākrit original.

(*i*) In its major portion *DP* is devoted to demonstrate the incredible and inconsistent character of the Purāṇic tales; and it is in the fitness of things that verses from Purāṇas and Smṛtis should be quoted by way of Pūrvapakṣa. For instance, Haribhadra quotes Sanskrit verses in his Prākrit *Dhūrtākhyāna*; and it is quite likely that Jayarāma also did the same in his *DP*. Hariṣeṇa's *DP* has got more than a dozen Sanskrit quotations; and they are of greater value than those correspondingly found in Amitagati's *DP*, because

20. The Prākrit name might have been Viyāüri.

21. This difference might have arisen out of the orthographic confusion between *s* and *m* which look nearly alike in Prākrit Mss.

Amitagati appears to have taken liberty with these verses. A Prākrit or Apabhraṁśa writer will retain them as they were inherited, but one who is composing his work in Sanskrit might change them here and there to make them a part of his work. Amitagati has not introduced these verses with words *uktam* etc. I am giving below all these verses quoted by Hariṣeṇa, along with Amitagati's versions, so that attempts might be made to detect their sources. It is interesting to note that some of the verses occur, perhaps as quotations, in the *Yaśastilakacampū* (A. D. 959) of Somadeva.

(1) Hariṣeṇa's *DP*, IV. 1, p. 22 of Ms. No. 1009 -

तथा चोक्तम्—

मत्स्यः कूर्मो वराहश्च नारसिंहोऽथ वामनः ।
रामो रामश्च कृष्णश्च बुद्धः कल्की च ते दश ॥
अक्षराक्षरनिर्मुक्तं जन्ममृत्युविवर्जितं ।
अव्ययं सत्यसंकल्पं विष्णुध्यायी न सीदति ॥[22]

These two verses are given by Amitagati in the following form :

व्यापिनं निष्कलं ध्येयं जरामरणसूदनम् ।
अच्छेद्यमव्ययं देवं विष्णुं ध्यायन्न सीदति ॥
मीनः कूर्मः पृथुः पोत्री नारसिंहोऽथ वामनः ।
रामो रामश्च कृष्णश्च बुद्धः कल्की दश स्मृताः ॥ X. 58-9.

(3) Hariṣeṇa's *DP*, IV. 7, p. 24 -

अपुत्रस्य गतिर्नास्ति स्वर्गो नैव च नैव च ।
तस्मात् पुत्रमुखं दृष्ट्वा पश्चाद्भवति भिक्षुकः ॥[23]

Amitagati's verse runs thus -

अपुत्रस्य गतिर्नास्ति स्वर्गो न तपसो यतः ।
ततः पुत्रमुखं दृष्ट्वा श्रेयसे क्रियते तपः ॥ XI. 8.

(3) Hariṣeṇa's *DP*, IV. 7, p. 24 -

नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे च पतिते पतौ ।
पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥[24]

We may compare with the above the following verse of Amitagati—

पत्यौ प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे प्रनष्टे पतिते मृते ।
पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥ XI. 12.

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22. In these quotations I have only corrected a few scribal errors here and there.

23. This verse occurs in *Yaśastilakacampū* (Bombay 1903) Vol. II, p. 286.

24 This verse is identical with *Parāśarasmṛti* IV. 28, quoted by Mironow, p. 31, of his *Die Dharmaparīkṣā* etc. It is also attributed to Manu and found in the *Smṛticandrikā*, see the supplement to the *Manusmṛti*, Gujarati Press ed. Bombay 1913, p. 9, verse 126.

(4) Hariṣeṇa's *DP*, IV. 9, p. 24*a* –

का त्वं सुन्दरि जाह्नवी किमिह ते भर्ता हरो नन्वयं
अम्भस्त्वं किल वेत्सि मन्मथरसं जानात्ययं ते पतिः ।
स्वामिन्सत्यमिदं न हि प्रियतमे सत्यं कुतः कामिनां
इत्येवं हरजाह्नवीगिरिसुतासंजल्पनं पातु वः ॥

I do not find anything corresponding to this in Amitagati's text.

(5) Hariṣeṇa's *DP*, IV. 12, p. 25*a* –

अङ्गुल्या कः कपाटं प्रहरति कुटिले माधवः किं वसन्तो
नो चक्री किं कुलालो न हि धरणिधरः किं द्विजिह्वः फणीन्द्रः ।
नाहं घोराहिमर्दी किमसि खगपतिर्नो हरिः किं कपीशः
इत्येवं गोपवध्वा चतुरमभिहितः पातु वश्चक्रपाणिः ॥[25]

Amitagati has not got any verse similar to this.

(6) Hariṣeṇa's *DP*, V. 9, p. 31*a* –

तथा चोक्तं तेन—

अश्रद्धेयं न वक्तव्यं प्रत्यक्षमपि यद्भवेत् ।
यथा वानरसंगीतं तथा सा प्लवते शिला ॥

The following two verses of Amitagati express the same –

यथा वानरसंगीतं त्वयादर्शि वने विभो ।
तरन्ती सलिले दृष्टा सा शिलापि मया तथा ॥
अश्रद्धेयं न वक्तव्यं प्रत्यक्षमपि वीक्षितं ।
जानानैः पण्डितैर्नूनं वृत्तान्तं नृपमन्त्रिणोः ॥ XII. 72-3.

(7) Hariṣeṇa's *DP*, V. 17, p. 34 –

भो भो भुजंगतरुपल्लवलोलजिह्वे
बन्धूकपुष्पदलसन्निभलोहिताक्षे ।
पृच्छामि ते पवनभोजनकोमलाङ्गी
काच्चित्त्वया शरदचन्द्रमुखी न दृष्टा ॥

There is nothing similar to this in Amitagati's text.

(8) Hariṣeṇa's *DP*, VII. 5, P. 43 –

अद्भिर्वाचापि दत्ता या यदि पूर्ववरो मृतः ।
सा चेदक्षतयोनिः स्यात्पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥[26]

The following verse of Amitagati (XIV. 38) stands for the above verse though there is a slight difference in the meaning.

एकदा परिणीतापि विपन्ने दैवयोगतः ।
भर्तर्यक्षतयोनिः स्त्री पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥

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25 This verse, with some variations, is found included in the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāram*, p. 38, verse 166 of the section of Daśāvatāra (Bombay 1891).

26 *Vasiṣṭhasmṛti* XVII. 64 nearly agrees with this in contents.

(9) Ibidem, p. 43–

अष्टौ वर्षाण्युदीक्षेत ब्राह्मणी पतितं पतिं ।
अप्रसूता च चत्वारि परतोऽन्यं समाचरेत् ॥

Amitagati's verse (XIV. 39) runs thus–

प्रतीक्षेताष्ट वर्षाणि प्रसूता वनिता सती ।
अप्रसूतात्र चत्वारि प्रोषिते सति भर्तरि ॥

(10) Hariṣeṇa's *DP*, VII. 8, P. 43*a*–

पुराणं मानवो धर्मः साङ्गो वेदश्चिकित्सिकम् ।
आज्ञासिद्धानि चत्वारि न हन्तव्यानि हेतुभिः ॥[27]

This verse is identical with XIV. 49 in Amitagati's *DP*.

(11) Ibidem p. 43*a*–

मानवं व्यासवासिष्ठं वचनं वेदसंयुतम् ।
अप्रमाणं तु यो ब्रूयात् स भवेद्ब्रह्मघातकः ॥

The corresponding verse of Amitagati (XIV. 50) is like this–

मनुव्यासवशिष्ठानां वचनं वेदसंयुतम् ।
अप्रमाणयतः पुंसो ब्रह्महत्या दुरुत्तरा ॥

(12) Hariṣeṇa's *DP*, VIII. 6, p. 49 –

गतानुगतिको लोको न लोकः पारमार्थिकः ।
पश्य लोकस्य मूर्खत्वं हारितं ताम्रभाजनम् ॥

Amitagati's verse (XV. 64) is in the first person –

दृष्टानुसारिभिर्लोकैः परमार्थविचारिभिः ।
तथा स्वं हार्यते कार्यं यथा मे ताम्रभाजनम् ॥

(13) Hariṣeṇa's *DP*, IX. 25, p. 61 –

प्राणाघातान्निवृत्तिः परधनहरणे संयमः सत्यवाक्यं
काले शक्त्या प्रदानं युवतिजनकथामूकभावः परेषाम् ।
तृष्णास्रोतोविभङ्गो गुरुषु च विनतिः सर्वसत्त्वानुकम्पा
सामान्यं सर्वशास्त्रेष्वनुपहतमतिः श्रेयसामेष पन्थाः ॥[28]

This is from Bhartṛhari's Nītiśataka (No. 54).

Amitagati has expressed these ideas in various contexts; but at that context we have not got any verses corresponding to this.

(14) Hariṣeṇa's *DP*, X. 9, p. 64.

(a) स्वयमेवागतां नारीं यो न कामयते नरः ।
ब्रह्महत्या भवेत्तस्य पूर्वं ब्रह्माब्रवीदिदम् ॥

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27 This and the following verse occur in *Yaśastilakacampū* Vol. II, p. 119. Verse No. 10 is identical with *Manusmṛti* XII. 110–1.

28 This verse occurs in *Yaśastilakacampū* vol. II, p. 99 with a few different readings: *pradeyam* for *pradānam*, *bhūtānukampā* for *sattvānukampā*, *vidhiḥ* for *matiḥ* and *mārgaḥ* for *panthāḥ*. With a couple of different readings, namely *vinayaḥ* for *vinatiḥ* and *bhūtānukampā* for *sattvānukampā* this verse is found included in the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāram*, p. 282, verse 1056.

(b) मातरसुपैहि स्वसारसुपैहि पुत्रार्थी न कामार्थी ।

I have not been able to spot out any remarks of Amitagati corresponding to the above.

(*j*) Haribhadrasūri's (circa A. D. 700-770) *Dhūrtākhyāna* in Prākrit [29] is a fine specimen as a forerunner of the type of literature represented by Prākrit and Sanskrit texts ·called *DP*. The aim of these works is to expose the incredible character of the Purāṇic stories. Haribhadra has achieved his object in an extremely intelligent manner. The plot is simple. Five rogues meet, and they come to an understanding that everyone of them is to narrate his experiences. He who can denounce them to be a lie should give a feast to all; and he who justifies him, in the best possible manner, by giving similar details from the Purāṇas would be recognised as the foremost Rogue. Everyone ·offers funny and inconsistent experiences which are followed by their justification by some companion or the other who narrates similar incidents from the Purāṇas. The whole Ākhyāna is not only interesting but also creates definite bias against the reliable character of various Purāṇas. Haribhadra does not explicitly play the rôle of a partisan of Jainism, though he has passingly suggested it at the end (V. 120-1). The attack against the Purāṇas is implicit and suggestive with Haribhadra, but with the authors of the *DP* (namely, Hariṣeṇa and Amitagati) it is outspoken and violent. Both of them have tried to administer, along with the attack, heavy dozes of Jaina theology, dogmatics and ethics. Haribhadra jocularly smashed the structure of Purāṇic myths, but Hariṣeṇa and Amitagati have gone a few steps further that they want to erect instead a superstructure of Jaina preachings. We do not know the exact extent of purely Jaina details in Jayarāma's work; Hariṣeṇa has enough of them; and Amitagati has more than enough.

I feel no doubt that the first author of the *DP* (i. e. Jayarāma, as far as we know) might have known the *Dhūrtākhyāna* or some other recension of it. The motive and purpose are the same, but the works are executed in a different manner. The persons of the main story, the situations, the associations

29 In his study of the *DP* Mironow has already referred to the *Dhūrtākhyāna*. I am very thankful to Prof. Jinavijayaji, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana, who kindly sent to me the advance forms of the bare text of the *Dhū*, which is being edited by him, on hearing from me about this newly found *DP* in Apabhraṁśa.

and the structure of the plot are all different from those found in the *Dhūrtākhyāna.* The ten sub-stories and the stories of four fools included in the *DP* definitely indicate that some other texts like *Dhūrtākhyāna* might have been used. The *DĀ* has some incredible stories common with the *DP*, for instance, the elephant–Kamaṇḍalu episode. (*DĀ*, I 17 etc. and *DP*, XII 77 etc.), the episode of the detached head eating fruits on the tree (*DĀ* III. 17 etc. and *DP* XVI. 34 etc.), etc. Here and there we come across the same Purāṇic tales such as the episode of Indra-Ahalyā, Yamapatnī swallowing fire, Brahma-Tilottamā etc.; but the Purāṇic details given to justify the common incredible stories, noted above, are not identical both in *DĀ* and *DP.* It means that Jayarāma and his followers like Hariṣeṇa and Amitagati have independently and extensively ransacked the Purāṇas for inconsistent stories and incredible details. At any rate the *DĀ* and its successors like the *DP* are a fine specimen of Indian literature which is both interesting and instructive. The caustic prick which such works might have given to the zealous followers of Purāṇic religion has not much effect on the dispassionate student of Indian literature : for him every novel aspect adds to the wealth of the great literary heritage of the past.[30]

30 This Paper was submitted to the Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad.

THE PALACE OF HIRAṆYAKAŚIPU[1]

BY

M. V. VAIDYA

Hiraṇyakaśipu is an outstanding figure belonging to hoary antiquity and is prominently mentioned in the epic and the Purāṇic mythology. Tradition asserts that his fall was caused by Viṣṇu in his Man-lion incarnation. According to some Purāṇas and later tradition, he was the arch-enemy of Viṣṇu and his worship, while his son Prahlāda, in disapprobation of his father, became an ardent devotee of Viṣṇu. The story of Hiraṇyakaśipu accordingly typifies a triumph of Viṣṇuism and it is natural to expect that it should have a special importance in Vaiṣṇava literature, which it most certainly has.

The Purāṇas represent a state of thought-transition when the Vedic deities are receding into back-ground and the great triad of high-gods is emerging to dominate the whole field of religious expression. In this transition, it is natural that those attributes which once qualified the erstwhile important god are pressed in the service of another who replaces him in authority. Thus in the new order Indra yields his place to Viṣṇu and the function of protecting the tribe of gods devolves upon the latter, Indra becoming merely a leader of the divine host. In a few cases, legends belonging to gods of the earlier epoch would be connected to the newly-high ; so, to me it appears that the legend of Hiraṇyakaśipu (in its earliest version) belongs to this category, as it presents, in essentials, the myth of the killing of Namuci by Indra transferred to the credit of Viṣṇu, but with a change in environment and a shift of emphasis.[2] The legend, being popular, passed

1. I gratefully record here my obligations to Dr. Sukthankar, who really has inspired me to write this paper.—I have used for references, the Critical Edition of the Sabhāparvan (in press) edited by Prof. Edgerton, the editions of Brahma, Matsya and Padma Purāṇas in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series and the Chitrashala edition of the Harivaṁśa. The critical text of the Sabhāparvan was kindly made available to me, for the purposes to this article, by Dr. Sukthankar.

2. See, Hopkins, *Festschrift Windisch*, p, 72. In ancient tradition both Indra and Viṣṇu are grouped together among the Ādityas. Both of them assume theriomorphic forms (for Indra, cf. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, ch. 5. pp. 62–63). This may have helped the transference of myths. The myth of Rāma, who is another *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, is also derived, according to Prof. Jacobi, from the *Indra-Vṛtra* myth.

in the hands of the poets of Purāṇas, who worked on it, and eventually it deteriorates into a sectarian story in glorification of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu.

Thus the story of Hiraṇyakaśipu occurs in the Purāṇic tradition in at least two distinct forms, which are *prima facie* of uneven quality. One of these is the account found in the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas and is printed by Kirfel in his *Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa* in section C of *Vaṁśa* (pp. 193–196). Kirfel has grouped together these two Purāṇas as they are closely allied in several respects and are in substantial verbal agreement. The other form, which is longer and more elaborate. occurs in the Harivaṁśa (3.41–47), the Matsya (adhy. 161–163), and the Padma Purāṇas (5.42); and a shorter version of it earlier in the Harivaṁśa (1.41.39–78) and the Brahmāṇḍa[3] (213.44–79).

The Vāyu–Brahmāṇḍa version of Hiraṇyakaśipu's story seems entirely unconnected with the first version (which has two—the longer and the shorter—forms), and shows no verbal parallelisms with it. It varies from the latter also in point of details and gives us a brief report of Hiraṇyakaśipu's penance, prowess and fall. The account is primitive and ungarnished, and is inserted in the narration of primeval creation, which seems to be its legitimate and original context. Here the Vaiṣṇava colouring of the later aspects of the story is entirely lacking.

The other version, however, has no necessary and therefore natural context, being introduced in the description of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. This entire theme is secondary, not being comprised under any one of the five traditional divisions of a Purāṇa. The version under discussion is sometimes inserted alone, without reference to the other *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, but has no contexual connection with either what precedes or follows. So it is rather loose and has no fixity of context. It, therefore, as is also apparent from its developed and flagrantly sectarian aspect must be later[4] than the Vāyu–Brahmāṇḍa version.

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3. A yet another form of the story which is styled Prahlāda-carita occurs in Viṣṇu-purāṇa (1. 17–1.20). To it seems related a very late account of the Padmapurāṇa (6.265). In both these places Prahlāda is represented in in the rôle of a moralizer, and the dialogue between him and his father appears as if it served some dramatic or mimic purpose in ancient days.

4. The terms " late " and " early ", as used here, may be rather misleading as they do not refer to any exact point of time or age. They merely denote relational sequence as they needs must in texual criticism of composite and fluid tradition having divergent versions and being spread over wide periods of time.

It is curious, that this second account of the legend again has two versions, verbally identical, but one of which is brief while the other has attracted many accretions to it and is thus much expanded. It is peculiar that both these forms occur in the Harivaṁśa itself, at two different places of insertion, viz. at 1.41. 39–78 and 3.41 to 3. 47. The shorter form of the version (Hari. 1.41.39–78) is again discovered in the Brahmapurāṇa (213. 44–79). I have compared the texts of the Hari. and the Brahma for this passage and have gleaned the following typical variants :

Harivaṁśa			Brahma-purāṇa		
1. 41.	40	राजन्	213.	44	नाम्
	44	साध्यैर्		48	सार्धं
	46	सप्तर्षिभिस्तथा		50	विद्वद्भिरेव च
	53	नक्षत्राणि दिशो दश		57	आकाशं चैव सर्वशः
	61	भगवान्		62	भगवन्
	,,	अव्यक्तः प्रकृतिर्ध्रुवः		,,	अव्यक्तं प्रकृतिर्ध्रुवम्
	66	पुरा धर्षितवांस्तु सः		67	तदा धर्षितवांस्तथा
	68	न्यवसद्		69	विचरन्
	72	उत्फुल्लाम्बुजपत्राक्ष		73	उत्फुल्लामलपत्राक्ष, etc., etc.

It will be readily seen from a critical study of the above list that the variants in the Brahmapurāṇa are clearly inferior and therefore cannot by any means be original. They can be explained to have arisen on no other hypothesis but that of their being secondarily derived from the Harivaṁśa text, which is certainly superior. It must be conceded that what we find in Brahma is a slightly deteriorated form of the text as occurring in the Hari. This means that Brahma must have copied this account from the Harivaṁśa, which result accords well with a similar finding of Prof. Walter Ruben[5].

This version is seen repeated in an expanded form in the Harivaṁśa in another place (3. 41 to 3. 47) and in Matsya (161–163) and Padma (5. 42) Purāṇas. The expansion mainly consists in an elaborate description of the *sabhā* of Hiraṇyakaśipu and a long passage where are introduced, *inter alia*, names of countries and rivers, that shook in fear of Hiraṇyakaśipu's wrath. The description of Hiraṇyakaśipu's palace is extremely interesting as it presents striking parallelisms with about two dozen stanzas from the Sabhā-

5. Vide *JRAS* (1941) 247–256, 337–358, " The Puranic Line of Heroes ", Ruben's enquiry is also based essentially on text-critical considerations.

parvan. I am persuaded that these are borrowed *directly* from the Great Epic and are assimilated by the Purāṇas. This requires no elaborate proof, as the very manner in which they are taken over, points towards this conclusion. I have been unable to discover from what source the other parts of the accretions in the expanded form are derived—they look like a farrago of different strains—but I suspect that the names of countries and peoples from the Digvijaya section of the Sabhā may have in some measure influenced part of this narration where names of countries etc. are listed.

It will be presumptuous to assert with certainty the priority, of one book to the other in the case of the three books, viz., the Harivaṁśa, and the Matsya and Padma Purāṇas where the expanded form of Hiraṇyakaśipu's story is seen, as the whole account itself is derivative and inflated. Its original is the shorter account that we meet in the Harivaṁśa at an earlier place (1. 41. 39–78). It is possible that the redactors of the Harivaṁśa themselves worked upon the shorter account, and expanded it by eking it out with new matter borrowed from tradition and inserted it at a later place, which procedure is not quite unfamiliar to Hari. On the other hand, it is also possible that one or the other of the two remaining Purāṇas accomplished the expansion and the expanded form got back into the later part of Hari. by a sort of *texual refraction.* The former alternative, however, seems to me preferable as I believe that even in the expanded form the text of Hari. is prior to that in the Mat. and the Pad. I further think, that the Padma has copied from the Matsya. Accordingly the sequence of the three texts is: (1) Hari. (2) Mat. and (3) Pad., the latter two copying from the immediately preceding text. I will briefly state reasons that support this position.

In choosing his boons Hiraṇyakaśipu speaks to Brahmā :

पाणिप्रहारेणैकेन सभृत्यबलवाहनम् ।
यो मां नाशयितुं शक्तः स मे मृत्युर्भविष्यति ॥

This stanza occurs in Hari. in the expanded account at 3.41.16, but is silently omitted in both the Purāṇas. The motive of this omission, which is deliberate, is obviously the removal of internal inconsistency. Had the stanza been unoriginal, Hari. would never admit it in its narration as it is contexually a complete misfit. For, the *denouement* of the story states that Nṛsiṁha struck down Hiraṇyakaśipu by tearing him to pieces with his mighty claws and not by one fell knock-out blow of the fist :

समुत्पत्य ततस्तीक्ष्णैर्मृगेन्द्रेण महानखैः ।
तत्रोङ्कारसहायेन विदार्य निहतो युधि ॥ (Hari. 3.47. 13-14)

The stanza, moreover, is authenticated by the shorter account (Hari. 1-41-52) and really belongs there as the end of Hiraṇyakaśipu is described there as :

दैत्यं सोऽतिबलं दीप्तं दृप्तशार्दूलविक्रमम् ।
दृप्तैर्दैत्यगणैर्गुप्तं हतवानेकपाणिना ॥ (Hari. 1.41.78)

Here we see that while expanding the story the Harivaṁśa has preserved the original stanza, while the Purāṇas dropped it as contexually discrepant,—a sure mark of later refinement. There are also instances where the text has more and more deteriorated in transmission. I will cite only one typical instance to illustrate my meaning.

Shorter version in Hari. (1.41.70) : वेदयज्ञमयं ब्रह्म ब्रह्मदेवं सनातनम् ।
Expanded from in Hari. (3.41.32) : देवं देवमयं यज्ञं ब्रह्म दैवं सनातनम् ।
Mat. and Pad. (16.29 and 42.29 resp.) : देवदेवं यज्ञमयं वासुदेवं सनातनम् ।

We see here the successive transformation of the line from the more difficult to an easier form and which is more significant, how it is given a sectarian colouring by the reading वासुदेवं in the Purāṇas. Here the process of corruption is transparent and at once determines the relative priority of the shorter account to the longer form in the Hari. itself, while the Purāṇas come still later.

The same result follows from a consideration of individual variant readings.[6] I will cite here a few instances where the two Purāṇas agree to differ from the Harivaṁśa and where the Hari. text is manifestly superior.

Harivaṁśa	Matsya and Padma
शतानि दश पञ्च	दश वर्षशतानि
० किन्नरैः	० पन्नगैः
गन्धर्वैरप्सरोगणैः	गन्धर्वाप्सरसां गणैः
वृतो देवगणैः सह	वृतः सर्वैर्दिवोकसैः
प्रतिजग्मुर्	विप्रजग्मुर्
मुनीन्सर्वान्	महाभागान्
वीर्यवान्	दानवः
प्रतिपत्स्यथ	प्रतिपद्यत
कान्त्या चन्द्र इवापरः	शशी कान्त्येव चापरः, etc., etc.

6. It is not always safe to rely on this point, as the individual readings of texts of this type show variations and fluctuations of such an amazing diversity that it is often useless to attempt analysing them in order to find guiding or regulating principles which explain their differences.

It is clear from their inferior readings that the Purāṇas must have copied their texts from the Hari. Now turning to the mutual relation-ship of the Purāṇas, it seems that the Padma has borrowed its text from the Matsya; for the text of the Matsya is closely allied to that of the Harivaṁśa,[7] while that of the Padma further diverges from the two as the following instances will show :

Harivaṁśa and Matsya	Padma
एते दिव्या वरास्तात	एष दिव्यो वरस्तात
मया दत्तास्तवाद्भुताः	मया दत्तस्तवाद्भुतः
तत्प्रसीदस्व	तत्प्रसादश्च
सुरान्	तदा
वधं विष्णुः करिष्यति	स्वयं विष्णुः करिष्यति[8]
दर्पितः	गर्वितः
पाणिं संस्पृश्य पाणिना	पाणी संगृह्य पाणिना

The possibility of Padma having directly borrowed from the Harivaṁśa is precluded, as its text shows no important readings where it is in agreement with Hari. independently of Matsya. It is therefore plausible that the text in the Padma is copied from Matsya, which is corroborated by its numerous agreements with the latter in contradistinction to Hari. (see above).

The most interesting aspect, as I said, of this expanded version of Hiraṇyakaśipu's story is however, its utilization of stanzas from the Sabhāparvan in describing Hiraṇyakaśipu's palace and its denizens. These stanzas are methodically culled from different chapters of the Sabhāparvan where the divine " Halls " (Sabhās) of Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and

7. In some cases it may be found that the Matsya text is superior to that in the Hari. but this can be explained by the fact that the Vulgate version of Hari. is corrupt and untrustworthy. Matsya must have copied from a purer text. Critical editions of these and similar texts is a great desideratum.

8. This reading has led to the curious gloss in the foot-note : कृत्स्नं हिंसायामिति कथादेः रूपमिदम् (!)

Brahmā are described. I will cite them below with important variants occuring in the three texts of the expanded version.

(1) Mbh. 2·7·2
Hari. 3·41·46^{cd}–47^{ab}
Mat. 161·39
Pad. 5·42·37^{cd}–38^{ab}

विस्तीर्णा योजनशतं शतमध्यर्धमायता ।
वैहायसी कामगमा पञ्चयोजनमुच्छ्रिता ॥

[a) Hari. Mat. Pad. विस्तीर्णाः. --b) Hari. उच्छ्रिता (for आयता). --c) Hari. विहायसीं; Mat. Pad. वैहायसीं. Hari. Mat. Pad. कामगमां. --d) Hari. Pad. °मुच्छ्रितां; Mat. °विस्तृतां.]

(2) Mbh. 2·7·3
Hari. 3·41·47^{cd}–48^{ab}
Mat. 161·40
Pad. 5·42·38^{cd}–39^{ab}

जराशोकक्लमापेता निरातङ्का शिवा शुभा ।
वेश्मासनवती रम्या दिव्यपादपशोभिता ॥

[a) Hari. Mat. Pad. निष्प्रकम्पां (for निरातङ्का). Hari. शिवां शुभां; Mat. Pad. शिवां सुखाम्. —c) Hari. शुभासनवतीं रम्यां; Mat. वेश्महर्म्यवतीं रम्यां; Pad. वेश्मासनवतीं रम्यां. —d) Hari. Mat. Pad. ज्वलन्तीमिव तेजसा.]

(3) Mbh. 2·9·2
Hari. 3·41·48^{cdef}
Mat. 161·41
Pad. 5·42·39^{cd}–40^{ab}

अन्तःसलिलमास्थाय विहिता विश्वकर्मणा ।
दिव्यरत्नमयैर्वृक्षैः फलपुष्पप्रदैर्युता ॥

[a) Hari. Mat. Pad. °संयुक्तां (for °मास्थाय). —b) Hari. Mat. Pad. विहितां. —c) Pad. दिव्यवर्णमयैर्. --d) Hari. Mat. Pad. °र्युताम्.]

(4) Mbh. 2·9·3
Hari. 3·41·49
Mat. 161·42
Pad. 5·42·40^{cd}–41^{ab}

नीलपीतासितश्यामैः सितैर्लोहितकैरपि ।
अवतानैस्तथा गुल्मैः पुष्पमञ्जरिधारिभिः ॥

[a) Mat. ° पीतसितश्यामैः. --b) Mat. कृष्णैर ; Pad. श्वेतैर (for सितैर्). —c) Pad. अवदातैस् (v. l. °तानैस्).— d) Hari. Mat. मञ्जरीशतधारिभिः ; Pad. रक्तमञ्जरिधा.°]

(5) Mbh. 2·10·4
Hari. 3·41·50,^{ab}51^{ab}
Mat. 161·43
Pad. 5·42·41^{cd}–42^{ab}

रश्मिवती भास्वरा च दिव्यगन्धा मनोरमा ।
सिताभ्रशिखराकारा प्लवमानेव दृश्यते ॥

[All the three texts transpose *ab* and *cd*. —a) Hari. प्रभावती. Pad. रश्मिमती स्वभावेन. —b) Hari. Mat. Pad. दिव्यगन्ध-. —c) Hari. Mat. Pad. सिताभ्रघनसंकाशा (Pad. °शां). -- d) Hari. प्लवन्ती वाप्सु दृश्यते; Mat. प्लवन्तीव व्यदृश्यत; Pad. प्लवन्ती चाप्यदृश्यत.]

(6) Mbh. 2·11·10
Hari. 3·41·51^{cd},52^{ab} सुसुखा सा सभा राजन्न शीता न च घर्मदा ।
Mat. 161·44 न क्षुत्पिपासे न ग्लानिं प्राप्य तां प्राप्नुवन्त्युत ॥
Pad. 5·42·42^{cd}–43^{ab}

[a) Hari. Mat. Pad. ना(Mat. सु–; Pad. न)सुखा न च दुःखा सा. —c Mat. Pad. ग्लानिं वा (for न ग्लानिं). —d) Hari. हि; Mat. Pad. ते (for [उ] त).]

(7) Mbh. 2·11·11
Hari. 3·41·52^{cd},53^{ab} नानारूपैरिव कृता सुविचित्रैः सुभास्वरैः ।
Mat. 161·45 स्तम्भैर्न च धृता सा तु शाश्वती न च सा क्षरा ॥
Pad. 5·42·43^{cd}

[a) Hari. विरचिता; Mat. Pad. उपकृतां (for इव कृता). —b) Hari. Mat. विचित्रैरतिभास्वरैः ; Pad. सुचित्रैश्च शुभ(v. l. सुभा)स्वरैः.—Pad. om. *cd*. —c) Hari. स्तम्भैर्मणिमयैर्दिव्यैः ; Mat. स्तम्भैर्न विधृता सा वै. —d) Hari. चाक्षता च सा; Mat. चाक्षया सदा (for न च सा क्षरा).]

(8) Mbh. 2·11·12
Hari. 3·41·53^{cd},54^{ab} अति चन्द्रं च सूर्यं च शिखिनं च स्वयंप्रभा ।
Mat. 161·46 दीप्यते नाकपृष्ठस्था भासयन्तीव भास्करम् ॥
Pad. 5·42·44

[b) Hari. पावकं (for शिखिनं). —d) Hari. भर्त्सयन्तीव. Pad. भासयन्ती च भासुरा.]

(9) Mbh. 2·8·5
Hari. 3·41·54,^{cd}55^{ab} सर्वे कामाः स्थितास्तस्यां ये दिव्या ये च मानुषाः ।
Mat. 161·47 रसवच्च प्रभूतं च भक्ष्यभोज्यमरिंदम ॥
Pad. 5·42·45

[a) Hari. Mat. सर्वे च कामाः प्रचुरा; Pad. सर्वे चकासिरे तस्यां. —b) Pad. सुवृताश्चैव मानुषाः. — c) Hari. Pad. रसवन्तः प्रभूताश्च; Mat. रसयुक्तं प्रभूतं च.— d) Hari. ° भोज्यं तथाक्षयं; Mat. ° भोज्यमनन्तकं ; Pad. ° भोज्यान्नमुत्तमं.]

(10) Mbh. 2·8·6
Hari. 3·41·55^{cd},56^{ab} पुण्यगन्धाः स्रजस्तत्र नित्यपुष्पफलद्रुमाः ।
Mat. 161·48 रसवन्ति च तोयानि शीतान्युष्णानि चैव ह ॥
Pad. 5·42·46

[a) Mat. °गन्धस्रजश्चात्र; Pad. °गन्धाः स्रजश्चापि. —b) Pad. नित्यकाल–. —cd Hari. Mat. Pad. उष्णे शीतानि तोयानि शीते चोष्णानि सन्ति वै (Mat. च).]

(11) Mbh. 2·10·6^{ab}
Hari. 3·42·2^{ab} दिवाकरनिभे पुण्ये दिव्यास्तरणसंवृते ।
Mat. 161·71^{cd}
Pad. 5·42·67^{ab}

a) Hari. रम्ये; Mat. Pad. दिव्ये. —b) Hari. °संभृते; Mat. Pad. °संस्तृत.

(12) Mbh. 2·10·9
Hari. 3·42·4
Mat. 161·73
Pad. 5·42·68

तत्र देवाः सगन्धर्वा गणैरप्सरसां वृताः ।
दिव्यतानेन गीतानि गान्ति दिव्यानि भारत ॥

[Mat. Pad. subst. for *ab*, a different line. —cd) Hari. दिव्यतालेन दिव्यानि जगुर्गीतानि गायनाः; Mat. Pad. दिव्यतानेन (Pad. °तालानि) गीतानि जगुर्गन्धर्वसत्तमाः.]

(13) Mbh. 2·10·11
Hari. 3·42·5
Mat. 161·74
Pad. 5·42·69

विश्वाची सहजन्या च प्रम्लोचा उर्वशी इरा ।
वर्गा च सौरभेयी च समीची बुद्बुदा लता ॥

[b) Hari. Mat. प्रम्लोचेत्यभिविश्रुता; Pad. प्रम्लोचेति च विश्रुताः. —c) Hari. दिव्या च; Mat. Pad. दिव्याथ (for वर्गा च). Hari. सौरभेया. —d) Hari. Mat. Pad. समीची पुञ्जिकस्थला (Mat. ° स्थली; Pad. ° स्थलाः); cf. No. 14, and v. 1.]

(14) Mbh. 2·10·10
Hari. 3·42·6
Mat. 161·75
Pad. 5·42·70

मिश्रकेशी च रम्भा च चित्रसेना शुचिस्मिता ।
चारुनेत्रा घृताची च मेनका पुञ्जिकस्थला ॥

[b) Mat. चित्रलेखा (for °सेना). Pad. चित्रभा श्रुतिविभ्रमा.— c) Mat. चारुकेशी (v. 1. °नेत्रा). —d) Hari. Mat. Pad. चोर्वशी तथा (for पुञ्जिक°); cf. No. 13, and v. 1.]

(15) Mbh. 2·10·12
Hari. 3·42·7
Mat. 161·76
Pad. 5·42·71

एताः सहस्रशश्चान्या नृत्तगीतविशारदाः ।
उपतिष्ठन्ति धनदं पाण्डवाप्सरसां गणाः ॥

[b) Hari. Mat. Pad. नृत्य-(for नृत्त-). —cd) Hari. Mat. Pad. उपतिष्ठन्ति (Pad. उपातिष्ठंत) राजानं हिरण्यकशिपुं प्रभुं (Hari. तदा).]

(16) Mbh. 2·10·5
Hari. 3·42·8
Mat. 161·70^{ab}72^{d}
Pad. 5·42·67^{d}

तस्यां वैश्रवणो राजा विचित्राभरणाम्बरः ।
स्त्रीसहस्रावृतः श्रीमानास्ते ज्वलितकुण्डलः ॥

[This stanza is recorded *mutatis mutandis* only by Hari.; Matsya has only three pādas (*bcd*) in scattered sequence, while Padma has only one (*d*). —a) Hari. हिरण्यकशिपुस्तत्र. —c) Hari. Mat. स्त्रीसहस्रैः परिवृतः. —d) Hari. तस्थौ (for आस्ते).]

(17) Mbh. 2·9·12
Hari. 3·42·10
Mat. 161·78^{cd} –79^{ab}
Pad. 5·42·72^{cd}–73^{ab}

बलिर्वैरोचनो राजा नरकः पृथिवींजयः ।
प्रह्लादो विप्रचित्तिश्च कालखञ्जाश्च सर्वशः ॥

[a) Hari. वैरोचनस्तत्र; Mat. विरोचनस्तत्र; Pad. वैरोचानिस्तत्र. —b) Hari. पृथिवीजयः ; Mat. Pad. ° वीसुतः. —c) Hari. प्रह्लादो. —d) Mat. Pad. गर्विष्ठश्च महासुरः.]

(18) Mbh. 2·9·13
Hari. 3·42·11
Mat. 161·79^{cd}–80^{ab}
Pad. 5·42·73^{c}–74^{b}

सुहनुर्दुर्मुखः शङ्कुः सुमनाः सुमतिः स्वनः ।
घटोदरो महापार्श्वः क्रथनः पिठरस्तथा ॥

[a) Hari. अहन्ता क्रोधहन्ता च; Mat. सुरहन्ता सुनामा च; Pad. सुरहन्ता दुःखकर्ता. —b) Hari. खरः ; Pad. तथा (for स्वनः) Mat. प्रमतिः सुमतिर्वरः.]

(19) Mbh. 2·9·14
Hari. 3·42·12
Mat. 161·80^{cd}–81^{ab}
Pad. 5·42·74^{cd}–75^{ab}

विश्वरूपः सुरूपश्च विरूपोऽथ महाशिराः ।
दशग्रीवश्च वाली च मेघवासा दशावरः ॥

[a) Hari. °रूपश्च रूपश्च. —b) Hari. विरूपश्च महाद्युतिः ; Mat. स्वचलश्च महाबलः ; Pad. विश्वकायो महाचलः. —d) Hari. महारवः ; Mat. Pad. महासुरः.]

(20) Mbh. 2·9·15
Hari. 3·42·13
Mat. 161·81^{cd}–82^{ab}
Pad. 5·42·75^{cd}–76^{ab}

कैटभो विटटूतश्च संह्रादश्चेन्द्रतापनः ।
दैत्यदानवसंघाश्च सर्वे रुचिरकुण्डलाः ॥

[a) Hari. कटाभो विकटाभश्च ; Mat. घटास्योऽकम्पनश्चैव; Pad. घटाभो विटरूपश्च. —b) Mat. प्रजन° ; Pad. ज्वलन° (for संह्राद°). —c) Mat. Pad. ते (for च). —d) Hari. Mat. Pad. ज्वलित° (for रुचिर°).]

(21) Mbh. 2·9·16
Hari. 3·42·14
Mat. 161·82^{cd}–83^{ab}
Pad. 5·42·76^{cd}–77^{ab}

स्रग्विणो मौलिनः सर्वे तथा दिव्यपरिच्छदाः ।
सर्वे लब्धवराः शूराः सर्वे विगतमृत्यवः ॥

[a) Hari. Mat. वाग्मिनः ; Pad. वर्मिणः (for मौलिनः). —b) Hari. सर्वे सुचरितव्रताः ; Mat. सदैव चरितव्रताः ; Pad. सर्वे च चरितव्रताः (cf. No. 22). —d) Pad. विहितमृ°.]

(22) Mbh. 2·9·17^{cd}
Hari. 3·42·15^{cd}
Mat. 161·84^{ab}
Pad. 5·42·78^{ab}

उपासते महात्मानं सर्वे सुचरितव्रताः ।

[a) Hari. उपासन्ते; Mat. ° सन्ति. —b) Hari. Mat. Pad. सर्वे दिव्यपरिच्छदाः (cf. No. 21).]

(23) Mbh. 2·7·23^{cd}–24^{ab}
Hari. 3·42·16
Mat. 161·84^{cd}
Pad. 5·42·78^{cd}

विमानैर्विविधैर्दिव्यैर्भ्राजमानैरिवाग्निभिः ।
स्रग्विणो भूषिताश्चान्ये यान्ति चायान्ति चापरे ॥

[a) Hari. विचित्रैरग्र्यैर् ; Mat. Pad. विविधाकारैर्. —b) Hari. इवार्चिभिः.— Mat. Pad. om. *cd*. —c) Hari. भूषणधरा (for भूषि°). —d) Hari. हेलया (for चापरे).]

From these passages it will be clear that the expanded version has modelled its description according to the example set by the Sabhāparvan descriptions and on an identical plan. It first appeared in the Harivaṁśa,—a work closely related to the epic, being in fact its concluding book,—making use of these stanzas to embellish its narrative. The version thus expanded was copied by the Matsya, from which it was borrowed by the Padma in its turn. There can absolutely be no doubt that these are genuine epic stanzas, most natural and necessary in their context and are proved to belong to the earliest form of the Sabhāparvan which can be reconstructed on the authority of MSS. evidence, as they are recorded in the Critical Edition of the Sabhāparvan edited by Prof. Edgerton. It is impossible to think that these stanzas may belong to the *floating tradition* and got into the Purāṇas quite independently of the epic. For in the Purāṇas they are obviously of a patch-work character and are indiscriminately put together. In bringing them together the redactors have forgotten to remove even apparent incongruities within the text itself. For example, the submarine character of Varuṇa's palace as well as the top-most situation of Brahmā's hall (अन्तः-सलिलमास्थाय etc., and अति चन्द्रं च सूर्यं च etc.,) are both predicated about Hiraṇyakaśipu's *sabhā*, in one breath.

Thus it is seen that the Mahābhārata has been looked upon as a source-book even by the authors of Purāṇic tradition, which must therefore be later than the Epic. The motive that actuated the compilers of Purāṇas seems to be sectarian as in this case it is clearly the glorification of Viṣṇu, whose incarnations must have assumed definite shape after Kṛṣṇa became the supreme God. Divinity of Kṛṣṇa is accepted in the Mahābhārata, while it is fully established in the Harivaṁśa. The Purāṇas are posterior even to Harivaṁśa and therefore we find sectarian tendencies culminating themselves in them.

That the Mbh. should be proved anterior to the Hari. and Purāṇas is nothing surprising, as it can be shown to be so in numerous other passages where overlapping of the epic and Purāṇic texts is detected. This result, however, is specially note-worthy in this particular instance as it vindicates the authenticity of the description of different *sabhās* in the Epic, which has been held to be late.[9]

9. Cf. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, foot-note (1), p. 58 : "...As these are the only passages where Sudharmā occurs as a hall, common in Hariv. and the Purāṇas it is probably an indication that the "Halls" are a late description, a supposition favoured by other evidence of the same character regarding their inhabitants (perhaps a loan from the Jains, who have a heaven and gods called Sudharma)."

SOME CONTRIBUTIONS OF ĀḶVĀRS TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF BHAKTI

BY

K. C. VARADACHARI

We have vast literature on the bhakti school but scarcely an adequate account of the important part played by the āḷvārs or Seers of South India. The āḷvārs are the mystico-religious Vaiṣṇava saints who have given a new orientation to bhakti by making it more catholic and universal. Bhakti indeed is devotion of God and as a path it has been counselled in the Bhagavad-Gītā as more supreme than either sāṁkhya (jñāna-mārga) or yoga or karma. In the āḷvār-literature we have a profound worship of the Divine in his five-foldness and not merely devotion and duty but a radical surrender of oneself. The five-foldness of the Deity is a special doctrine of the Pāñcarātra-school and Śrī Vaiṣṇava āḷvārs[1] accept the nature of the manifested Divine as five-fold as Vāsudeva, Vyūha (cosmic functionaries), Vibhava (the descents of the Divine or Avatāras), Antaryāmi and Arca (image). The āḷvārs lay great stress on this most approachable form (subhāśraya) of arca in so far as it is that

[1] For the first time in āḷvār-literature we have the mention of the special pāñcarātra doctrine of five-foldness of the Divine nature in creation in the *Tirucchanda-viruttam* of Tirumaḻiśai-āḷvār (4th century). 17th verse runs thus :

" The One person, three persons, in all four persons ; Being thus the enjoyable person, and the person realized through meritorious deeds and the Person of many manifestational forms, O Prime Lord, lying on the serpent in the Ocean of Milk and beyond it, You are the transcendent Unique Form. "

cf. *Śrī-vacana-bhūṣaṇam* : Pillai Lokācārya : 39. sūtra : "Antaryāmi-form is like the waters deep in the bowels of the earth ; Para-form is like the enveloping waters (outside the egg) ; Vyūha is like the milk-ocean (difficult to attain) ; Vibhavas are like mighty floods, whilst Arcas are overflowing tanks with waters of the above."

which the devotee can imagine and realise as leading upto the highest transcendent God himself. The arca can be of any of the four forms such as Vāsudeva, or cosmic deities like Saṁkarṣaṇa, Aniruddha, Pradyumna or Acyuta. The Vaikhānasa school has indeed made provision in the temple worship for the five *beras* or forms corresponding to the four-fold divisions given above. It would be necessary to consider philosophically the justification of the worship of the icons which form the fundamental vitality of popular religion in India, but I shall deal with that elsewhere. In the meanwhile it may be stated that if worship of ancestors and heroes is justifiable the worship of the descents of the Divine, the avatāras, vibhūtis of God is justified.

The āḷvārs worked out a synthesis between the Vedic and the āgama views about the nature of God and defined the means of approach to Him. In this too their originality consisted in pointing out vigorously the futility of the path of mere bhakti that is not followed upto its logical conclusion in the universal realisation of God-indwellingness in all creation.

II

Śrī Veṅkaṭanātha writing on the unique method of the āḷvārs as self-surrender, total and integral, says that it is distinguished from bhakti.

" Because of the lack of strength to pursue the methods of bhakti and others which depend upon merit,

Because of the lack of intelligence to discriminate (the true from the false),

Because of the incapacity to learn from the śāstras or from holy discussions, Good men, differing from one another in all these four or in one or two or three, verily for the sake of liberation seek the Lord through direct prapatti (*svatantra-prapatti*)."[1]

Thus here we have the qualifications for bhakti, namely, the arduous path of devotion, which requires intelligence that is awakened and the capacity to learn from the scriptures as to the method of devotion and the facilities to hear and live in the company of holy men. The main distinction then between the

Rahasya-traya-sāra : prapatti-yogyādhikāra.

prapatti or self-surrender and bhakti that is dependent on the qualifications of devotion or one-pointedness of mind, intelligence and capacity to imbibe scriptural teaching and facilities to hear holy discussions lies essentially in the one demanding qualifications and the other none. The reference of Śrī Veṅkaṭanātha to good men (*santaḥ*) is surely to the āḷvārs and the ācāryas who followed their teaching loyally. If this be so can we legitimately say that this is a development whereas it is a departure from the bhakti? Not so, if we look at the general use of the theory of bhakti which has become a general theory of devotion universalised and without distinction of caste or āśrama.

The devotional doctrine is defined by Veṅkaṭanātha as the contemplation of the Supreme Lord without depending on anything else, with one-pointed mind. This requires loving pure (*sāttvika*) spiritual discrimination which causes the clear knowledge of the Divine to arise. But prapatti equally grants the fruits of the bhakti being more universal in its application. The āḷvārs had inclined to the view that self-surrender to God does not involve the possession of the disciplines of the jñāna and karma and bhakti yoga. [1]

III

The āḷvār's consciousness is of the universal being who is anxious to save the seeker who is prepared to surrender his all to Him and stake his all in the love and power and glory of God. This is the essential promise of all Śaraṇāgata-doctrines. From the Vedic literature downwards we have the promise of refuge, *abhaya-pradāna*, grant of freedom from fear. Ṛgveda X. 125.5 states that God out of His Grace grants everything to the soul and makes it a sage, a mighty being and a knower of Brahman.[2] God's prasāda or grace is most closely linked up with man's total surrender or refuge-seeking, though this must be known to be neither a cause-effect relation nor yet a bargain. For God's

[1] *Rahasya-traya-sāra* : Upāya-vibhāgādhikāra.

[2] ahameva svayam idam vadāmi juṣṭam devebhir uta mānuṣebhiḥ ।
yam kāmaye tam tamugram kṛṇomi tam brahmāṇam tam ṛṣim tam sumedhām ॥

grace is immeasurable only demanding a slight occasion (vyāja) for His revealing His grace and love for all. The statement that bhakti is a upāya or means to God-realisation or liberation is to be understood not in the instrumental or causal sense of necessity just as some persons hold that magic or sounds or mantras have the power to force the gods to grant fruits even in a mechanical manner. On the contrary, we know that the power of jñāna or karma or even bhakti is essentially limited; they lead upto the metaphysical or effectual or devotional askesis; the fruits of such knowledge depend upon the grace of God himself. Hence the statement that not through jñāna-askesis but through His grace alone consequent on great devotion does one achieve the vision of the Highest Being or liberation. The instrumentality of bhakti or jñāna thus is only a upacāra usage. God's grace is the most important fact which makes man become divinised. Man's knowledge and works may only lead upto it but cannot by any means make for the descent of grace, for then the self or self-consciousness of the soul intrudes itself. The prasāda of God is a veritable gift of the Divine whether it be the Vision eternal or the Foundational knowledge that saves, or the Peace that is the field wherein the Lord erects Himself or descends. That is why prasāda is many times declared to be the peace of mind. Without this prasāda, there can be no release, mukti, or even a possibility of jumping the life to come. It is not all knowledge, knowledge even of the categories that saves, but the divine knowledge, knowledge granted by the divine, that saves. This saving-knowledge is what is to be got by a seeker and for this purpose the only quick and total path is self-surrender. Thus have the āḷvārs stated. This is what we find to have been intimated by the famous mantra, *Īśa.* 18 (Ṛgveda I. 189. 1), which is used in various contexts under many occasions. " We shall the speech of surrender, *nama uktim*, dispose." The *Śvetāśvatara* (VI. 18) uses the most important word of surrender as the means to God's grace, *śaraṇam aham prapadye.* The *Taittirīya* (Nārāyaṇānuvāka, 5. 1) gives direction to sacrifice oneself to the Divine. The *Gītā* makes most clear reference to the doctrine of prapatti, and it is the view of the āḷvārs and ācāryas of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism that *Gītā* teaches the prapatti or self-surrender

doctrine as the path and the way to liberation.[1] At the very beginning Arjuna makes his surrender (II. 7). Śrī Kṛṣṇa advises that surrender alone is the means to cross over illusion that is difficult to pierce (VII. 14); and again in the closing chapter (XVIII. 62, 66) Śrī Kṛṣṇa reiterates the path of surrender as that which will save.

The efficacy of prapatti to lead up to the manifestation of prasāda is fully explained in the Pāñcarātra āgamas and the Vaikhānasa. The worship of the Arca-form of God forms the important part of these two āgamas and the worship is followed up by self-surrender. The self-surrender is the preliminary to all activities and is directed towards liberation. Even after liberation the knowledge of dependence on the Divine (jñāna) being firmly rooted the individual continues to worship and surrender to the Divine. In the Pāñcarātra school in almost all its āgamas there is mention of the six-fold practice of surrender. The *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā* (37. 25-26) enumerates the five aṅgas of surrender as ānukūlyasya saṁkalpa, prātikūlyasya varjanam, Goptṛtva-varaṇam, rakṣiṣyatīti viśvāsaḥ, kārpaṇya. With more or less uniformity *Nārada Pāñcarātra* (I. 17) confirms this.

Rāmāyaṇa which is considered by Śrī Vaiṣṇava writers to be the Śaraṇāgati-veda *par excellence* enunciated the efficacy of the self-surrender and the prasāda nature of God.[2] In the Bālakāṇḍa we find the Devas seeking refuge from the torments of Rāvaṇa and asuric forces (XV. 16 ; XV. 24). We find Lakṣmaṇa surrendering to his divine brother in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa. In the forest Śrī Bharata performed Śaraṇāgati, as well as the sages of the Daṇḍaka-forest. In the Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa, Sugrīva sought refuge and was granted refuge. In the Sundara-kāṇḍa we have the surrender of Trijaṭa, and in the Yuddha, that of Vibhīṣaṇa. Above all we find Śri Rāma making the supreme statement that even if it be Rāvaṇa who sought refuge He would grant it. Vibhīṣaṇa, it is acclaimed, performed the Self-surrender along with its five aṅgas of ānukūlyasya saṁkalpa, prātikūlyasya varjanam, goptṛtva-varaṇam, rakṣiṣyatīti-viśvāsa and kārpaṇya and ātmanikṣepa.

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1 *Rahasya-traya-sāra* : Upāya-vibhāgādhikāra, final verse.

2 *Abhayapradānasāra* 10 chapters ; Veṅkaṭanātha : (20 esoteric sermon) deals with this point most fully.

The above brief sketch is to intimate that the background of the āḷvārs' psychology of devotion was soaked in the scriptural Vedic and purāṇic tradition.[1]

The history of bhakti coupled with self-surrender or prapatti consists in a three-fold process of arriving at the Vision of the Lord. The first three āḷvārs who belonged to the same period following the path of synthesis[2] arrived at the knowledge of the Divine through transcendent knowledge (*para-jñāna*), transcendent devotion (*para-bhakti*) and finally *parama-bhakti*. Poygai āḷvār was so struck by the majesty and beauty of the natural phenomena and their unique order that he asked himself the question of the Creator and knew the supreme *causa sui*. God was the all-ruler and all-creator. Pudattāḷvār saw the Lord to be not merely the *causa sui* but that he is an Object of our devotionalised knowledge (*para-bhakti*). The third āḷvār Pey-āḷvār, profitting by the paths of knowledge of the Divine and of the devotionalised knowledge was enabled to perceive that all, that those two grant, was merely a glamorous cosmic vision; the inner nature of God, the personal Ruler immortal and universal,

[1] We have found in the purāṇic references of the āḷvārs wide differences between the versions of certain stories; for instance, Mārkaṇḍeya is said to be a devotee of Nārāyaṇa though a pupil of Rudra. Rudra himself is said to be a great teacher of the Nārāyaṇa doctrine. (cf. *Tirucchanda-Viruttam*, verse 8 and *Nānmukhan-Tiruvandādi* 15, 17 and 18 verses). A complete investigation into these variations has been undertaken by me and will be published elsewhere.

[2] Mudal Tiruvandādi, 1

Deeming the world as bowl, the full ocean as ghee, the fierce-rayed Sun as the wick,
I have twined a garland of verse for the feet of the red-flaming-discus-wearer..."

Irandām Tiruvandādi, 1

Devotion as the lamp-bowl, aspiration as Ghee, the melted mind as the wick,
With a melting soul have I lighted the bright flame of Love to Nārāyaṇa..."

Munrām Tiruvandādi, 1

The Mother have I seen in the Lord of Ocean hue!
That Form of golden splendour have I seen!
That radiant Sun-like form have I seen! ......

who is more than the impersonal is to be known through surrender to Him. This surrender is *parama-bhakti*, the fullest Vision, that is knowledge and devotion expressing themselves in the total dependence-nature on the Divine. Pey-āḻvār was granted the Vision of the intimate sauśīlya form, the kalyāṇatamam rūpam,[1] which Arjuna sought as the other form crowned with mace and discus [2] along with the mother of the Universe. The fourth āḻvār, who is said to have been a free-thinker, a Buddhist, Jain and Śaiva seer and poet before he was converted by the third āḻvār to Śrī Vaiṣṇavism, points out that the object of the religious quest should be the Highest that the mind can know in the causal and redemptive categories. If it be anything less than the highest there can only result bondage and not freedom. Once this surrender is made God becomes the master, the Kṣetrajña, the knower and ploughman of the field. "Is it necessary to plant the seed of effort in the field of ancient saṁsāra of Kṛṣṇa?" God does all, only man should be absolutely His. What is necessary is to worship, to adore, to surrender at his feet and at the feet of all those who have done so.

Tirumaḻīśai's philosophy of religion is a complete exposition of the need to realise the fullness and greatness of God and His cosmos, His Grace and His excellences. The other āḻvārs continue and elaborate the neat conclusions of the first four āḻvārs. The Great Śaṭagopa, the author of the *Tiruvoymozhi*, who is considered to be the chief of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas, has described the many attributes of God. According to him, though he got, through God's grace, divine knowledge and even devotion (parajñāna and para-bhakti) [3] without the help of Vedic rites or

[1] Īśā. 16.

[2] B. G. XI. 45-6.

[3] Parabhakti, parajñāna and paramabhakti-this is said to be the order of succession in the experience towards vision. Commenting on Śrī Rāmānuja's *Śaraṇāgati-gadya*, Sudarśana (Śrutaprakāśikācārya) writes: uttarottara sākṣātkārābhiniveśaḥ parabhaktiḥ, sākṣātkāraḥ parajñānam, uttarottarānubhavābhiniveśaḥ paramabhaktiḥ. Parabhakti is the cause of parajñāna, and this in turn is the cause of paramabhakti which is complete or total devotion to God. Śrī Veṅkaṭanātha's view is similar to that of Sudarśana. In the *Tātparya-Candrikā*, commenting on Yāmunācārya's final verse of the *Gītārthasaṁgraha* we find that the view is similar to the development

(*continued on the next page*)

jñāna or meditation, he could not have his wishes fulfilled. In other words, we find that he was lamenting the absence of his Lord, Viśleṣa,[1] and could not experience at will the Divine. In other words satya-saṁkalpatva did not form one of his siddhis. This he found to be possible only through surrender to the Divine Lord completely, that is, without remainder. This surrender he made to the Arca-form of God at Tirupati. He made it very clear that bhakti must necessarily fulfil itself in surrender. [2]

Śrī Kulaśekhara, the Royal saint who renounced his throne preferring worship of God, has revealed the richness of the devotion that becomes knowledge and experience through viśleṣa or viraha, sneha, madhura and vātsalya. Surrender is to be made to the supremest object alone and not to any and every object however much near and dear it may actually appear to be in the forms of child and lover and son. The *Perumāl Tirumozhi* breathes a spiritual atmosphere that is rare even amidst the āḷvārs.[3]

The worship of the Divine includes in a real sense love of his creation and most surely those who have also yielded themselves to the Love of the Divine. The bhāgavatas or the souls that have become devoted to the beauty of God and greatness of God are to be worshipped. Śrī Kulaśekhara in his *Perumāl Tirumozhi* sought to move amidst them and dance with them with joy of the love of God. Madhurakavi, the disciple of Śaṭagopa, exalted the devotion to the Ācāryas or teachers as being equally important on the path. Surrender to the Divine may be made through the intercession and mediation of the saints of God and not directly since we may not be fit to do so ourselves or the circumstances may not be opportune for it. The path to liber-

(*continued from the previous page*)

vouchsafed by the Poygai, Pudattar and Pey of parajñāna, parabhakti and paramabhakti, which mean knowledge of the Divine, devotionalised knowledge of the Divine and Direct Vision of the integral dependence of oneself on the Divine.

1 *Tiruviruttam.*

2 cf. B. G. Manmanā bhava madbhakto madyājī māṁ namas kuru ।

3 cf. My forthcoming article on the Religious Philosophy of the First four Ālvārs and Kulaśekhara in the *J. S. V. O. I.*

ation according to Madhurakavi lies in the service of the Ācārya. Śrī Veṅkaṭanātha writes of Madhurakavi, " Those who are dependent for protection on the feet of the Lord Śaṭagopa, the path shewn by the holy Madhurakavi will prove beneficent as it had been for him. "[1]

Whilst we know that the above āḷvārs had been visiting several shrines (tirupatis) singing about the respective deities and making their complete surrender to them and thus realizing all that they wanted, happiness here and happiness in everything, when we come to Periyāḷvār or Viṣṇucitta, we find that he worshipped, not at shrines but at his own residence, a small image of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. He decorated this image, sang songs to it, gave offering to it, played with it, indeed he made it his one single companion. God was worshipped as his child. A slight intimation of this attitude was already made by Śrī Kulaśekhara when he in the person of Devakī sang cradle-songs to Kṛṣṇa.[2] But this reaches a total action in Viṣṇucitta's life. It is mentioned in *Īśvara Saṁhitā* that there are two kinds of icon-worship, svārtha and parārtha. That form which is worshipped by any individual at his own home as his personal companion, who protects him and grants him fruits is svārtham, whereas the communal deity installed in the temples is called parārtham. Prapatti can be made at either place. Viṣṇucitta worshipped in both ways as he seems to have supplied flower garlands to the God at the Srivilliputtur temple also, in addition to worshipping at home. Both are efficient as objects of worship and are to be known as one God only.

The child-mother relation as pointed out was already utilised by Śrī Kulaśekhara, just as the lover and beloved relationship was utilized by Śaṭagopa (in his *Tiruviruttam* and *Tiruvoymozhī*) and Śrī Kulaśekhara (*Perumāl Tirumozhi* V), and very early by Tirumaḷīśai's *Nānmukan Tiruvandādi*, v. 39, where the āḷvar says that 'He will draw a mystic omen-circle on sand' a practice common among all young maidens waiting for their beloved to prophesy whether they will be successfully met. This whole process of expression of the relationship between man and God which is

1 *Rahasyatrayasāra* : Guruparamparāprabhāvam.

2 *Perumāl Tirumozhi*, VI.

intimated to be one of dependence of man on god is reversed or inverted in the child-mother or father relationship which, psychologically speaking, is a defensive reaction of the ideal of non-seeking of anything from the Divine who is All and knows what the individual is and should be in his Divine Nature. Man's fullest surrender is only for the utter belonging to the Divine seeking nothing, asking nothing, and being nothing apart from him. This niṣkāma is the fullest point of surrender too as it is in karma or jñāna. This is a very unique development and most luminously is it clear in the experiences of Śrī Kulaśekhara. Tiruppāṇāḷvār expanded the teaching of Śaṭagopa and praised above all the important place that Arca-worship and surrender to it means. Godā or Āndāl, the foster-daughter of Viṣṇu Citta (Periyāḷvar), in a very comprehensive work revealed a path of transformation of the love consciousness to the highest level of supramental union with God with the help of Ācāryas and worship of god as the beloved. Bhakti here was transformed into supreme bhakti, premā or prītī.[1] Tirumaṅgai āḷvār, the most prolific hymnist, has praised the Utter renunciation of self and feeling of kārpaṇya or helplessness or akiṁcanya as the most essential fact about śaraṇāgati which leads to liberation. In this very important element of kārpaṇya and akiṁcanya there is built up the entire foundation of a total transformation due to a total surrender or offering or sacrifice.

Todaradippadi āḷvār accepted the doctrine of the Absolute devotion to be identical with the theory of akiṁcanya. In other respects his loyalty to the worship of the Arca is clearly visible.

This brief survey of the bhakti as viewed by the āḷvārs clearly reveals that what they were inculcating was not the mere bhakti of devotional path prescribed to the orthodox followers of Vedic knowledge and Vedic karma as the fulfilment of their desires in God. On the contrary the bhakti of the āḷvārs was definitely not limited to the Vedic jñāna or the Vedic karma but to Parama bhakti which is expressed by the total surrender of the individual seeking refuge and liberation and all fulfilment in and through God only. God dwells in man and all and it is man's

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[1] "*Divine Lady*": JSVOI, Vol. II, pt. 2.

business to make the body the temple of worship of the divine in man and in all. The *Gītā* intimated, as we have shown, that he who has the kārpaṇya, he who has found no other refuge, for him the only one course open is to surrender to the Divine. As is the goal so should be the means ; exalted ends require exaalted powers of the Divine to lead man to them. This leads to the highest happiness, highest knowledge, highest Union.

All the Ācāryas of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas beginning with Ālandār or Yāmunācārya accepted this to be the central truth of the *Gītā*. Śrī Rāmānuja, though he has not taught in the Śrī Gītābhāṣya about the efficacy of prapatti, has, in his Śaraṇāgati-gadya discussing the subsidiary nature of prapatti to Bhakti-yoga, said that prapatti is an independent means to God. In Bhakti yoga there are certain limitations as to varṇa and āśrama, not so in prapatti or refuge-seeking ; the only qualification for prapatti is to have no qualification, not even the ability to seek help oneself. For that is the state of utter or total disappearance of oneself frcm the field of action and is the state of utter vacuity or dynamic reception of help from the Divine. Into such a vessel alone does the supramental Grace descend.

Prapatti in addition to its general efficacy makes one not merely a sage and a superman or siddha ; it makes it possible for man to enjoy god here and now. The āḷvārs in one sense can be said to be, in the language of the Advaita, Jīvanmuktas, vibhūtis of the divine and not freed souls. To Tirumaḷīśai āḷvār came the great truth that mind is not an obstruction or a means to vision of the Divine (N. T. 81). Asking himself the question whether happiness could be had only in the state of release, the same āḷvār says that happiness in the state of saṁsāra even can be had for it is after all not due to place that happiness results but due to the uninterrupted possession of the Love of God and his reciprocating Grace.

> " O Lord decorated with honied tulasī garland !
> Even though I attain the blessedness immeasurable
> on attaining Heaven on separation from your feet
> the Love of thee which has fettered my mind to thee
> with the ten-fold rope (of devotion) firmly, will
> itself become my Happipess (*inbāmakum*)." (N. T. 83)

This view is also that of Āndāl and others.

The āḷvārs' bhakti thus is a more comprehensive and fundamentally universal devotion of God through surrender entire or total of the individual, whose all actions are refunded to the Divine, in and through whom the Divine Godhead acts through His perennial grace. It does not recognise difference of caste or even other types of adhikāra or fitness or capacity. This bhakti is the universal acceptance of God's temporal and Divine or transcendent Universes, wherein the devotee shall move as a child and companion and beloved and servant of the Divine, free and perfect, with a consciousness that is divinised.

THE POSITION OF A PREPOSITION IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE BRĀHMAṆAS*

BY

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA

The term "Preposition"

The term "preposition" has now become very loose, sometimes including, and sometimes excluding, verbal prefixes. In this paper the term "preposition" excludes verbal prefixes, signifying only its adnominal use, i. e. in connection with a case, nominal, pronominal or adjectival. The object of this paper is to investigate whether, in the prose of the Brāhmaṇas, there are any prepositions, in the strict sense, i. e. prepositions placed before a case, and if so, which are those prepositions ? Or, are there any prepositions which are really postpositions, and if so, which are those post-positions ?

Wackernagel, in his *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, II, p. 193, points out that in the classical prose of both Greek and Latin, as in modern German, the position of a preposition *before* a case is the rule. In this respect the prose of the Brāhmaṇas shows a considerable difference from Greek and Latin. Of the 41 so-called prepositions occurring in the Brāhmaṇas, only the following 12 can be strictly called prepositions, as they *always* precede a case:—

ā, sākam, upari, tiras, paścāt, avastāt, adhastāt, prāk, parāṅ, arvāk, parācīnam, avāṅ.

Statistics indicating their frequency are as follows:—

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* Abbreviations:—

AB	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Bibliotheca Indica, 1895.
Śāṅ B	Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, Lindner's Edition, 1887.
GB	Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, Bibliotheca Indica, 1872.
TB	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, Ānanda Āśrama, Poona, 1898.
ŚB	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Bibliotheca Indica, 1903, and Weber's Edition, 1855.
JB	Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa, Caland, 1919.
ṢB	Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, Vidyāsāgara's Edition, 1881.
JUB	Jaiminīya or Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, Oertel, 1894.
SaṁB	Saṁhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, Burnell, 1877.
ŚBK	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the Kāṇva recension, Caland, 1926.
TA	Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, Ānanda Āśrama, Poona, 1897-8.
AA	Aitareya Āraṇyaka, Keith, 1919.
Tāṇ B	Tāṇḍya Mahā-Brāhmaṇa, Bibliotheca Indica, 1870-74.
Sā B	Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa, Burnell, 1873.
MB	Mantra Brāhmaṇa, Satya-Vrata, 1890.

Preposition	Number of occurrences in the Brāhmaṇas.
ā "from"	47
sākam "with"	6
upari "above"	2
tiras "through," "beyond"	2
paścāt "behind"	2
avastāt "below"	2
adhastāt "under"	2
prāk "before"	2
parāṅ "beyond"	1
arvāk "below"	1
parācīnam "beyond"	3
vāṅ "below"	2

The above figures show that except in the case of *ā*, the frequency of the other prepositions (though some of them, like *paścāt*, are much more frequently used as adverbs) is so poor that it would be difficult to assert categorically that they were always used strictly as prepositions in the language. At any rate, they *are* strictly prepositions as we find them.

Examples:—

(1) *ā*

ā nakhebhyaḥ "up to the nails" (ŚB I. 4·3·10).
ā pratyāśravaṇāt "up to the announcement" (ŚB I. 5.2.9).
ā vaṣaṭkārāt "up to the utterance of vaṣaṭ" (ŚB I. 5.2.11).
ā uttamāyāḥ "up to the last one" (ŚB I. 5.2.13).
ā tisṛṇām dogdhoḥ "up to the milching of the three (cows)" (ŚB I. 7.1.15)
ā vedeḥ "up to the altar" (ŚB I. 9.2.24).
ā tamitoḥ "until exhaustion" (ŚB II 4.2.21).
ā (a) stamayāt "up to the setting (of the sun)" (ŚB III. 2.2.1).
ā sutyāyai "up to the pressing (of Soma)" (ŚB III. 2.2.7).
ā (a) ntam "up to the end" (ŚB III. 5.3·7).
ā mūlaśākhābhiḥ "with the branches. beginning from the root" (AB II. 1).
ā sarvamedhāt "up to the Sarvamedha" (GB I. 2.4).
ā tṛtīyasavanāt "up to the third pressing" (ŚB IV. 1.2.26).
ā etasmāt kālāt "up to this time" (ŚB IV. 2.4.5).
ā mahata ukthāt "up to the great Uktha" (ŚB XII. 6.1.41).
ā pipīlikābhyaḥ "upto ants" (ŚB XIV. 4.2.9).

ā pūrvābhyām anuyājābhyām "up to the first two after-offerings" (Śāṅ B I. 5).

ā haviṣkṛta udvādanāt "until the uttering aloud of the word haviṣkṛt" (Śāṅ. B. VI. 13).

ā karṇābhyām "up to the ears" (Tāṇ B VIII. 7.7).

ā daśamāt puruṣāt "up to the tenth man" (Tāṇ B XVIII. 9.4).

(2) *sākam*

sākam devaiḥ "with the gods" (ŚBK I. 6.4.8).

sākam aśvena "with the horse" (JB 65).

sākam sūryeṇa "with the sun" (TB I. 6.6.2).

(3) *upari*

upari bhūmeḥ "above the ground" (AA I. 2.4).

upari mūrdhnaḥ "above the head" (JUB I. 14.4.4).

(4) *tiras*

tiraḥ...tamāṁsi "through the darkness" (ŚB I. 4.1.29).

tiraḥ...manuṣyebhyaḥ "beyond men" (ŚB III. 1.1.8).

(5) *paścāt*

paścād dhiṣṇyasya "behind the seat" (AA. V. 1.4).

paścād gṛhyasyāgneḥ "behind the Gṛhya fire" (AB VIII. 10).

(6) *avastāt*

avastāt śīrṣṇaḥ "below the head" (ŚB IX. 3.1.6).

avastād...divaḥ "under the firmament" ŚB (IX. 3.1.6)

(7) *adhastāt*

adhastād hanvoḥ "under the jaw-bones" (ŚB XIII. 2.2.4).

(8) *prāk*

prāg homāt "before the homa" (AB VII. 12).

prāg avakāśebhyaḥ "before the vacant places" (TA V. 11.6).

(9) *parāṅ*

parāṅ...itaḥ "beyond this" (Tāṇ B IX. 8.6).

(10) *arvāk*

arvāk sahasrāt "below a thousand" (Śāṅ B XVIII. 3).

(11) *parācīnam*

parācīnam ādityāt "beyond the sun" (JB 4).

parācīnam agniṣṭomāt "beyond Agniṣṭoma" (JB 63).

parācīnam saṁvatsarāt "beyond the year" (JB 63).

(12) *avāṅ*

avāṅ nābheḥ "below the navel" (ŚB VI. 1.1.3, ŚBK II. 2.4.10).

The following three may be also safely called prepositions' though a few occurrences are also met with in which they are post-positions :—*purā, arvācīnam, bahirdhā.*

The following figures will indicate their relative frequency :—

Preposition	Number of Occurrences	
	Preceding a case	Succeeding a case
purā "before"	62	2
arvācīnam "on this side from"	9	1
bahirdhā "outside"	11	2

Examples :—

(1) *purā*

purā...homāt "before homa" (ŚB IV. 1.1.19).
purā āhutibhyaḥ "before the offerings" (ŚB IV. 2.1 20).
purā tṛtīyasavanāt "before the third pressing" (ŚB IV. 3.5.8).
purā astamayāt "before (the sun's) setting" (ŚB IV. 5.3.11).
purā...staraṇāt "before the spreading" (ŚB I. 2.5.26).
purā...vadhāt "before killing" (ŚB I. 6,4'21).
purā vaṣaṭkārāt "before the utterance of *vaṣaṭ*" (ŚB I. 7.2.14),
purā...āyuṣaḥ "before (the normal) age" (SB II. 1.3.4).
purā...pravaditoḥ "before uttering" (AB II. 15).
purā āhāvāt "before invocation" (AB II. 38).
purā asmāt sarvāt "before all this" (ŚB VI. 1.1.1).
purā paśoḥ "before the animal's (sacrifice)" (ŚB VI. 2.1.10).
purā...payasyāyai "before the milk-offering" (ŚB VI. 2.2.39).
purā vasatyai "before the place of piling up fire" (ŚB VI. 8.1.12).
purā saṁvatsarāt "before a year" (GB I. 1.31).
purā jarasaḥ "before old age" (GB II. 2.19).
purā udetoḥ "before (the sun's) rising" (ŚBK I. 3. 1'1).
purā yajñāt "before the sacrifice" (ŚBK I. 5.1.22).
purā agnihotrāt "before Agnihotra" (ŚB XII. 4.3.2).
purā saṅgrāmāt "before a battle" (ŚBK II. 2.3.18).
purā barhiṣaḥ "before the grass" (ŚBK II. 2.3.23).
purā āhavanīyāt "before Āhavanīya" (ŚB XIV. 2'2'1).
purā kālāt "before time" (ŚB XIV. 5.1.11).
purā tamasaḥ "before darkness" (Śāṅ B II. 9).
purā patnīsaṁyājebhyaḥ "before the offerings to the wives" (Śāṅ B XXVII. 4).

In the following occurrences *purā* is a postposition:—
ataḥ purā "before this" (ŚB VIII. 6.2.1).
tataḥ purā "before that" (ŚB IV. 1.3.12).

(2) *arvācīnam*

arvācīnam divaḥ "on this side of the firmament" (ŚB VI. 2.3.8).
arvācīnam antarikṣāt "on this side of the atmosphere" (ŚB VI. 2.3.8.; ŚB VIII. 2.1.2).

arvācīnam madhyāt " on this side of the middle region " (ŚB VIII. 2.1.11).

arvācīnam ādityāt " on this side of the sun " (JB 4; ŚB X. 5.1.4).

Only in the following occurrence, *arvācīnam* is a postposition :—

tataḥ...arvācīnam " on this side of that place " (JB 94).

(3) *bahirdhā*

bahirdhā yajñāt " outside the sacrifice " (ŚB I. 3.1.11).

bahirdhā...agneḥ " outside the fire " (ŚB VI 8.2.1).

bahirdhā...lokebhyaḥ " outside the worlds (ŚB IX. 2.1.21).

bahirdhā...prāṇebhyaḥ " outside the breaths " (ŚB XI. 7.2.4).

bahirdhā...rāṣṭrāt " outside the kingdom " (ŚB XII. 9.3.4).

bahirdhā...āyatanāt " outside the abode " (ŚB XIII. 1.3.6).

In the following two occurrences *bahirdhā* is a postposition :—

asmāt...sarvasmāt bahirdhā " outside all this " (ŚB X 2.3.18).

ātmano bahirdhā " outside the body " (ŚB VIII. 7.2.16).

Now we come to six prepositions *ṛte, antarā, upariṣṭāt, ūrdhvam, purastāt* and *puras*. One would hesitate to call them " prepositions " in the literal sense, because in a considerable minority of occurrences they also appear as postpositions. The following are the statistics of their relative frequency :—

Preposition.	Number of Occurrences Preceding a case	Succeeding a case.
ṛte " without "	18	4
antarā " between "	18	10
upariṣṭāt " after," " above "	17	9
ūrdhvam " above," " after "	26	9
purastāt " before "	43	23
puras " before "	2	1

Examples :—

(1) *ṛte* (as a preposition)

ṛte svarāt " without tone " (JVB I. 21.9).

ṛte (a) nnāt " without food " (Tāṇ B XVI. 8.9).

ṛte goḥ " without a cow " (Ś B II. 2.4.13).

ṛte yūpāt " without the sacrificial post (ŚB III. 7.3. 1).

ṛte āvābhyām " without both of us " (GB II. 1.17).

ṛte prāṇāt " without life " (ŚB VII. 3. 1. 45).

ṛte kṣatrāt " without the Kṣatriya caste " (ŚB IV. 1.4.2).

ṛte brahmaṇaḥ " without the Brāhmaṇa caste " (ŚB IV. 1.4.3).

ṛte cakṣurbhyām " without the two eyes " (ŚB XI. 1.6.29)

ṛte devebhyaḥ " without the gods " (ŚB XIV. 2.2.8).

ṛte vācaḥ " without speech " (Śāṅ B II. 7).

In the following four occurrences *ṛte* is a postposition :—

tvad ṛte "without thee" (AB II. 27).
devatābhya ṛte "without the gods" (ŚB XIII. 3.8.6).
mad ṛte "without me" (ŚB XIV. 9.2.13).
prāṇebhya ṛte "without breaths" (ŚB IX. 2 1.15).

(2) *antarā* (as a preposition)

antarā imam ca lokam amum ca "between this and that world" (ŚB IX. 2.3.17)
antarā vedyantam ca gārhapatyam ca "between the margin of the altar and the Gārhapatya" (ŚB X. 2.3.2).
antarā diśaśca raśmīṁśca "between the directions and the rays" (ŚB X. 5.4.4).
antarā dyāvāpṛthivī "between heaven and earth" (ŚB XIII. 3.8.6).
antarā pitaraṁ mātaraṁ ca "between father and mother" (ŚB XIV.9.1.4).
antarā ūrū "between the thighs" (Śāṅ B III. 9).
antarā imāṁ llokān "between these worlds" (AB IV. 18).
antarā agnī "between the two fires" (TB I. 4.4.10).
antarā hotuśca dhiṣṇiyaṁ brāhmaṇācchaṁsinaśca "between the seats of the hotar and the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin" (TB I. 7.6.1).
antarā śamye "between the pegs of the yoke" (Tāṇ B VI. 5.21).
antarā prāsevau "between the ropes of the yoke" (Tāṇ B VI. 5.21).
antarā agniṣṭomau "between the two Agniṣṭomas" (Tāṇ B X.4.2).
antarā utsedhaniṣedhau "between the utsedha and the niṣedha Sāmans" (Tāṇ B XV. 9.12).

In the following occurrences *antarā* is a postposition:—

śiraścaaṁsau ca antarā "between the head and the shoulders" (ŚB III. 3.2.18).
enāv antarā "between these two (bullocks)" (ŚB III. 3.4.12).
ene antarā "between these two (bricks)" (ŚB VIII. 6.1.22).
pade antarā "between the quarters of verses" (JB 74).
ubhayāu antarā "between both" (JB 136).
pravargyaṃ ca ādityaṃ ca antarā "between the Pravargya and the sun" (TA V. 3.1).

(3) *upariṣṭāt* (as a preposition).

upariṣṭād jātavedasya "after the hymn jātavedas" (AB III. 36).
upariṣṭād etasyai "above this one" (JVB I. 6.1).
upariṣṭāt śīrṣṇaḥ "on the head" (ŚB V. 4.1.14).
upariṣṭād ratnānām "after (the offerings of) gems" (ŚB. V.3.2.1).
upariṣṭāt saṁvatsarasya "after a year" (JB 164).

upariṣṭād viṣuvataḥ " after the midday " (Śāṅ B XXIV. 3).
upariṣṭād madhucchandasya vaiśvadevasya " above the all gods of the Madhucchandas " (Śāṅ B XXIV. 1).
upariṣṭāt pragāthasya " after the Pragātha " (Śāṅ B XIX. 10).
upariṣṭād mṛtyoḥ " after death " (ŚB XI. 2.2.5).
upariṣṭāt stotrasya " after the stotra " (ŚB IX. 4.4.11).

In the following occurrences *upariṣṭāt* is a postposition :—
asyā upariṣṭāt " after this " (ŚB. I. 7.2.19).
abhiṣekasya...upariṣṭāt " after the sprinkling " (ŚB V. 3.5.6).
ajasya-upariṣṭāt " on the goat " (ŚB VI. 4.4.15).
āṣāḍhyā upariṣṭāt " after (full moon) in the Āṣāḍhās " (Śāṅ B I. 3).

(4) ***ūrdhvam*** (as a preposition).
ūrdhvaṁ gārhapatyāt " after the Gārhapatya " (ŚB X. 1.5.2).
ūrdhvaṁ sarvauṣadhāt " after the Sarvauṣadha sacrifice " (ŚB. X. 1.5.2).
ūrdhvam āhāvāt " after the invocation " (AB II. 38).
ūrdhvaṁ nābheḥ " above the navel " (ŚB VI. 1.1.3).
ūrdhvam antarikṣāt " above the atmosphere (ŚB VI. 2.3.8).
ūrdhvaṁ pṛthivyāḥ " above the earth " (ŚB VI 2.3.8).
ūrdhvaṁ savanebhyaḥ " after the pressings " (ŚB XI. 5.9.7).
ūrdhvam asmād lokāt " above this world " (ŚB XIII. 6.1.10).
ūrdhvaṁ madhyāt " above the middle region " (ŚB XIII. 6.1.11).
ūrdhvaṁ...divaḥ " above the firmament (SB XIV. 6.8.3).

As a postposition, *ūrdhvam* generally follows pronouns or pronominal adverbs only in two occurrences it follows a noun :—
ita ūrdhvam " after this " (ŚB VI. 2. 3. 3, ŚB VI 7. 2. 9; ŚB VII. 5. 1. 36; ŚB VIII. 5. 1. 2).
ata ūrdhvam "after this" (GB I. 3. 18; ŚB X. 5. 1. 4; GB II. 2. 14).
tata ūrdhvam " after that " (Sā B II. 2. 1).
asya ūrdhvam " after this " (AA V. 1. 4).
pratihārād ūrdhvam " after the Pratihāra " (Śāṅ B XVII. 6).
praṇītād ūrdhvam " after (the fire) brought on the altar " (ŚB X. 1. 4. 11).

(5) *purastāt* (as a preposition).
purastāt paurṇamāsasya " before the full moon of Phālguna " (ŚB I. 6. 2. 6).
purastād abhiṣekasya " before the sprinkling " (ŚB V. 3. 5. 6).
purastāt sūktasya " before the hymn " (AB II. 33).
purastād ātmanaḥ " before the body " (SB VI. 5. 3. 4).
purastād...eṣām " before them " (GB I. 2. 24).

purastād viṣuvataḥ "before midday" (GB I. 2.14).
purastād dīkṣāyāḥ "before initiation" (GB II. 2. 11).
purastāt stotrasya "before stotra" (ŚB IX. 4. 4. 11).
purastāt pragāthasya "before the Pragātha" (Śāṅ B X. 2).
purastāt paridhānīyāyāḥ "before the final verse (Śāṅ B XVIII. 3).
purastāt...nidhanasya "before the conclusion" (JB 18).
purastāt pṛṣṭhyasya ṣaḍahasya "before the Pṛṣṭhya-ṣaḍaha" (JB 163).
purastād ukthānām "before the litanies" (AB III. 10).
purastād mārutasya "before the hymn to the Marutas" (AB VI. 30).
purastād dhruvāyai "before the ladle called *Dhruvā*" (ŚB I. 8.1.13).
purastāt phālgunyai paurṇamāsyai "before the full moon of Phālguna" (ŚB II. 6.3. 11).

In the following occurrences *purastāt* occurs as a postposition :—
āhavanīyāgārasya purastāt "before the place for the Āhavanīya" (ŚB I. 7.1.8).
tasya...purastāt "before it', (AB II. 6).
tābhyām...purastāt "before both of them" (ŚB IV. 1.5,16).
etasya karmaṇaḥ purastāt "before this rite" (ŚB VII. 2.3.7).
etasya ṛtoḥ purastāt "before this season" (ŚB VIII. 3.2.6),
saṁvatsarasya purastāt "before the year" (JB 157).
sarvāsāṁ purastāt "before all" (AB III. 48).
kṣatrasya purastāt "before the Kṣatriya" (Tāṇ B II. 16.4).

(6) *puras* (as a preposition).
puraḥ...ebhyo lokebhyaḥ "before these worlds" (ŚB VI. 3.3.1).
puraś cakraṁ "before the wheel" (JB 86).

As a postposition :—
asmat puraḥ "before us" (ŚBK II. 2.1.18).

It will appear, therefore, that though in a large majority of occurrences *ṛte* etc. are used as prepositions, in a considerable minority of occurrences they are also used as postpositions. When we take into account the fact that in classical Sanskrit these five indeclinables have become generally postpositions, it may perhaps be presumed that their treatment as postpositions started in the age of the Brāhmaṇas and gradually went on increasing.

The following seven "prepositions are strictly postpositions, being always placed *after* a case :
vinā, pūrvam, arvāṅ, adhaḥ, accha, sārdham, agre.
The following figures will indicate the relative frequency :—
"Preposition" (really postposition) Number of occurrences.

vinā " without ", " excepting "	1
pūrvam " before "	1
arvāṅ " on this side of "	2
adhaḥ " below "	1
accha " towards "	2
sārdham " with "	2
agre " before "	2

The number of occurrences of these postpositions is evidently too meagre, and so it will not be safe to assert without reserve that they were always actually postpositions, though they are postpositions as we actually find them.

Examples :—

(1) *vinā*

pradeśamātraṁ vinā " excepting the distance of a span " (ŚB III. 5. 4. 5)

(2) *pūrvam*

kṣatrāt pūrvam " before the Kṣatriya " (AB VIII, 1).

(3) *arvāṅ*

tataḥ...arvāṅ " on this side of it " (AB VII. 1),
amutaḥ...arvāṅ " on this side of it "(TA V. 12.3).

(4) *adhaḥ*

ātmano (a)dhaḥ " below the body " (ŚB IV. 2.4.15).

(5) *accha*

Aṅgiraso (a)ccha " to Aṅgirasas " (ŚB III. 5.1.16).
agre somam...accha " towards Soma " (AB III. 25.)

(6) *sārdham*

vidyayā sārdham " with knowledge " (Saṁ B 3).
pañcāśatā sārdham " with (the other) fifty" (AB VII. 18).

(7) *agre*

asmād agre "before him " (Śāṅ B XXIII. 2).
ṛtvijām agre " before the priests " (AB V. 34).

The four " prepositions " *prati, anu, abhi* and *adhi* may also be safely called postpositions, considering the overwhelming majority of their occurrences as postpositions.

The following figures will indicate their relative frequency :—

" Preposition" (really postposition)	Number of Occurrences	
	Succeeding the case	Preceding the case
prati " towards," " for," " to "	27	1
anu " after "	125	10
abhi " for," " towards "	54	6
adhi " on," " from "	91	4

Examples.

(1) *prati* (as a postposition)

savanāni prati " for the pressings " (ŚB VI. 2.2.10)
madhyaṁ prati " about the middle " (ŚB IV. 6.8.5).
taṁ prati " to him " (ŚB I. 4.3. 11–20; ŚB I 6.1. 16–18).
enāṁ prati " to it " (ŚB II. 2.1.16).
parivyayaṇaṁ prati " about the waist " (ŚB III. 7,1.13),
vanaspatīn prati " for the trees " (ŚB VI. 6.3.3.).
tṛtīyasavanaṁ prati " about (the time of) the third pressing " (GB II. 6.6).
ṛṣīn prati " for the sages " (ŚBK II. 1.2.8).
tat prati "towards it" (ŚB VII. 1.1.44).
padaṁ prati "for the quarter (of a verse)" (ŚB XIV. 8.15.8).
trayīṁ vidyāṁ prati "for the three-fold lore " (Śāṇ B VI. 12).
bahiṣpavamānāṁ prati "in comparison with *bahiṣpavamāna*" JB.92
pādau...prati " at the feet " (JB 92).
Yajñāyajñīyaṁ prati " in comparison with the *yajñāyajñīya* " (JB 92).
puruṣaṁ puruṣaṁ prati " to each and every man " (AA III. 2. 3).
ṛcaṁ sūktaṁ prati "(a counter part) to a verse (even) to a hymn " (AB III. 11).
imaṁ...prati " about him " (AB VIII. 7).
sūryasyodayanaṁ prati " about the sunrise " (TA I. 6. 1).
trīn stomān prati " for the three Stomas " (Tāṇ B II. 5. 2).
stotraṃ prati " for the Stotra " (Tāṇ B XIX. 13. 8).
Kārapacavaṃ prati " about the country named Kārapacava " (Tāṇ B XXV. 10. 23).
triplakṣān prati " about the country named Triplakṣa " (Tāṇ B XXV. 13. 4).

Only in the following occurence, *prati* is a real preposition.

prati prajñātyai " for enlightenment " (TB I. 2. 5. 3).

(2) *anu* (as a post position)

etad anu " after this " (ŚB I. 2. 2. 17).
juhūm anu " having a share in the ladle called *juhū* " (ŚB I. 3. 2. 11).
dhruvām anu " having a share in the ladle called *dhruvā* " (ŚB I. 4. 5. 6).
manuṣyān anu " following the men " (ŚB I. 5. 2. 4).
devān anu " following the gods " (ŚB I. 5. 2. 4).
yajñam...anu " depending upon the sacrifice " (ŚB I. 8. 3. 27).
patim...anu " depending upon the husband " (ŚB I. 9. 3. 14).

prāṇam anu " after the breath " (ŚB II. 2. 1. 10).
pitaram anu " after the father " (ŚB II. 2. 4. 11).
asmān anu " after us " (ŚB II. 2.4.11).
anupashitim anu " according to the absence " (ŚB II. 3.1.13).
dvayam...anu " according to both " (ŚB II 3.1.24).
tvām anu " after thee " (ŚB II. 4.2.19).
agnim...anu " after Agni " (ŚB II. 5.1.19).
avāntaradiśo (a)nu "in the intermediate directions" (ŚB II. 6.1.10).
dīkṣitam...anu " after the initiated one " (ŚB III. 2.1.31).
pṛthivīm anu " along the earth " (AB VIII. 27).
vihitim anu " in accordance with the action " (AB VIII. 14).
bhreṣam anu " through the failure " (AB V. 33).
yāvad anu pṛthivī " as far as the earth extends " (AA II. 1.7).
kṣatraṁ ca...viśaṁ ca anu " depending upon the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya " (JB 137).
yajñāyajñīyaṁ chidram anu " after the *yajñāyajñīya* is faulty " (JB 62).
sarvān lokān anu " along all the worlds " (Śāṅ B XX. 1).
ukthānām anu " on account of the coming together of hymns " (Śāṅ B XI. 8).

In the following few examples, *anu* is a real preposition :—
anu diśaḥ " along the directions " (ŚB X. 6.3.2).
anu homam " according to the Homa " (ŚB IV. 5.4.8).
anu mātrām "according to the magnitude " (ŚBK II. 1.3.1).
anu vyṛddhim " in view of the adversity " (ŚB II. 3.1.7).
anu prajātim " according to the birth " (ŚB II. 3.1.6).
anu...apahatim " after the destruction " (AB VI. 1).
indrasyānu vyṛddhim " in accordance with the deprivation of Indra " (AB VII. 28).

(3) *abhi* (as a postposition)
kam abhi " for whom ? " (ŚB I. 2. 3. 4).
prajām abhi " for progeny " (ŚB II. 3. 1. 29).
ātmānam abhi " for the body " (ŚB II. 3. 1. 29).
prācīm abhi " towards the east " (ŚB II. 3. 3. 16).
svargam lokam abhi " for paradise " (ŚB II. 3. 3. 16).
anyatra carantam abhi " towards one who is walking elsewhere " (ŚB III. 2. 2. 27).
svapantam abhi " towards one who is sleeping " (ŚB III. 2. 2. 27).
dvayam...abhi " for two purposes " (ŚB III. 5. 4. 1).
āgnīdhram abhi " about (i.e. near) the Āgnīdhra " (ŚB III. 6. 1. 28).
kṣatriyam abhi " towards the Kṣatriya " (ŚB III. 9. 3, 3).

vārṣikam abhi " towards the rainy season " (ŚB V. 5. 2. 4).
ātmano (a)bhi prāṇāḥ " breaths in the body " (Śāṇ B II. 2).
tau...abhi...vajram " the bolt against them " (Śāṇ B III. 6).
bṛhatīm...abhi vratam "the vow with regard to the Bṛhatī" (Śāṅ B XVIII. 2).
mām abhi udaya " from me thou shalt rise " (JB 117).
gāyatrīm...abhi " like Gāyatrī " (JB 131).
udantam abhi " towards the border " (AB III. 13).
senām abhi " towards the army " (AB III. 22).
antarikṣalokam abhi " towards the atmospheric world " (AB VI. 9).
svaśarīram abhi " in your own body " (TB I. 2. 1. 8).
prāyaṇīyam abhi " for the *Prāyaṇīya* ceremony " (TB I. 5. 9. 3).
śriyam abhi " towards prosperity " (TB I. 7. 5. 1).
prajāpatim abhi " towards (i.e. near) Prajāpati " (TB II. 1. 6. 5)
apo (a)bhi amriyata " died in the waters " (TB III. 2. 5. 1).
imāṁ llokān abhi " unto thess worlds " (JVB I. 10. 1).
vāyum abhi " to Vāyu " (JVB III. 21. 1).
sad abhi " for a substantial object " (Tāṇ B IV. 8. 13).
śvastanam abhi " for (the ceremony) on the next day " (Tāṇ B IV. 9. 18).
devān abhi " towards the gods " (Tāṇ B XVIII. 1. 4).

In the following occurrences *abhi* is a real preposition :—
abhi śuktāni ca kṛṣṇāni lomāni " on the white, and dark hair " (ŚB VI. 7. 1. 7),
abhi dvidevatyān " for the two deities " (ŚB IV. 1. 5. 16).
abhi naḥ " towards us " (JB 211).
abhi mā " towards me " (JB 41).
abhi...enāḥ " towards them " (AB II. 12).
abhi manase (a) syamānaḥ " driven to thought " (AA II. 3. 5).

(4) *adhi* (as a postposition)
kṛṣṇājinam adhi " on the black antelope's skin " (ŚB I. 1. 4. 3).
divo (a)dhi " from the sky " (ŚB I. 2. 4. 18).
āhartari...adhi " on the bringer " (ŚB I. 3. 3 10).
amuṣyā adhi " after this " (ŚB I. 7. 2. 16).
agneradhi " from Agni " (ŚB I. 9. 1. 19).
adbhyo (a)dhi " from the waters " (ŚB II. 6. 3. 7).
yayoḥ...adhi " on which " (ŚB III. 1. 3. 26).
ājyavitāpanyā adhi " on the pan for melting *ghee* " (ŚB III. 1. 4. 17)
eṣu lokeṣu adhi " in these worlds " (ŚB III. 2. 1. 3).
upānadbhyām adhi " after (the wearing of) sandals (ŚB V. 5. 3. 7).
asyāḥ...adhi " on this (earth) " (ŚB VI. 1. 2. 29).

tapaso (*a*)*dhi* " after pain " (ŚB VI. 1. 3. 9).
paśubhyo (*a*)*dhi* "from animals " (ŚB VI. 5. 1. 4),
retaso (*a*)*dhi* " on the seed " (ŚB VII. 1. 1. 10).
amuto (*a*)*dhi* " beyond that world " (ŚB VII. 1. 1. 35).
ātmano (*a*)*dhi* " from the body " (ŚB VII. 4. 1. 2).
prāṇebhyaḥ...adhi " from the breaths " (ŚB VII. 5. 2. 6).
sahasre (*a*)*dhi* "below (i. e. less than) a thousand" (ŚB IV. 5. 8. 14).
aśmano (*a*)*dhi* " from the cloud" (ŚB IX. 1. 2. 4).
vanaspatibhyo (*a*)*dhi* " from the trees " (ŚB IX. 1. 2. 5).
yajamānād adhi " after the Yajamāna " (ŚB IX. 3. 3. 17).
devebhyo (*a*)*dhi* " after the gods " (ŚB IX. 3. 3. 17).
goradhi " after the cow " (ŚB IX. 3. 3. 17).
mithunād...adhi " from the couple " (ŚB IX. 4. 1. 5).
pṛthivyām adhi " on the earth " (ŚB IX. 5. 1. 53).
prajāpateradhi " after Prajāpati " (ŚB XI. 1. 6. 14).
asmāt...adhi " from him " (ŚB XII. 5. 2. 15).
ūrji...adhi " on strength " (ŚB XII. 8. 3. 5).
tasmin...adhi " on it " (ŚB XIII. 2. 8. 1).
sadaso (*a*)*dhi* " from the shed " (ŚB XIII. 5. 2. 16).
bṛhatyām adhi " on the Bṛhatī " (ŚB XIII. 5. 4. 28).
gāyatre (*a*)*dhi* " on the Gāyatrī " (Śāṅ B XIV. 3).
mat...adhi " from me " (JB 48).
ātmanaḥ...adhi " from the Ātman " (JB 48).
ahorātrayoḥ...adhi " for (the possession of) the day and the night" (JB 74).
asmin...adhi " on this (dog) " (JB 92).
pradānāt...adhi " on the offering " (JB 103).
uraso (*a*)*dhi* " from the breast " (JB 150).
ūroradhi " from the thigh " (JB 198).
śiśne (*a*)*dhi* " on the penis " (AB III. 37).
agneḥ...adhi " over Agni " (AB IV. 7).
ṛgmebhyo (*a*)*dhi* " after those which contain a *ṛc* (AB V. 9).
bastājinam adhi "on a goat's hide " (TB I. 3. 7. 7).
pituḥ...adhi " after the father " (TB I. 3. 10. 2).
yoneradhi " from the cause " (TB I. 4. 4. 8).
śīrṣann adhi " on the head " (TB I. 6. 5. 4).
chandaso (*a*)*dhi* " from the metre" (TB III. 8. 12. 1).
caturhotṛbhyo (*a*)*dhi* " from the four mantras called the *caturhotar* " (TB III. 12. 5. 1).
sarvasmād bhuvanād adhi " over the whole world " (TA I. 2. 1).
kaśyapād adhi " through Kaśyapa " (TA I. 7. 2).

vāyoradhi " from Vāyu " (JUB IV. 14. 4).
abhrebhyo (a)dhi " from the clouds " (JUB IV. 14. 4).
viditād adhi " from the known " (JUB IV. 18. 4).
simābhyo (a)dhi " from the Sāmans called the Simās " (Tāṇ B XIII. 9. 4)
pāpmano (a)dhi " from evil " (Tāṇ B XVII. 1. 9).
kṛṣṇājine (a) adhi " on the black antelope's skin " (Tāṇ B XVII. 11. 8.).
vīrye...adhi " on the power " (Tāṇ B XVIII. 8. 8).
triṣṭubhy (a)dhi " on (the use of) the Triṣṭubh" (Tāṇ B XXI.9.13).

In the following occurrences *adhi* is a real preposition :—
adhi prajāpateḥ " from Prajāpati " (Tāṇ B XX. 4. 2).
adhi...asmin...loke " upon this world " (JB 103).
adhi...anne " over (his) food " (AA II. 3. 1).
adhi yoneḥ " from the origin " (ŚB VIII. 2. 2. 5).
adhi...samānām " over his friends " (AA II. 3. 1).

One would hesitate to call the following nine indeclinables as postpositions, for in a considerable minority of occurrences they also occur as prepositions, as the figures given below will show:—

Preposition	Number of Occurrences	
	Succeeding a case	Preceding a case
ati "over", "above"	6	2
antikam " near "	5	1
abhitaḥ " around "	20	12
parastāt "beyond, after"	8	4
paras " beyond "	5	3
antareṇa " between "	48	16
antar " in "	26	14
saha " with "	52	26
ardham " near "	3	1

Examples:—

(1) *ati* (as a postposition)
imāṁ llokān ati " beyond these worlds " (ŚB I. 2. 1. 12)
sarvam lokamati " above the whole world " (AA II. 3.3)
sahasram ati " over a thousand " (Śāṇ B XVIII. 3)

As a preposition :—
atīmāṁ llokān " beyond these worlds " (ŚB XI. 1. 2. 8)
ati......ātmānam " exceeding oneself " (AB IV. 6)

2) *antikam* (as a postposition)
tasya......antikam " near him " (ŚB I. 4. 5. 3)
aśvatthasyāntikam " near the fig tree " (ŚB XIII. 8. 1. 16).

asyā antikam " near her " (JB 205).
me (a)ntikam " near me " (JB 205).
asyāntikam "in his neighbourhood " (JVB II. 14. 4).

As a preposition :—
antikam...asya " near it " (GB II 2. 4).

(3) *abhitaḥ* (as a postposition)
vapām abhitaḥ " on both sides of the caul " (ŚB VI. 2 1. 20).
tam...abhitaḥ " around him " (ŚBK I. 4. 3. 4).
agnim...abhitaḥ " around Agni " (ŚBK II. 2. 3. 14).
enam abhitaḥ " around him " (ŚB IV. 3. 4. 11).
asyābhitaḥ " around him " (ŚB VIII 5. 1. 15).
yajūṁṣyabhitaḥ " on both sides of the yajus verses " (ŚB IX. 1. 1. 44).
yūpam abhitaḥ " on both sides of the sacrificial post " (ŚB XIII. 2. 6. 9).
atirātram abhitaḥ " on both sides of the Atirārta ceremony (ŚB XIII. 6. 1. 9).
ātmānam abhitaḥ " about the body " (Śāṅ B XVI. 10).
divākīrtyam abhitaḥ " on both sides of the *divakīrtya* chant " (Tāṇ B XXIV. 14. 4).

As a preposition :—
abhito (a)gnim " around the fire " (ŚB I. 2. 5. 15).
abhitaḥ...śiraḥ " about the head " (ŚB III. 2. 3. 20).
abhita ātithyam " on both sides of the *Ātithya* ceremony " (ŚB III. 4. 1. 1).
abhito nāsikām " on both sides of the nose " (ŚB IV. 2. 1. 25).
'*abhito yūpam* " on both sides of the sacrificial post ". (ŚB IV 2. 1. 25).
abhita itarau " around the other two " (Śaṇ B XIII. 5).
abhito viṣuvantam " on both sides of the Viṣuvant day ". (Śāṇ B XXVI. 1).
abhitaḥ...agnim " round Agni " (AA II. 1. 1).
abhito hotṛṣadanam " around the seat of the *hotar* " (AA V. I. 3).
abhito a *niruktam* "round the hymn for the Ṛbhus" (AB III. 30).
abhito athakāram " on both sides of the word *atha* " (Tāṇ B. XIII. 4. 4).

(4) *parastāt* (as a postposition)
saṁvatsarasya parastāt " after a year " (AB II. 33).
etāvataḥ kālasya parastāt " after so much time " (ŚB X. 6. 5. 4.).
tasya parastāt " after it " (Śāṅ B XVI. 5)
etasya bṛhatīsahasrasya sampannasya parastāt " after this being.

produced as a thousand Bṛhatī " (AA II. 2. 4).

As a preposition :—

parastāt sāmidhenīnām "after the Sāmidhenī verses" (Śāṅ B III. 3).
parastād antarikṣasya " beyond the atmosphere " (JB 103)
parastāt pavitrasya " after the filtering cloth " (TB I. 4. 1. 1).
parastāt nakṣatrāṇām " beyond the stars " (TB I. 5. 3. 4).

(5) *paras* (as a postposition).

asmat paraḥ " away from us " (ŚB I. 2. 3. 4).
te paraḥ " far from thee " (ŚB I. 3. 2. 15).
itaḥ paraḥ " except there " (ŚB VI. 1. 3. 17).
kūpasya paraḥ " beyond a well " (JB 103).
dvitīyāt...lokāt paraḥ " beyond the second world " (Tāṇ B XX. 11. 6).

As a preposition :—

paro mūjavataḥ " beyond the Mūjavat Mountain " (ŚB II. 6.2.17).
paraḥ...asmāllokāt " beyond this world " (GB II. 6. 2).

(6) *antareṇa* (as a postposition)

te (a)ntareṇa " between these two " (AB 1. 29).
imāu lokāvantareṇa " between these two worlds " (ŚB IX. 2.3.14).
dyāvāpṛthivī antareṇa " between heaven and earth " (ŚB XI.5.7.2).
puroḍāśāvantareṇa " between the two cakes " (Śāṅ B III. 6).
oṣṭhāvantareṇa " between the lips " (Śāṅ B III. 7).
ardharcāvantareṇa " between two half-verses " (Śāṅ B XI. 1).
prātaranuvākaṁ copāṁśvantaryāmau cāntareṇa " between the morning litany and the Upāṁśu and Antaryāma cups " (Śāṅ B XI. 8).
purorucaṃ ca sūktaṃ cāntareṇa " between the *Puroruc* and the hymn " (Śāṅ B XIV. 4).
gāyatrīśca jagatīścāntareṇa " between the Gāyatrī and Jagatī verses " (Śāṅ B XVII. 9).
ukthe (a)ntareṇa " between the two litanies " (Śāṅ B XXX. 1).
tānantareṇa "among them " (ṢB I. 1).
pūrvarūpottararūpe (a)ntareṇa " between the anterior and the posterior forms " (AA III. 1. 5)
gārhapatyāhavanīyāvantareṇa " between gārhapatya and Āhavanīya " (AB VII. 12)
tad ubhayam antareṇa " between these two " (AB VIII. 15)
ete devate (a)ntareṇa " between these two deities " (TB III. 10 11. 7)
ubhe diśāvantareṇa " between both the directions " (ŚB XIII. 8. 1. 5)

prāṇān antareṇa " without the breaths " (Śāṅ B XXV. 12)

As a real preposition—:

antareṇa sadaḥ...havirdhānāni " between the shed and the carts " (AB I. 30),

antareṇa pariśritaḥ " in the midst of the small stones " (ŚB VII. 2. 2. 9.)

antareṇa triṣṭubhaśca kakubhaśca " between the triṣṭubhas and the kakubhas " (ŚB VIII. 6. 2. 10)

antareṇa pakṣasaṁdhim " within the joint on the side " (ŚB VII. 3. 1. 21)

antareṇa vediṁ cottaravediṁ ca " between the altar and the northern adjunct altar " (ŚB VII. 3. 1. 27)

antareṇa yūpaṃ cāgniṁ ca " between the sacrificial post and fire " (ŚB IV. 5. 2. 8)

antareṇa dakṣiṇām diśam " in the southern direction " (ŚB VIII. 2. 1. 9)

antareṇāgnī " between the two fires " (ŚB XII. 4. 1. 2)

antareṇorū " between the thighs " (ŚB XII. 5. 2. 7)

antareṇa stanau vā bhruvau vā " between the breasts or the eyebrows " (ŚB XIV. 9. 4. 5)

antareṇa catvālotkarau " between the pit and the mound " (Śāṅ B XVIII. 9)

antareṇātmānam " without the body " (Śāṅ B XXV. 12)

antareṇa tāluke " between the palates " (TA VII. 6. 1)

(7) *antar* (as a postposition).

vraje (a)ntaḥ " within the stable " (ŚB I. 2. 4. 16)

kuśyorantaḥ " in two receptacles (or instruments)" (ŚB III. 6 .2.9)

puruse (a)ntaḥ " into man " (ŚB V. 2. 4. 10)

yonāv antaḥ " in the womb " (ŚB X. 2. 3. 6)

amṛte (a)ntaḥ " in immortality " (ŚB X. 5. 2. 3.)

apsv antaḥ " in the waters " (ŚB X. 5. 4. 3)

keṣv antaḥ " in which things " (ŚB XIII. 5. 2. 15)

samudre (a)ntaḥ " in the ocean " (JB 199)

bhuvaneṣv antaḥ " in the worlds " (AA II. 1. 6)

asmin...antaḥ " within it " (JUB I. 20. 4)

akṣannantaḥ " within the eye " (JUB I. 41 7)

garbhe (a)ntaḥ " within the womb " (JUB III. 10. 12)

saṁvatsare (a)ntaḥ " in the year " (Tāṇ B XVIII. 9. 7.)

As a preposition :—

antar vedyām " within the altar " (GB II. 4. 6)

antarātman " in the soul " (ŚB X. 6. 3. 2)

antarudare " in the abdomen " (ŚB XI. 5. 2. 5)
antaḥ puruṣe " in man " (ŚB XIV. 8. 10. 1).
antar vṛtre " within Vṛtra " (Śāṅ B XV. 2).
antaḥ cakṣuṣi " in the eye " (ṢB II. 6).
antaś candramasi " in the moon " (JB 7).
antar havirdhāne " in the cart " (JB 10).
antar asmin " in it " (TB II. 8. 8. 10).

(8) *saha* (as a postposition)

indreṇa saha " with Indra " (ŚB I. 2. 3.
tena...saha " with him " (ŚB I 6. 4. 2),
sakhibhyām...saha " with two friends " (ŚB I. 6. 4. 3).
prāṇaiḥ...saha " with breaths " (ŚB I. 9. 1. 15).
teṣāṃ saha yeṣām saha "(offering) to them with whom he is (ŚB II. 4. 2. 19).
saha...ulbena " with fœtus " (AB I. 3).
devaiḥ saha " with the gods " (AB I. 28).
vidyayā saha " with knowledge " (ŚB VI. 3. 1. 10).
kṣityā saha " with the earth " (GB I. 3. 22).
stomena saha " with a Stoma (song of praise) " (GB I. 5. 24).
anyayā saha " with another " (GB II. 3. 18).
yena...saha " with which " (GB II. 6. 6).
avadānena saha " with a fragment " (ŚBK 1. 5. 1. 33).
jarāyuṇā saha " with the after birth " (ŚB IV. 5. 2. 5).
yuṣmābhiḥ saha " with you " (ŚB VIII. 4. 2. 2).
devaiḥ saha " with the gods " (ŚB VIII. 6. 3. 23).
mithunena saha " with a pair " (ŚB IX. 4. 1. 7–12).
annena saha " with food " (ŚB X. 4. 1. 21).
namucinā...asureṇa saha " with the demon Namuci " (ŚB XII. 7. 1. 10).
vāvātayā saha " with the queen named *vāvātā* "
jyotiṣā saha " with light " (ŚB XIV. 3. 1. 31).
prāṇaiḥ saha " with breaths " (ŚB XIV. 4. 3. 26).
strībhiḥ saha " with women " (ŚB XIV 7. 1. 14).
vidyayā saha " with knowledge " (Saṁ B 3).
ṛtubhiḥ...saha " with the seasons " (Śāṅ B VII. 10).
marudbhiḥ...saha " with the Marutas " (JB 54).
vīraiḥ saha " with brave men " (JB 94).
kalibhiḥ saha " with the Kalis " (JB 210).
yajñena...saha " with the sacrifice " (TB 1. 3. 10. 10).
mātrā saha " with (my) mother " (TB II. 1, 1. 3).
rājaputraiḥ saha " with princes " (TB III. 8. 5. 1).

arājabhiḥ...saha "with those unfit for kingship" (TB III. 8. 5. 1).
sūtagrāmaṇībhiḥ saha "with chariot drivers and village headmen" (TB III. 8. 5. 2).
kṣattṛsaṁgṛhītṛbhiḥ saha "with distributors of food and trainers of horses" (TB III. 8. 5).
aṅgaiḥ...saha "with (his) limbs" (JUB I. 48. 3)
māṁsaiḥ...saha "with meats" (JUB I. 4. 8. 5).
mādhyaṁdinena savanena saha "with the midday pressing (Tāṇ B VIII. 3. 5).
vīryeṇa saha "with strength" (TāṇB XIII. 2. 6).

As a preposition :—

saha vaṣaṭkāreṇa "with the utterance of *vaṣaṭ*" (ŚB I. 7. 2. 12).
saha...vāsasā "with a garment" (AB I. 3).
saha...ulbena "with the after birth" (AB I. 3).
saha...ahnā "with day" (GB II. 4. 10).
saha...vācā "with speech" (ŚBK 1. 5. 1. 26).
saha triranūktābhyām "with those recited three times" (ŚB VII. 3. 2. 9).
saha ojasā "with power" (ŚB IV. 3. 3. 9).
saha śarīreṇa "with the body" (ŚB X. 4. 3. 9).
saha mithunena "with a pair" (ŚB VIII. 6. 1. 12).
saha prajayā "with offspring" (ŚB VIII. 6. 1. 21).
saha patnībhiḥ "with wives" (Śāṅ B XII. 3).
saha rājñā "with the king" (Śāṅ B XXVII. 6).
saha sarveṇa...yajñena "with the whole sacrifice" (JB 102).
saha śraddhayā "with faith" (AB VIII. 15).
saha prāṇena "with the breath" (JUB III. 33. 3).
saha saṁgṛhītrā "with the trainer of horses" (TB I. 7. 9. 6).
saha...manasā prāṇena svareṇa "with the mind, breath and voice" (JUB III. 34. 3).
saha nidhanena "with the *nidhana*" (Tāṇ B V. 5. 8).
saha ghoṣaiḥ "with the sounds" (Tāṇ B VII. 8. 14).

(9) *ardham* (as a postposition)

āhavanīyasyārdham "near the Āhavanīya" (ŚB VII. 3. 1. 6).
naḥ...ardham "near (from) us" (ŚB XI. 4. 1. 2).
asyārdham "near it" (ŚB II, 3. 10. 3).

As a preposition :—

ardham āgnīdhrasya "near the Āgnīdhra" (ŚB III. 6. 1. 28).

General Results—

The general results from the above data may be tabulated as follows :—

Prepositions

Strictly	Safely	Doubtfully
ā "upto"	*purā* "before"	*ṛte* "without"
sākam "with"	*arvācīnam* "on this side"	*antarā* "between"
upari "above"	*bahirdhā* "outside"	*uparīṣṭāt* "after"
tiras "through"		*ūrdhvam* "after"
paścāt "behind"		*purastāt* "after"
avastāt "below"		*puras* "before"
adhastāt "below"		
prāk "before"		
parāṅ "beyond"		
arvāk "below"		
parācīnam "beyond"		
avāṅ "below"		

Postpositions

Strictly	Safely	Doubtfully
vinā "without"	*prati* "towards"	*ati* "above"
pūrvam "before"	*anu* "after"	*antikam* "near"
arva "on this side of"	*abhi* "for, towards"	*abhitaḥ* "around"
adhaḥ "below"	*adhi* "on, from"	*parastat* "beyond" "after"
accha "towards"		*paras* "beyond"
sārdham "with"		*antareṇa* "between"
agre "before"		*antar* "in"
		saha "with"
		ardham "near"

From the above list, we get 21 prepositions, and 20 postpositions. The meaning conveyed by them, when used as prepositions or postpositions, does not differ much. Thus *prāk*, *purā* and *puras* when used as prepositions signify "before" but *pūrvam* and *agre* when used as prepositions similarly signify "before". The only semantic difference lies in a larger variety of meanings when they are used as postpositions, e. g. the sense of "near" (*antikam*, *ardham*), towards (*accha*, *abhi*, *prati*), "from" (*adhi*), "around" (*abhitaḥ*) is generally conveyed by postpositions.

Curiously enough, among prepositions *ā* is the only one which occurs as a verbal prefix as well: the other prepositions (*strictly* used) have never occurred as verbal-prefixes. Regarding *ā* Delbrück

(Altindo Syntax, p. 432) says "the statement that the preposition governs a case is at the most applicable to *ā* and *purā* in their connection with the ablative, for the period with which we are concerned." i. e. the adnominal use of *ā* was the earliest to appear. Was the strict use of *ā* as a preposition due to the fact that being the first to emerge in connection with a case, the habit of placing the prefix before a verb reacted on the preposition's adnominal use?

As many as *five* postpositions, however, occur as verbal prefixes as well. They are *prati*, *anu*, *abhi*, and *ati*.

Moreover, the largest number of occurrences, whether as prepositions or postpositions, are of those which can occur as verbal prefixes (with the exception of *purā*), as the following table will show :—

Prepositions	Number of occurrences	Postpositions	Number of occurrences
ā	47	*anu*	125
purā	62	*abhi*	54
		adhī	91
purastāt	43	*purastāt*	23

Although, therefore, we find in the language of the Brāhmaṇas postpositions and prepositions equally used, the comparative number of occurrences indicates that the postpositions predominate in this language. This seems to be a favourable ground for the development of a similar tendency in modern Indo—Aryan languages, in which we find postpositions predominating.

The particular Brāhmaṇas which prefer prepositions or postpositions

The following list will indicate the trend of the particular Brāhmaṇas for prepositions or postpositions :—

Names of Brāhmaṇas using it (with the number of occurrences)

Indeclinable	As a preposition	As a postposition
purastāt	SB 10	ŚB 10
	AB 7	AB 3
	GB 11	ṢB 1
	Śāṅ 5	JB 2
	JB 2	AB 2
	TB 3	TB 1
	TA 1	Tāṇ B 1
	Tāṇ B 2	

Indeclinable	As a preposition	As a postposition
uparistāt	Śāṅ B 2	
	JB 1	ŚB 3
	AB 1	Śāṅ B 1
	TA 1	
	JUB 1	
anutrā	Śāṅ B 1	
	AB 1	ŚB 3
	TB 2	JB 2
ṛte	Tāṇ B 1	AB 1
	GB 1	ŚB 3
	Śāṅ B 1	
	JUB 1	
puras	ŚB 1	ŚBK 1
	JB 1	
purā	AB 2	ŚB 14
	GB 2	
	ŚBK 4	
	Śāṅ B 2	
bahirdhā	ŚB 6	ŚB 2

A comparative study of the above list will show that the prepositions predominate in Brāhmaṇas other than the ŚB, that *purā* which, according to Delbrück (see p. 652 above) was one of the first prepositions used adnominally, does not occur as a preposition at all in ŚB, but as a postposition throughout. This indicates that the development of postpositions so predominant in classical Sanskrit and so wide-spread in modern Indo-Aryan languages finds a prominent precursor in ŚB. Perhaps these facts may indicate the later style of ŚB.

We find, then, that the position of a preposition in the language of the Brāhmaṇas does not correspond to that in Greek and Latin, wherein it precedes a case as a rule (Cf p. 633 above) but sometimes precedes and sometimes succeeds a case. That this phenomenon is not confined to Sanskrit, but is Indo-Iranian, may be indicated by a similar phenomenon in Avestan, in which, according to Reichelt (Avestisches Elementarbuch, p. 266) the prepositions are found before as well as after a case. While Avestan *parā* " before " corresponding to Skr. *purā* always precedes a case (Ib. p. 275), *aiwitō* " around " corresponding to our *abhitaḥ*, generally succeeds a case (p. 273), a phenomenon very similar to that

in the language of the Brāhmaṇas (cf. pp. 636, 647 above) regarding these two prepositions.

Prepositions intervened from a case by several words

The prose of the Brāhmaṇas indicates a remarkable freedom in the position of a preposition. Like the verbal prefix, it was not placed immediately before or after the case connected therewith. Wackernagel (*Vorlesungen* II, pp. 193–194) has noted a similar freedom in Greek, Latin, as he mentions the intervention of particles, enclitic pronouns, and even a verb, between the preposition and the case governed by it (II. pp. 194–195).

The most frequent occurrence of intervention is that of particles, but the occurrence of many particles with other parts of speech is not uncommon. The following sentence will illustrate this freedom of intervention :—

adhi u ha vai śaśvad asminn eva loke (a)sau lokaḥ "that world, indeed, always depends upon this world" (JB 103). Here we have three particles, (*u*, *ha*, *vai*), an adverb (*śaśvad*), a pronoun (*asmin*) and another particle (*eva*) intervening between the preposition *adhi* and the case *loke* governed by it.

Besides the particles, pronouns accented or enclitic, frequently intervene between the preposition and the case, as the following examples will show :—

yena tvā saha yājayema " with whom we may conduct the sacrifice for thee (*tvā*)" (JB 140).

bahirdhā tad agneḥ kariṣyāmaḥ " we will put it (*tad*) outside Agni" (ŚB VI, 8. 2. 1).

yenedaṃ saha vyaśnavāmahai " with whom we may enjoy it" (GB II. 6. 6).

atha ya ene so (a)ntareṇa puruṣaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ " Now he (*so*) who is a black person between these two " (ŚB XI. 6. 1. 13).

tayor viyator yo (a)ntareṇākāśa āsīt " That which (*yo*) was the empty space between these two extended ones " (ŚB VII. 1. 2. 23).

tasya yāv abhito (a)gniṣṭomau " those two Agniṣṭomas which (you) are on both sides of it " (AB IV. 15).

yaṃ sarve (a)nu paśavaḥ " whom all (*sarve*) animals follow" (ŚB III. 8. 4. 1).

The occurrence of a noun or nouns between the preposition and the case is even more remarkable, and is quite common :—

yad ūrdhvaṃ Yājñavalkya divo yadarvāk pṛthivyāḥ " O Yājñavalkya (being the noun intervening) that which is beyond the sky, and that which is on this side of the earth " (ŚB XIV. 6. 8. 3).

tenaitāṃ rātriṃ sahājagāma " he came with him on this night " (rātrim) (ŚB I. 6. 4. 2).

ati vai prajā (ā)tmānam " The offering (*prajā*) exceeds itself."

taṃ vijigyānaṃ sarve devā abhtiaḥ...paryaviśan " all the gods (devāḥ) sat round him (who) had conquered " (JB 141).

tam u ha brāhmaṇā abhito niṣeduḥ " the Brāhmans (*brāhmaṇāḥ*) sat round him " (JB 135).

asminn eva no vijayo (a)dhi astu " may our conquest (*vijayaḥ*) be over him " (JB 92).

ahorātrayor vai devāsurā adhi saṃyattā āsan " The gods and the demons (*devāsurāḥ*) were fighting for (the possession) of the day and the night " (JB 74).

pūrvapakṣaṃ devā anvasṛjyanta " the gods (*devāḥ*) were created after the first half of the lunar month " (TB II. 2. 3. 1).

tasyāgniḥ purastādait " Agni (*agniḥ*) went before him "
(AB II. 6).

purā vācaḥ pravaditoḥ " before speaking the words (vācaḥ)"
(AB II. 15).

tasyolmukaṃ purastād haranti "they carry glowing coal (*ulmukam*) before it" (AB II. 11).

The occurrence of a verb between the preposition and the case is very rare, but the following two examples may be recorded :—

tenāntareṇa pratipadyante cātvālaṃ cotkaraṃ ca " so they come (*pratipadyante*) between the pit and the heap of clay " (ŚB III. 1).

tāvindro nāśaknod abhi vajraṃ ·prahartum " Indra was not able (*aśaknot*) to strike them his thunderbolt " (Śāṅ B. III 6.).

The free position of the preposition indicates ·that the geniu of the language did not consider the preposition as a mere adjunct to cases, but that the preposition was felt to have a more or less independent entity of its own.

DIVODĀSA ATITHIGVA AND THE OTHER ATITHIGVAS

By

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[Summary : 1 The problem ; 2-3 the name Divodāsa ; 4 the Divodāsa priests ; 5 the name Atithigva ; 6 Atithigva Divodāsa was a Bharata and the chief event connected with him was the overthrow of Śambara ; 7 the relations of the Bharatas with the Turvaśas, the Yadus and the Purus ; 8 Atithigva Guṅgu connected with the overthrow of Parṇaya and Karañja only ; 9 Atithigva, father of Indrota who was not a Bharata ; 10-11 Atithigva Kutsa of the Āyu family who was overthrown by Indra and the three different Kutsas ; 12 the conclusion].

1 Some older scholars believed that Divodāsa and Atithigva mentioned in the Ṛgvedic hymns were two different persons, but now generally the two are supposed to be identical. The present view, however, is not still very accurate in my opinion. For, though there is only one king called Divodāsa, there are not less than four different kings of the name Atithigva mentioned in the Ṛgveda, as will be shown in the sequel. Naturally. King Divodāsa is identical with only one of these, but he has absolutely nothing to do with the other three.

2 The name Divodāsa is very striking and quite unusual so far as the Ṛgveda is concerned. It means 'A Slave of the Heaven.' The practice of attaching the word '*dāsa*' to the names of deities and using them as one's own appellation is absolutely unṛgvedic. The Dāsa was as a rule, held in contempt by the Aryans and no Aryan could ordinarily have thought of calling himself a Dāsa, even of a deity. In the post-vedic days, especially when the cult of Bhakti became greatly developed and the idea of absolute dependence on and complete merging of one's self in the object of worship became gradually established, the word Dāsa came to be often applied to a devotee and ultimately lost the sting in its meaning i. e., the suggested distinction between the Dāsa and the Aryan and retained only the sense of 'absolute dependence on and faithful devotion to the Master.'

People then could call themselves the Dāsa of this or that deity without any sense of shame. But this was impossible in the days of the Ṛgveda, where deep contempt and hatred for the Dāsas and the Dasyus is quite evident almost everywhere. It is indeed true, that the process of a change in the meaning of the word Dāsa must have been gradual and this is partly borne out by the Ṛgvedic evidence itself. The Dāsas when conquered in battles were often turned into slaves by the Aryan princes. In course of time these conquered tribes of the Dāsas became so mild and innocent that they could be employed in their household even by ordinary men. They evidently proved themselves not only very useful and efficient servants, but also very loyal and trustworthy followers. This is why a priest-poet describes the gift of a hündered Dāsas to himself from a prince called Dasyave Vṛka as a noble one at Ṛv. VIII. 56.3 (see v. 1 *ahrayam rādhaḥ*). Similarly, at Ṛv. X. 62. 10. two Dāsas who are described as very well trained (*smaddiṣṭi*) are said to have formed part of a valued gift. Again, at Ṛv. I. 92. 8, Uṣas is requested to give a Treasure which is accompained by a multitude of Dāsas. But more important than these is a reference to a Dāsa as the standard of loyal and willing service at Ṛv. VII, 86.7. Here a devotee of Varuṇa goes to the length of comparing himself with a Dāsa (*aram dāso na mīḷhuṣe karāṇi:* May I serve the bounteous god like a Dāsa). Surely here at least the word Dāsa could not have conveyed its usual Ṛgvedic meaning implying contempt. Like this word used in later literature, it could have suggested only 'deep and loyal devotion.' This passage then among others, may suggest that the name Divodāsa when heard by the Ṛgvedic people could not have conveyed any sense of condemnation of the person for whom it was used. It is surely interesting to note that a poet-priest of the Vasiṣṭha family which was later on patronized by Divodāsa's descendent Sudās of the Bharata dynasty, compares himself with a Dāsa, while a prince of the Bharata dynasty calls himself 'a Dāsa of Dyauḥ.' Dyauḥ is said to be the skilful father and generator of Indra at Ṛv. IV. 17. 4; and Indra was the great Defender of Divodāsa. This may be regarded as a sort of justification for Divodāsa's unusual name. But evidently this is not very convincing. I may hazard two more guesses for

the justification of this name. Indeed they are not more than mere conjectures at the present stage of our knowledge of the Ṛgvedic society.

3 The Bharadvājas describe Divodāsa, who was impetuous and destroyer of misfortunes (*ṛṇacyutam*), as a gift to Vadhryaśva from Sarasvatī, who is conceived as a goddess without losing sight of her physical form of a river in their hymn to her by the Bharadvājas, namely, VI. 61 (*iyam adadāt rabhasam ṛṇacyutam divodāsam vadhryśvāya dāśuṣe*). Now this may mean that Divodāsa was not Vadhryśva's own son, but was borne to him by the stream of the river Sarasvatī and then was adopted by him as his son. In that same hymn, we are told that Sarasvatī helped Vadhryaśva in uprooting his Dāsa enemies, chief among whom was Bṛsaya (cf. VI. 61. 1c ; 3[ab]), like the other deity Agni Vaiśvānara. This means that the Dāsa chief Bṛsaya lived on the banks of the Sarrsvatī, and that his fortress was burnt and destroyed by Vadhryaśva. Whatever remained untouched by the ravages of the fire was washed out by the broad and unfordable stream of the mighty Sarasvatī. Among such things may have been a royal child belonging to the Dāsa chieftain ; this was borne alive for a time by the stream until it fell into the hands of the conqueror Vadhryaśva. It was adopted by him as his own son and and a significant name was given to him which implied that though the boy was a Dāsa, still he was not the Dāsa of a human being namely the Aryan, but of the great god of the Aryans, the father of the mighty Indra. This conjecture may seem absurd, particularly because it would make Divodāsa and his descendants belong to the Dāsa stock, but it need not be summarily rejected as impossible. Divodāsa is considered as a Dāsa king, like Bṛbu, by Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie (2nd ed.), p. 515. It is however more likely, that this child namely Divodāsa was some real Aryan prince who had fallen in the hands of the Dāsa chief Bṛsaya after the death of his father at his hands and who was brought up by him for a while until Bṛsaya himself was annihilated with his followers and possessions by the floods of Sarasvatī and the flames of Agni Vaiśvānara (cf. VI. 61.3 with I. 93. 4c). On this occasion the young Divodāsa may have been borne alive by the stream of the Sarasvatī to Vadhryaśva, who then adopted him as his son and gave him a significont name

Divodāsa to commemorate his connection wtth the Dāsas for a while!

4 The Divodāsas who praise Indra with new hymns at I. 130. 10 belong evidently to a priestly family; similarly Parucchepa Divodāsa and Pratardana Divodāsa to whom Tradition according to Sarvānukrama ascribes the authorship of Ṛv. I. 127-139 and IX. 96 respectively appear also to be priests and poets. Pratardana was indeed the name of a ruling prince; he was very likely the son of King Divodāsa and is described as having gained back his kingdom from the hands of the Bharadvājas at Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā 21. 10; this same Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, is said to have gone to Indra by means of 'war and bravery' at Kauśītaki Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad III. 1. He is probably also the father of King Kṣatraśrī Prātardani mentioned at VI. 26.8. It is quite possible that the authorship of IX. 96 was ascribed to this 'Fighter' Pratardana, just as the authorship of X. 133 is ascribed to the 'Fighter' Sudās Paijavana. But it is well nigh impossible to say and maintain that the Parucchepa of Ṛv. I. 127-139 and the Divodāsas of Ṛv. I. 130. 10 were also 'Fighters.' They surely must have belonged to a priestly family and thus we are forced to conclude that there was also a priest who was known by the name Divodāsa. The conclusion is unpalatable but, I think, unavoidable.

5 The name Atithigva either signifies (1) 'one whose cows are respected wanderers' (*atithīnyaḥ gāvo yasya*; cf. *atithinīr gāḥ* at X. 68. 3); or (2) 'One whose cows are meant for honoured guests' (*atithyarthā gāvo yasya*; cf. *atithīn nṛn* at V. 50. 3); or lastly, (3) 'one who goes to, i. e., patronizes the human or the divine guest' (*atithim gacchati atithigavaḥ atithigvaḥ*; cf. *purogavaḥ Agniḥ* at X. 85. 8). I personally prefer the first two explanations and consider the latter part of the word, namely *gva*, to be remnant of the noun *go* rather than that of the root *gā* 'to go' as is supposed by Grassmann, WB. p. 419. In almost all the passages, the name Atithigva would appear to be merely an epithet and not the proper name. It is no doubt sometimes used independently but it is so used only where the proper name of the person can be known from the context as we shall see below.

6 We shall now proceed to describe the four Atithigvas

from the Ṛgveda. The first of these is Divodāsa Atithigva of the Bharata Dynasty. That Divodāsa was a Bharata is not to be doubted. The Bharata at VI. 16. 4 is no other than our Divodāsa and this is clear from the next stanza of that hymn. Similarly, v. 19 of the same hymn leaves no doubt about this, since it mentions *Divodāsasya bhārato agniḥ*. Divodāsa's father was Vadhryaśva, whose guardian deity was Agni Vaiśvānara as is seen from Ṛv. X. 69. Vadhryaśva's priests at that time were the Sumitras and his chief enemy was the Dāsa chief Bṛsaya (VI. 61. 3). Bṛsaya and his followers were killed by Vadhryaśva with the help of Sarasvatī and Agni Vaiśvānara ; this is why Agni Vaiśvānara is said to have killed Bṛsaya's followers (*bṛsayasya śeṣaḥ*) at I. 93. 4*c*. Like his father Divodāsa too, was a devotee of Agni Vaiśvānara, who on that account is called *daivodāsiḥ* at VIII. 103. 2. Agni is again described as a 'reliable leader' (*satpatiḥ*) of Divodāsa at VI. 16. 19. It appears that on one occasion Divodāsa received help from the Maruts, as is hinted at VII. 18. 25 ; so that the words *bharata* and *rājā* at V. 54. 14*d* possibly refer to him. The principal exploit which Indra is said to have performed for Divodāsa Atithigva is the overthrow of the demon chief Śambara and the destruction of his hundred mountain forts. In three passages of the Ṛgveda, both the proper name Divodāsa and the appellate Atithigva are mentioned side by side in connection with the event of Śambara's overthrow ; these are I. 112. 14 (*mahām atithigvam kasojuvam divodāsam śambarahatya āvatam* : You favoured the great Divodāsa Atithigva, who has the speed of a whip, in the slaughter of Śambara') ; IV. 26. 3 (*aham puro mandasāno vi airam nava sākam navatīḥ śambarasya..... divodāsam Atithigvam yad āvam* : 'I overthrew the 99 forts of Śambara at one stoke, being filled with wild delight, when I favoured Divodāsa Atithigva') and VI. 47. 22 (*divodāsād atithigvasya rādhaḥ śāmbaram vasu pratyagrabhīṣma* : 'we received from Divodāsa a gift which is worthy of Atithigva i. e., of a man whose name is Atithigva, and which consists of the treasures of Śambara conquered from him'). In the first passage, the exploit is ascribed to the Aśvinā, but such an exchange of exploits between Indra and the Aśvinā is also seen in the case of the maiden's son Parāvṛj and Kutsa Ārjuneya. This passage

also confirms that Divodāsa mentioned at I. 116. 18 and 119. 4 as a protégé of the Aśvinā is no other than Divodāsa Atithigva. In the third passage the two names are put in different cases, but that does not mean that two different persons are intended thereby ; it only suggests that the name Atithigva was intended by the poet to be suggestive, like the name Goṣaṇo Napāt at IV. 32. 22. In the next passage, the name Atithigva alone, without the name Divodāsa, is mentioned in connection with the same event, i. e., the overthrow of the demon Śambara thus leaving no doubt whatever that Divodāsa Atithigva alone is meant (*arandhayo atithigvāya śambaram* : you overthrew Śambara for Atithigva ' I. 51, 6). Tbere is one more passage which mentions Divodāsa and Atithigva both in the same stanza, though in different halves ; it is I. 130. 7 :—*bhinat puro navatim indra pūrave divodāsāya mahi dāśuṣe nṛto...atithigvāya śambaram girer ugro avābharat* : ' Oh, Indra, the fierce one, i. e., yourself, battered the 90 forts mightily for the sake of the worshipper Divodāsa and Pūru ; he also threw down Śambara from the mouutain for the Atithigva '. I shall discuss the connection of Pūru in this event in the sequel ; but there can be no doubt that Divodāsa and Atithigva in the passage are identical. On the other hand, Divodāsa alone without the appellate Atithigva, is mentioned in the following 8 passages in connection with the same event namely the overthrow of Śambara :— I. 116. 18 (*yad ayātam divodāsāya vartiḥ bharadvājāya aśvinā hayantā* : ' When with great speed you, oh, Aśvinā, went to Divodāsa, to Bharadvāja, on your usual round ') ; I. 119. 4 (*yāsiṣṭam vartir vṛṣaṇā vijenyam divodāsāya mahi ceti vām avaḥ* : ' You went on your round to Divodāsa, oh mighty ones ; that favour of yours was proclaimed as great and covetable '); II. 19. 6 (*divodāsāya navatim ca navendraḥ puro vi airat śambarasya* : ' Indra overthrew 99 forts of Śambara for Divodāsa ' IV. 30 20 (*śatam aśmanmayīnām purām indro vi āsyat* : *divodāsāya dāśuṣe* : ' Indra overthrew a hundred stone-forts for the sacrificer Divodāsa ' ; VI. 26. 5 (*ava girer dāsam śambaram han prāvo divodāsam* : ' You threw down the Dāsa Śambara from the mountain and favoured Divodāsa ') ; VI. 31. 4 (*tvam śatāni ava śambarasya puro jaghantha apratīni dasyoḥ aśikṣo yatra... divodāsāya* : ' You battered down the huudred

impregnable forts of the Dasyu Śambara when you gave help to Divodāsa'); VI. 43. 1 (*yasya tyat śambaram made divodāsāya randhayaḥ* : ' in whose wild joy you subdued Śambara at that time for divodāsa ') ; and IX, 61, 2 (*avāhan navatīr nava puraḥ sadya itthādhiye divodāsāya śambaram adha tyam turvaśam yaduṁ* ' You threw down at one stroke the 99 forts (of Śambara), Śambara himself, as also that Turvaśa and Yadu, for the sake of so-inclined Divodāsa '). This last passage where Turvaśa and Yadu are mentioned as the enemies of Divodāsa in addition to Śambara, shows how the Atithigva who is mentioned as the enemy of Turvaśa and Yadu at VII. 19.8 (*ni turvaśam ni yādvam śisīhi atithigvāya śaṁsyam kariṣyan* ' Intending to give the praiseworthy (protection) to Atithigva, strike down Turvaśa and Yādva i. e. Yadu '), is no other than Atithigva Divodāsa himself.

7 The Bharatas in general seem to have been inimical to these two tribes of the Turvaśas and the Yadus. A Turvaśa was defeated by Sudās in the well known Dāśarājña war ; cf. VII. 18. 6. Another Turvaśa was subdued by Sṛñjaya Daivavāta (VI. 27. 7), who was himself a Bharata, son of Devavāta mentioned at III. 23. 2. Yet it need not be imagined that these two clans were never reconciled with the Bharatas ; it is on the other hand more logical to suppose that the relations of the Bharatas with these clans were only of occasional enmity. The Bharadvājas sing the exploits of Indra when he helped Yadu and Turvaśa to cross a broad stream at VI. 20. 12 and 45.1 ; and yet they were the family-priests of the Bharatas under the leadership of Divodāsa. A similar relation namely of occasional enmity seems to have existed also between the Bharatas and the Pūrus. At I. 130.7, Divodāsa is almost called a Pūru in the description of his fight with Śambara ; but probably a Pūru chief as an ally of Divodāsa is meant in that passage. At VI. 47, we do not get the mention of any Pūru in the context of the overthrow of Śambara but at I. 59. 6-7, the Pūrus appear to have been referred to in the same context, as is also clear from the reference to the Bharadvāja in v. 7. At I.63.7, Sudās and the Pūru king Purukutsa are mentioned together in one stanza, as if they were allies, which is however chronologically impossible ; while at I.112.14 Divodāsa Atithigva and Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, are again mentioned in the same stanza. It must be admitted however, that in the

first of these passages *sudāse* may be taken as an adjective of *pūrave* and in the second, the two princes are mentioned together with the intention of recording similar feats of Indra together. For, Indra had destroyed the seven autumnal forts of the Dāsas for the Pūrus; cf. I. 63. 7; 131. 4; 174.2; VI. 20.10; and he had also destroyed the 100 forts of the Dāsa Śambara for Divodāsa Atithigva. King Sudās and Trasadasyu Pūru are again mentioned together in the same stanza at VII. 19.3. Similarly at V. 27, Trasadasyu Pūru and Aśvamedha Bhārata are mentioned as allies. On the other hand, from VII. 8.4 and VII. 18. 13, the Pūrus would appear to be the enemies of the Bharatas.

8 The second Atithigva is the Atithigva of the Guṅgus who was helped by Indra in killing Parṇaya and Karañja; see I. 53.8 (*tvam karañjam uta parṇayam vadhīs tejiṣṭhayā atithigvasya vartanī* : 'You have killed Karañja and Parṇaya with the sharpest edge of (the wheel) of Atithigva'); X. 48.8 (*aham guṅgubhyo atithigvam iṣkaram iṣam na vṛtraturam vikṣu dhārayam yat parṇayaghna uta vā karañjahe prāham mahe vṛtrahatye aśuśruvi* : I brought Atithigva as a gift to the Guṅgus; I placed among their people that killer of their enemies (who became welcome to them) like food when I became famous in the great battle where Parṇaya and Karañja were killed).' This Atithigva belonged to the clan of the Guṅgus, which is otherwise unknown in the Ṛgveda. Parṇaya and Karañja were very likely two powerful allies belonging to the Dāsa tribes; they were at war with the Aryan clan of the Guṅgus, who were evidently fighting a losing battle until at last they got a valiant and skilful leader in the person of Atithigva. This Atithigva was specially fitted for the purpose by Indra, as we are told. He is described as *vṛtratur* like the other similar warrior Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa and the leader of the Pūrus (cf. IV. 42.8). Both these leaders are conceived as compassionate gifts to helpless persons by the war-like god Indra, in one case the people without a leader, and in the other, a distressed woman. On the other hand, Divodāsa Atithigva is imagined as an affectionate gift to a warrior named Vadhryaśva by the River-deity Sarasvatī. He is described merely as *ṛṇacyut* 'remover of wrongs, weaknesses or defects' in general. *ṛṇa* in Ṛgveda does not mean 'debt,' as it does in the post-Ṛgvedic literature, when a son was regarded as 'the

remover' of the father's *pitṛ-ṛṇa*, by his very birth. Yet it is quite possible that our passage might have formed the transitional stage in the change of the meaning of the word. This difference of situation attendant upon the birth of Atithigva Divodāsa of the Bhārata dynasty and Atithigva of the Guṅgus makes it quite plain that the two are entirely different. It is also not to be forgotten that it was very likely that Divodāsa Atithigva was borne to Vadhryaśva by the stream of the river Sarasvatī and that this was poetically conceived as a gift from the deity presiding over the river-stream. Neither the Guṅgus nor their enemies Parṇaya and Karañja are unfortunately mentioned anywhere else in the Ṛgveda. But the Bharadvājas who were patronized by Divodāsa Atithigva for a considerable period do not mention any of these personalities and this would not have happened had the two Atithigvas been known to them as identical. The word Guṅgu occurs once in the Ṛgveda (II. 82.8); but there it seems to be the name of a river-deity or of some other kind of deity. In the former case, Guṅgu may be regarded as the name of an actual river and the Guṅgus may be the people dwelling on the banks of this river. But this practice of naming a people from the place of their habitation, particularly a river, is not much in evidence in the Ṛgveda. At any rate, The Guṅgus cannot be identified with the Bharatas and it is quite obvious that the Atithigva of the Guṅgus, the vanquisher of Parṇaya and Karañja, is distinct from Divodāsa Atithigva of the Bharata dynasty.

9 The third Atithigva is mentioned as the father of a prince called Indrota, who is praised as a great donor along with the sons of Ṛkṣa and Aśvamedha, at VIII. 68. 15-17. In this passage, it is all very doubtful as to what relation the names bear to the patronymics. It is for example not clear whether *ṛkṣasya sūnavi* in v. 15 refers to Indrota or to another prince called Śrutarvan whose name is not at all mentioned in this hymn, but who is said to have been favoured by Indra in vanquishing his enemy Mṛgaya at X. 49.5 and who is mentioned as a donor at VIII. 74. 13 by an Atri poet. Pūtakratu in v. 17 is very likely a proper name and that too of Aśvamedha's son. One Aśvamedha Bhārata is mentioned as an ally of King Trasadasyu Paurukutsi at V. 27. This Pūtakratu Aśvamedha is not known from any other passage in the Ṛgveda, though a queen called Pūtakratā, mother of a king

who was popularly known as 'a wolf of the Dasyus,' is known from Ṛv. VIII. 56. 2 and 4. Indrota is evidently a proper name of Atithigva's son. But who this Atithigva was cannot be ascertained. If the three princes are supposed to be allies, and if Aśvamedha Pūtakratu is a Bhārata, it is very unlikely that Indrota too was a Bhārata and thus this Atithigva too is surely different from Divodāsa Atithigva.

10 The fourth Atithigva is entirely different from the first three, since, he is said to have been overthrown by Indra and his brave followers are described as slain by him for assisting a prince called Tūrvayāṇa. He is mentioned in the following passages :—I. 53. 10 ; II. 14. 7 ; VI. 18, 13 ; VIII. 53.2.

tvam āvitha suśavasam tavotibhis tava trāmabhir indra tūrvayāṇam ।
tvam asmai kutsam atithigvam āyum mahe rājñe yūne arandhanāyaḥ (1)
adhvaryavo yaḥ śatam ā sahasram bhūmyā upasthe avapaj jaghanvān ।
kutsaya āyor atithigvasya vīrān nyavṛṇag bharatā somam asmai (2)
pra tat te adya karaṇam kṛtam bhūt kutsam yad āyum atithigvam asmai ।
purū sahasrā ni śiśā abhi kṣām ut tūrvayāṇam dhṛṣatā ninetha । (3)
ya āyum kutsam atithigvam ardayo vāvṛdhāno divedive (4)

'You helped that well-known Tūrvayāṇa with your favours and protections, Oh Indra. You subdued Kutsa Atithigva Āyu for the sake of this great and youthful king. (1) Adhvaryus! bring your Soma to him, who killed and laid low on the bosom of the earth and thus uprooted a hundred and a thousand warriors of Kutsa Atithigva Āyu. (2) That deed of yours was well executed today when you subdued Kutsa Āyu Atithigva for him. (At that time), you laid low on the ground many thousand (of warriors), and boldly carried off Tūrvayāṇa from their midst. (3) You, who overpowered Āyu Kutsa Atithigva, yourself growing powerful day by day (4).'

11 Generally Kutsa, Āyu and Atithigva in these passages are supposed to be three different persons and it is also further

assumed that these three, though they were separately assisted and favoured by Indra on other occasions, were nevertheless overthrown together on one occasion, when they had allied themselves against a prince called Tūrvayāṇa, by that same deity who wanted to help that prince. It is also said that on this one occasion, hundreds and thousands of warriors of these three allies were killed by Indra on the battle-field. To me however, it appears more probable that all the three names i. e., Kutsa Āyu and Atithigva, belong to one and the same person, whose proper name was Kutsa, who belonged to the family of the Āyus, and who bore the appellate Atithigva. All the three names appear together one after the other and in the same case-termination, in the context of the defence of Tūrvayāṇa. In two of the four passages which refer to this event, we get a reference to the slaughter of the many hundred and thousand followers. But in neither of the two do we get a genitive plural of a pronoun referring to the three as is very naturally expected particularly in the second of the two passages, i. e. VI. 18. 13. It is again, I think, significant that the three names are never used separately or singly in this context, nor is there a plural form ever used to suggest that the three names signified three different persons. As a matter of fact, there are no definite grounds in any of the four passages to assume that Kutsa, Āyu and Atithigva were different persons. We have such an evidence, for example, in the case of the four or five allies who are mentioned at VI. 20. 8. Only two of these are mentioned in the same context at VI. 26. 8 and all the four or five are meant by the plural form *vetasūn* at X. 49. 4. For this reason, I would rather understand that the three names belong to one and the same person as said above. This Kutsa Atithigva must however be distinguished from Kutsa Ārjuneya who was assisted by Indra in his fight with the demon Śuṣṇa (see in particular Ṛv. VII. 19. 2; VIII. 1. 11; and IV. 26. 1. Also see I. 112. 23, where the defence of this same Kutsa is ascribed to the Aśvinā). Both these Kutsas were warriors and princes. The second is repeatedly mentioned as a protégé of Indra in his battle with Śuṣṇa and in many of the passages, his patronymic is dropped. He has almost assumed a semi-divine

character in the Ṛgvedic hymns; see Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 146. There is a third Kutsa; but he is only a priest and poet mentioned at I. 106. 6*ab* (the word Kutsa is an adjective, I think, at VII. 25. 5*a* and X. 49. 4*b*; it means 'skilful, active' etc.). The historical character which is supposed to be indicated at Vedic Mythology, really belongs to the first and the third Kutsa but not to the second. It is I suppose, not correct to identify the three Kutsas who are found in entirely different situations and surroundings, merely because they bear the same name.

12 There is also an independent evidence to show that the second and the fourth Atithigvas were not identical. The two are mentioned very near each other, one as Indra's enemy and the other as his protégé, in stanzas 8 and 10 of Ṛv. I. 53. This would not have happened had the poet of the hymn known them to be identical. Similarly, it cannot be imagined that Atithigva Kutsa whose defeat is recorded at VI. 18. 13, was known to the Bharadvāja poet of that hymn to be identical with the great patron of the Bharadvājas, namelv, Divodāsa Atithigva. For, had he so known him to be, he would not have mentioned his defeat and overthrow by Indra in his hymn with such enthusiasm as is suggested by the stanza. Thus then, we find that the four Atithigvas stand distinguished from each other by being associated with entirely different and unconnected events and individuals; and that there do not exist any grounds whetever, beyond the common appellate Atithigva, to suppose that they were identical. It is of course very difficult to say which of these four was the oldest; but it would seem that Divodāsa was the first to be called Atithigva and the others might have imitated him in assuming the appellate.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE RASA-THEORY

By

K. N. WATAVE

Bharata, the reputed author of the Nāṭya-Śāstra, is the earliest known exponent of literary criticism in India. Like a true critic, he unmistakably sees that emotional appeal or emotional response on the part of the enjoyer is the end and aim of literature. Any piece of literary composition that is without this appeal is according to him, a misnomer (न हि रसादृते कश्चिदप्यर्थः प्रवर्तते । N.S. VI. 34). The accessories of a dramatic composition and performance which he names as आंगिक, वाचिक and आहार्य अभिनयs must subserve the सात्त्विक अभिनय which is the principal thing, and which includes the conception of रस. It is generated by the combination of the विभाव, अनुभाव and व्यभिचारिभावs. This, in short, is the Rasa-theory of Bharata, which in the hands of later rhetoricians has developed into the Rasa-system and has dominated all Indian literary speculations down to this day.

In his exposition of the Rasa-theory, Bharata brings us face to face with the subtle play of emotions both in the heart of the reader and the actor. In other words, he is giving us, unconsciously perhaps, a psychological explanation of the whole process. Psychology, as an independent science, did not exist in those days. All the same, with the aid of the method of introspection alone he and other literary critics belonging to his school, have formulated a sort of a literary psychology, centuries before the dawn of psychological investigation in the West.

I propose first to explain this old psychology of the Rasas in terms of the recent advancement of this science and then to scrutinise the same in its light. In attempting this task, which as far as I know is the first of its kind, I have followed leading psychologists like William McDougall, Stout, Ribot, S. Woodworth, Thouless and the rest.

Let me, first of all, explain and scrutinise the famous Rasa-Sūtra of Bharata. This Sūtra runs as—तत्र विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः । (N. S. VI-34) and it explains the process of the

रसनिष्पत्ति (call it generation or enjoyment or revelation of रस) in the spectator. What the Sūtra purports to mean is—when the विभावs, अनुभावs, and the व्यभिचारिभावs combine to awaken the स्थायिभाव of the reader or the spectator, the awakened स्थायिभाव finally develops into रस.

Western psychology always prefers to talk of a living organism, as responding to some stimulus or as behaving in a particular way under some situation. To adopt the same terminology, the spectator or the reader is the living organism emotionally responding to the situation in the drama i. e. the characters and their surrounding. The विभावs (both आलम्बन and उद्दीपन) are, therefore, the stimuli (external in the case of a performance and internal in the case of reading a play—in the form of mental images). अनुभावs are the expressions of the emotions so ably treated by Charles Darwin in his "Expressions of the emotions in Man and Animal" and adopted by psychologists. There is a wide divergence of opinion amongst Indian scholars in assigning to the व्यभिचारिभावs and the स्थायिभावs their English equivalents. (The term स्थायिभाव although not actually used in the Sūtra, is understood and is to be supplied as स्थायिनः विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिभिः संयोगात् स्थायिनः रसत्वेन निष्पत्तिः ।).

This lack of harmony in the proper use of suitable equivalents to these two terms is, probably, due to the fact that none of the scholars have, as yet, made a psychological approach to the problem. The स्थायिभाव is the "Sentiment" the conception of which was first expounded by A. F. Shand in his "The Foundations of Character" (1914) and accepted by W. McDougall with some important alterations in his "Social Psychology". Our Sanskrit स्थायिभाव is neither an instinct, nor an emotion, nor a mood; although it has got an instinctive base and is a primary emotion in character. Primary emotions, which are indicators of corresponding instincts at work, become organised in systems about the various objects and classes of objects that excite them. Such an organised system of emotional tendencies is not a fact or mode of experience, but it is a feature of the completly organised structure of the mind that underlies all our mental activities. Such organised systems of emotions are sentiments (see p. 122 *Social* and p. 420 *Outline*). The sentiment when once formed is the enduring condition of a considerable

range of emotions and desires to which McDougall calls Derived emotions. These Derived emotions of McDougall (for which see pages 338-346 *Outline*) are our व्यभिचारिभावs. The Derived emotions fall into two groups :—(1) The prospective emotions of desire such as hope, anxiety, despondency etc. and (2) The Retrospective emotions of desire, such as sorrow, regret, remorse. Joy and surprise are, also, Derived emotions. The derived emotions are not like the primary emotions, constantly conjoined with any one instinctive impulse. These emotions may arise in the course of the operation of any strong impulse or tendency, the emotion being dependent upon or derived from the working of the impluse under certain conditions. On page 345 of his "Outline" W. McDougall gives us a clear distinction between the primary and Derived emotions. After grasping it a student of the Sāhitya Śāstra, shall have no difficulty in identifying these with his व्यभिचारिभावs. It must be noted that the Derived emotions never develop into sentiments as they have no clear instinctive base and have no independent end. It is either the primary or the blended emotion which enters into sentiment-formations.

Scrutinised in the light of this discussion, Bharata's list of the eight स्थायिभावs and the thirty-three व्यभिचारिभावs discloses certain serious flaws. Out of the eight, उत्साह is not an emotion at all. It is either the physical or mental energy ; and what is more, it is not peculiar to वीररस of which it is given as the स्थायिभाव. It is at the bottom of any energetic, action be it a love-affair (रति), devotion to God (भक्ति) or for the matter of that a hearty laugh (हास). Sorrow (शोक) and surprize (विस्मय) are Derived emotions and present difficulties in the way of the करुण and अद्भुत रसs. हास, and शम are highly complex. निर्वेद stands on dubious grounds. रति, क्रोध, भय and जुगुप्सा alone stand the test, as they are either primary or blended emotions capable of sentiment-formation.

The list of the thirty-three व्यभिचारिभावs is far too faulty. Of the 33, ग्लानि, मद, श्रम, आलस्य, जडता, मोह, निद्रा, अपस्मार, सुप्त, प्रबोध, व्याधि, उन्माद and मरण (13 in all) are not emotions at all, being all of them physical states !! चपलता, आवेग and उग्रता are not emotions, but are terms indicative of the intensity of any emotions. शंका, अमर्ष, त्रास, and गर्व are primary emotions and have no business to be in this list. व्रीडा and असूया are blended emotions and should not appear here. मति, वितर्क, अवहित्थ and स्मृति, being cogni-

tive mental conditions, cannot be set down as emotions properly so-called. What remains as व्यभिचारिभावs proper, after this careful sifting, is a group of seven Derived emotions, औत्सुक्य, दैन्य, विषाद, हर्ष, धृति, चिन्ता and निर्वेद. Repetition and insufficiency are two additional draw-backs in this list. आशा, नैराश्य, पश्चाताप, आश्चर्य etc. could have been added to it.

What is responsible for this defective treatment is that unaided introspection could not enable even clever minds of those old days to distinguish between psychological and physiological functions. Nor was human knowledge, then, so advanced as to mark the three distinct aspects of the cyclic process of the mental activity–the cognitive, conative and affective. This need not at all, therefore, lead to the depreciation of the contribution of ancient critics. Such psychologists as Spinoza, Descartes, John Lock, A. F. Shand who lived in what may be called the Scientific age, have similarly or more seriously blundered !! Hence we must have deeper admiration for their genius by our realisation of their limitations.

As regards the hotly disussed nature of the सात्त्विक भावs modern psychology tends to hold the view that they should be classed with the अनुभावs ; as both of them are expressions of the emotion and the difference in them is one of degree and not of kind.

More psychologically correct is the stand of the Sanskrit rhetoricians when they explain the process of the Rasa-realisation. अभिनवगुप्त gives us a very accurate idea of the mental attitude of a सहृदय when he is enjoying a work of art. The characters and scenes described therein are seen by him with the eye of imagination, (the वर्णनीयतन्मयीभवनयोग्यता which अभिनव gives as the qualification of a सहृदय implies this 'eye of imagination'). This process is known as the 'Ideational Representation to consciousness of objects. तादात्म्य is Empathy which has been clearly defined by Lipps. ताटस्थ्य is detachment or 'psychical distance' and has been given in this context by R. H. Thouless. साधारणीकरणव्यापार reveals a very clear psychological insight of our critics. It is known today as the process of Universalization. Prof. C. T. Winchester calls it 'Idealization' in which the reader strips

himself of whatever is individual and local and creates types that hold good at all times and in all places and perceives all these things in an abstract way. This साधारणीकरण has been suggested by भरत himself, (एभ्यश्च सामान्यगुणयोगेन रसा निष्पद्यन्ते । N.S. VII. 9), referred to by भट्टनायक by the term भावना or भावकत्व and so ably explained by अभिनव. Even I. A. Richards, who is an accepted psychological literary critic, has not much improved upon our critics (see his 'Poetic experience' in his 'Science and Poetry' and in his 'Principles of literary criticism').

Our Sanskrit critics have clearly stated that रस is both काव्यगत (which they call लौकिक रस) and रसिकगत (which is अलौकिकरस). But they affirm, and rightly too, that the अलौकिक रस is the higher of the two, as it is the final effect. C. T. Winchester supports this view. There must be 'emotional element' in literature no doubt, but its power of awakening in the reader corresponding emotions (which is his emotional response) is displayed in the minds of and is to be ultimately felt by the reader. Sanskrit rhetoricians do not clearly define रस although they describe the process of its generation and realization. We may frame here a psychological definition of रस. "The pleasant and total emotional response of a sympathetic reader to the elegant expression of intense emotions in Poetry is रस." The same may be rendered thus in Sanskrit by coining the word 'प्रत्युद्गार' for 'response.'

ललिताविष्कृतिं गाढं भावमुद्दिश्य काव्यगं

सहृदः सुखनिष्यन्दी प्रत्युद्गारो रसः स्मृतः ।

One thing, however, must be noted in passing, with regard to our Rasa-realization, that it is immensely steeped in mysticism, as the critics that propounded it were all of them followers of one or the other school of mystic philosophy. The West, also, is not totally free from this mysticism in arts, and I. A. Richard had to raise a voice of warning against this tendency. Delight (आनन्द, हर्ष), aesthetic pleasure (सुख) and ecstasy (ब्रह्मास्वादसहोदर आनन्द) are given as the ends of Poetry. But no rational and clear analysis of this pleasure has been attempted. भरत suggests the why of this pleasure by the word हृदयसंवाद (योऽर्थो हृदयसंवादी । N. S. VII,10) and अभिनव only reiterates the same by his वासना संवाद or हृदय संवाद. Some modern psychologists have put forward their 'Repression-theory' and the consequent 'sublimation' that is effected by the

reading of literature. Some of them have advanced the Play-theory also. Fulfilment of the various instinctive tendencies seems to be the goal of human life; and the expression of the Ego is the way to achieve it. In actual life man is expressing himself through various serious activities. But his surplus energy finds another and a more delightful outlet for them i. e. play. Human activity in this field of play has given rise to all arts. "Playful self-expression" क्रीडारूप आत्माविष्कार, therefore, may be offered as an all-embracing theory of aesthetic pleasure.

The number of Rasas and their relative position is an important item of the Rasa-theory that now calls for a phychological scrutiny. Bharata enumerates eight रसs, the ninth is added, later on, to the list and the claims of a dozen others have been pressed by some revolutionary critics like रुद्रट and भोज. The reactionary element of our Sanskrit writers appears to be mainly guided by tradition in this respect, although a few of them have taken their stand on reason. Ruskin in his 'Modern Painters' names some eight or nine emotions always expressed in literature. Winchester disagrees with him and instead of giving the exact number of such emotions he only states certain qualities of such emotions such as steadiness, power, propriety etc. Generally speaking, Western criticisim does not sit tight over the question of the exact number of emotions in literature. If, however, a general principle to limit the number of emotions (or स्थायिभावs) in literature is to be laid down it shall be something like this. " There should be as many रसs as there are intense emotions which can adequately unfold the emotional life of man and which when delineated in literature would be highly delectable."

This enunciation implies the following tests in order: (1) As literature ought to be pleasing above everything else, the emotion must be delectable. The delectability of an emotion, primarily, depends on the fineness and complexity that it attains in the course of evolution. Crude and simple primary emotions working on a mere Instinctive physical plane—and not reaching the aesthetic or intellectual level—do not commend themselves to cultured taste. Appetite for food, the feeling of

possession and that of creativeness have always remained on a lower plane in revolution and although they are primary, they have seldom been used in literature to evoke any good emotional response. The same can be said of disgust also. (2) The emotion must be primary and not Derived. It may be simple or composite or blended. Primary emotions are very powerful and active as they are vitally connected with the ruling tendencies of self-preservation and the preservation of the species. (3) The object that excites these emotions must be so important as to determine the major goals towards which we strive. In the absence of such objects we form what are called 'tastes' and 'hobbies' (see 'Energies of Men' pp. 239-41). This has been anticipated by Mammaṭa (see रतिर्देवादिविषया K. P. IV).

In the light of the above remarks, the following shall be the reconstruction of the Rasas. बीभत्स and रौद्र should be struck off from the list and they should be replaced by वत्सल and भक्ति. बीभत्स is not independently relishable and रौद्र is nothing but वीराभास (an improper sort of वीर). वत्सल has got a very strong instinctive base (being conjoined with the parental instinct) and is highly delectable. भक्ति has unnecessarily suffered at the hands of older rhetoricians who relegated it to the position of a mere भाव, simply because they could not go against overwhelming tradition. भक्ति or devotion to God is a highly complex emotion conjoined with the Instincts of Submission, of appeal, of curiosity, of escape and of the social. भक्ति is not a mere sentiment; it is a master-sentiment as well. Those that have read the lives and literature of the Marathi saint-poets will appreciate these remarks. करुण should have sympathy (Passive primitive sympathy of McDougall) for its स्थायि भाव instead of शोक which means Sorrow. In sympathetic behaviour each of several instincts seems to be adopted on the receptive side in such a way as to be played upon by the expressions of the same instincts in other members of the same species. This is what McDougall calls "The Sympathetic Induction of emotions" in his 'Group mind' (p. 25).

अमर्ष instead of उत्साह should be the स्थायिभाव of वीर. This रस is based on the instinct of self-assertion which manifests itself in

resentment or intolerance. Wonder (विस्मय) instead of surprise (आश्चर्य) should be the स्थायिभाव of अद्भुत. Commonly speaking surprise which is a Derived emotion is the emotion of the अद्भुतरस in Sanskrit. Let us hope that wonder would take its place in this scientific age. Other Rasas present no difficulty. शान्त Rasa is more philosophic in nature and is fraught with a number of complications. If psychology is, at all, to be allowed to probe into the secrets of the serenity of this रस, one can say that an emotion of complacence or supreme satisfaction connected with the elevated Ego-Instinct is at the base of शम, which is its स्थायिभाव. Thus the number of Rasas comes to nine. In fixing the number of the Rasas one should not take into account the variety of objects but should look to their स्थायिभावs alone. For instance, भक्ति should be a रस and राष्ट्रभक्ति, धर्मभक्ति, गुरुभक्ति, मातृभक्ति etc. should be its sub-divisions and not so many Rasas. There have been numerous attempts at Rasa-Synthesis or unification of the eight accepted Rasas. They have tended to limit the number of Rasas on the one hand and to determine their relative position on the other. Bhoja's attempt is the most scientific of them all. He says for instance that अहंकार (शृङ्गार) is the root of all human emotions. There may be seientific accuracy in these and similar attempts, but they defeat their own end i. e. the aesthetic satisfaction derived from the unfoldment of emotional life. The relative position of the Rasas has been determined by Sanskrit scholars by establishing in them the relation of व्याप्यव्यापक, उपकार्योपकारक and प्रकृतिविकृति. Out of these the प्रकृतिविकृतिभाव (that is one Rasa being the cause and the other its effect) propounded by भरत is unscientific as no primary emotion is related to other primary one in that way.

There are a number of other points in the Rasa-theory that need clarification and scrutiny such as—(1) The nature of रति which is rather an unhappy term and has consequently let to unnecessary complications. (2) The place of the रससामग्री ?(अनुभाव व्यभिचारिभाव, विभाव and स्थायिभाव) i. e. whether they belong to the काव्य or to the रसिक or to both ? What is the exact relation of the अलंकारs, the ध्वनि, वक्रोक्ति, रीति etc. to रस ? But the short compass of this very small article does not permit me to make even a passing reference to their treatment. The reader may find the

whole subject exhaustively dealt with in my Marathi work entitled the :

Let me observe, in conclusion, that all such clarification and scruitiny of the Sanskrit Rasa-theory shall undoubtedly have their value in the field of pure Sanskrit Research, but if they are to be really fruitful in the field of Vernacular literatures which derive from Sanskrit and look up to Sanskrit as the Parent-language, the clarified and scrutinised Rasa-theory shall have to be re-adjusted to the current literature and brought uptodate in the light of the modern developments. Then alone shall Sanskrit scholarship have served its practical end by supplying a strong and indigenous nucleus of Veruacular Rhetorics.

WOMAN IN THE SCULPTURE OF THE DECCAN, AN ARTISTIC STUDY

BY

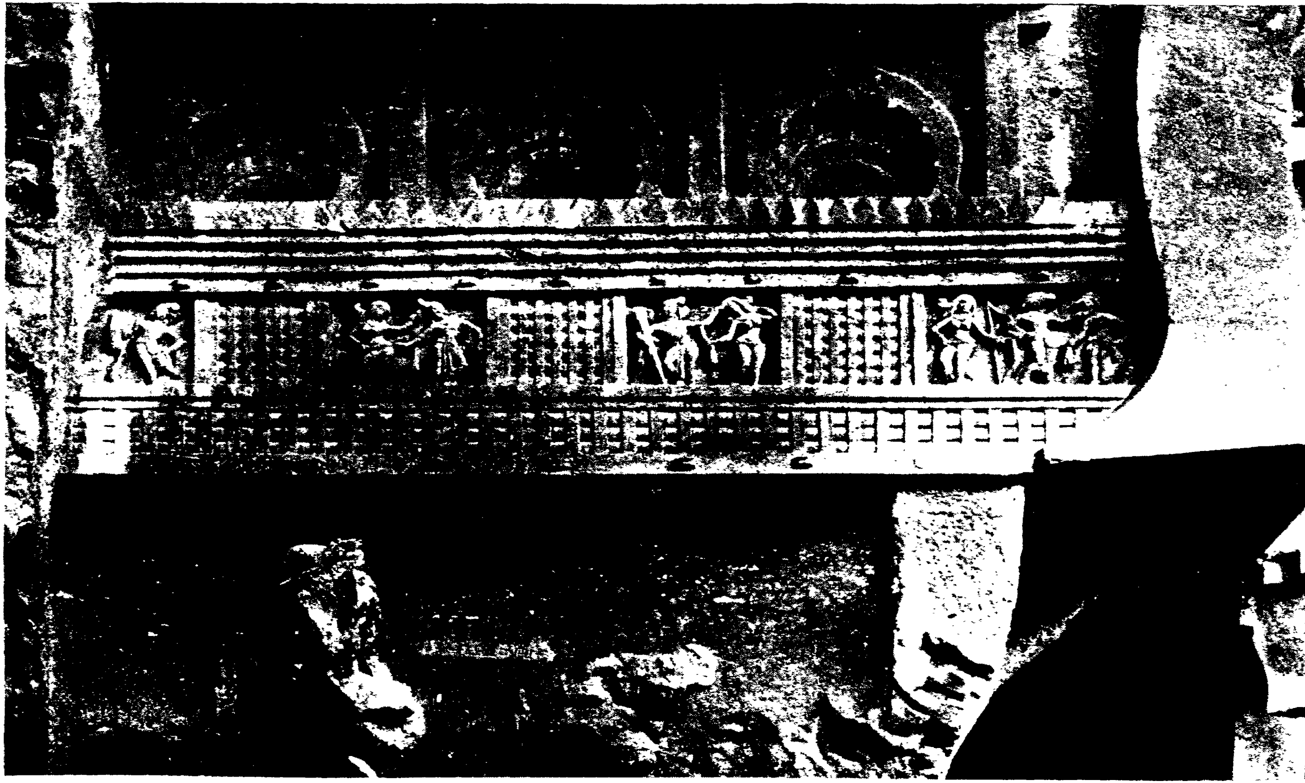
G. YAZDANI

Until quite recently Indian sculpture was considered to be completely devoid of any artistic merit, and the object of those who studied it was to estimate its character from only the antiquarian and iconographic points of view. The above opinion is however being superseded rapidly, so much so that art connoisseurs are not only enthusiastic in their praise of Indian sculpture; but they place it above the sculpture of other countries by virtue of its giving a better expression of the fullness of life. An interesting article on this subject was contributed by Dora Gordine (Hon. Mrs. Richard Hare) to the *J. R. A. S.* in January, 1941.

The object of the present article is however to judge the merits of Deccan sculpture, particularly of female figures, in the light of the universal criterion of beauty of form, naturalness of pose, and expression of inner feeling. The reason for restricting my remarks to the sculpture of the Deccan is that I consider that the sister arts of Painting and Sculpture have a much earlier history in the Deccan than in the rest of India and for any aesthetic appreciation specimens from this part of India better represent the historical sequence in the development of plastic arts than those of North India.

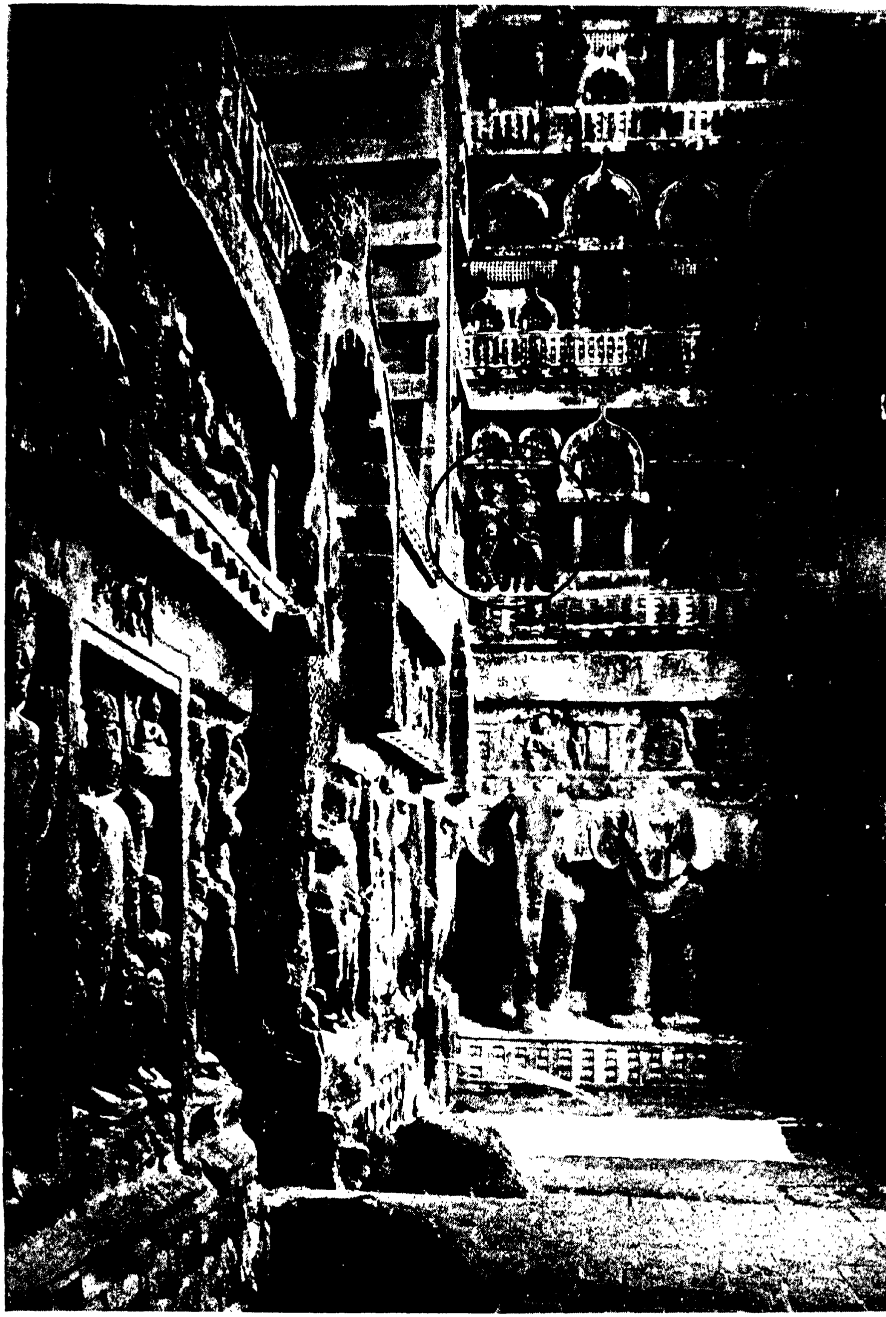
Woman has been the symbol of grace and beauty in the sculpture of the Deccan from the very beginning; but this view doos not apply to totemic specimens, the features of which are determined more by tribal or racial superstitions than by any consideration of symmetry in human form. The sculptors of the Deccan must have been adept in carving figures in wood, ivory and stone long before the spread of Buddhism, which took place during the reign of Asoka in the third century B. C., for the specimens which we find in the caves at Kondane, Bedsa and Karle, all belonging to the 2nd century B. C., show a highly developed art, which could not have reached that stage in less than a millenium of continuous intellectual and technical progress. To elucidate this view I invite the attention of readers to the panels representing some male and female figures, carved on the left wall of the façade

PLATE I



Chaitya-cave at Kondane, Bombay Presidency. Carving on the left wall of the facade.
(By courtesy of the Archæological survey of Government of India).

PLATE II



Chaitya-cave at Karle, Bombay Presidency. Carving on the right wall of the portico.
(By courtesy of the Archæological survey of Government of India).

PLATE III



Vihara-cave No. 7, Aurangabad, Nizam's Dominions.
Dance-scene carved on the left wall of the shrine.

PLATE IV



Vihara-cave No. 7, Aurangabad, Nizam's Dominions.

18 A woman and a dwarf carved on the outer wall of the shrine near the door.

PLATE V



Brahmanical cave No. XXI, Ellora.

19 A river-goddess carved on the left wall of the court.

PLATE VI



The Brahmanical cave Kailasa (No. XVI), Ellora.

Ravana shaking Kailasa.

PLATE VII (*a*)

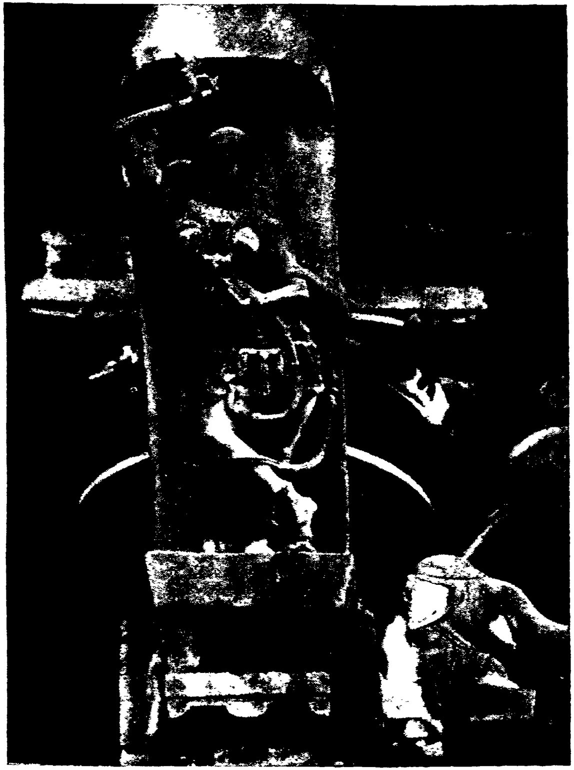


PLATE VII (*b*)



The Great Temple at Palampet, Warrangal District.

Figure of a dancer.

Another dancer.

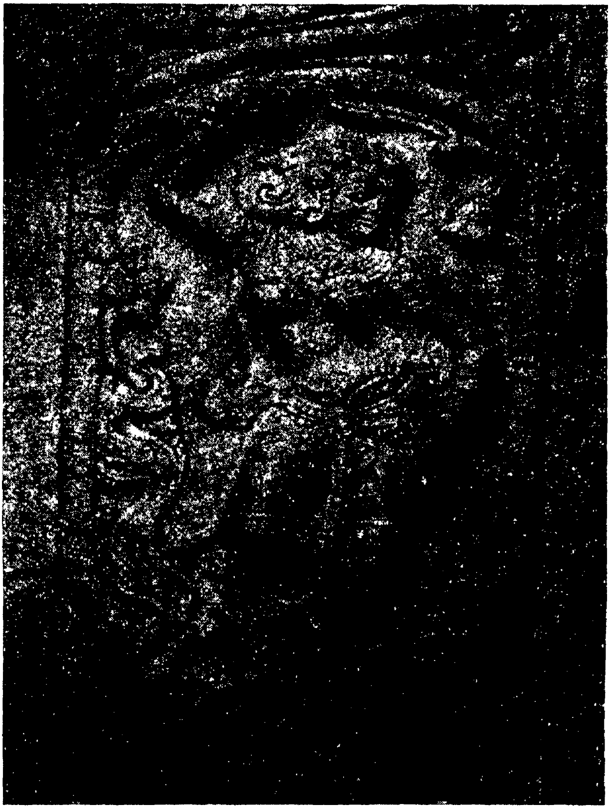
PLATE VIII



The Great Temple of Palampet, Warrangal District.

Figure of a dancer.

PLATE IX (*a*)



The Temple near the tank at Pangal, Nalgonda District.
A female figure carved on the wall of the shrine.

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PLATE IX (*b*)



The Temple on the embankment of Ramappa Lake, Warrangal District.
A female figure carved near the door-jamb of the shrine.

of the *chaitya* cave at Kondane. As the photograph reproduced in this article (Pl. I) has been taken from the ground, the figures are not only small but also lack considerably the grace of poise of the originals.*

There are four panels which may represent the story of the gay life of some rāja who ultimately embraced Buddhism, or they may be copies of the panels of decorative statuary of some important building. The latter view seems to be more correct for it was customary in early Buddhist architecture to adorn buildings with carvings representing the salient features of the abodes of the Lord or secular personages.

Commencing from the right the first panel represents a cavalier in a sportive mood, accompanied by two young ladies. He is armed with a large bow, but the dress consists of a loin-cloth and a scarf which is worn artistically round his arm and waist. In contrast to this scantiness of dress he has considerable jewellery on his body, comprising wristlets, necklace, ear-rings and some head ornament which is intertwined with the hair in an artisic manner. The cavalier is caressing the lady standing to his left, and the twinkle in his eyes and the inclination of his head present a perfect picture of love-making. The lady is in a responsive mood and seems to be enjoying the attention of her paramour. To keep the balance of her joyful poise she holds the scarf of the cavalier with one hand while the other is placed gracefully on her hip. The lady on the right, who is stting on a boulder, apparently resents this fondling and she pinches with her left hand the side of the cavalier and to show her disapproval is looking in another direction. The raiment of both the ladies is scanty in the extreme; but the hair has been dressed with great care, indicating a highly developed style of coiffure. However what strikes a student of art the most is the rhythm and the apparent movement shown by the sculptor in carving these figures. The body line turns and twists to indicate the pulsation of life, and although there is no anatomical precision as in Greek sculpture, yet the eye is not offended in any way; on the contrary it is filled with joy by the grace of pose and and vividness of expression.

The second panel also represents the same cavalier; but there is only one lady, probably the one whom he was caressing in the first

* Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director–General of Archaeology in India is now kindly arranging for a close-up photograph of these panels from a point in which the lens should be on the same level with the panels.

panel. The cavalier in this scene is armed with a heavy club, the shape of which may be of interest to those who are collecting information on the weapons of India before the Christian era. Both the figures seem to be intoxicated with joy and the swing of their bodies indicates that they are dancing. The pose of the cavalier resembles to a certain extent that of Śiva in the *tāṇḍava* dance, as shown in the later sculptures of the Śaivite cult, dating from the 6th century A. D. onwards. The pose of the lady is still more graceful and she has clasped the scarf of her lover in order to sway her body in harmony with his steps.

In the third panel the figures are the same, but their positions have been reversed. The cavalier appears on the right and the lady on the left; and, further, instead of the lady's clasping the scarf of the cavalier he is holding the waist-band of the lady, who has placed her hand fondly on the head of her partner with a view to keeping balance.

The fourth panel is broken and we see only the cavalier and one of the hind-legs of his horse. He is in a mirthful attitude in this scene also and and seems to be dancing. The *Hīnayāna* school of Buddhism, from its strict injunction against the representaion of the Great Being in human form may appear to those who are not familiar with the early sculpture of this school as somewhat puritan in taste, but the fact is not exactly that. The artist, sculptor or painter, displayed a zest for life from the very beginning, and in the *Jātakas*, the stories of the previous lives of the Buddha, he could find ready material to show his soft feelings on the one hand and the perfection of technical skill on the other.

I describe two more sculptures of the *Hīnayāna* school of the earliest period (*cir.* 200 B. C.) of which the specimens have been identified with certainty. One of these is from the *chaitya* at Karle, representing a *Nāga* rāja or a *Yakṣa* accompanied by a woman (Pl. II). The pose of the latter is extremely graceful and she appears to be dancing. Like the plastic arts dancing also appears to have reached a high level before the Christian era, for in the early paintings of Ajanta in cave X there are some delightful specimens. In this subject the lady has curved her right arm, her fingers gently touching her head, while the left arm she has placed round the waist of her partner. As regards the lower part of her body the left leg is bent near the knee and the toes only rest on the ground, the attitude conveying an idea of movement. As a matter

of fact such poses and steps are still to be seen in Indian dancing.*[1] Now who would deny the charm of such a subject, judging from the canons governing art-criticism prevalent in any country of the world.

The other specimen of the *Hīnayāna* school belonging to the 2nd century B. C., is the sculpture representing two horse-riders, carved on the top of a pillar at Bedsa. *[2] One of the horse-riders is a *Yakṣa* or a rāja and the other his consort. The happy couple have very refined features and the male figure in an amorous mood has stretched out his hand to caress the lady. The love-light is reflected from the countenance of both and the same feeling is reciprocated in the almost quivering nostrils, up-raised ears and manes and glistening eyes of the two horses. As these figures are of considerable size, and finished with extraordinary skill, I consider them to be the finest specimens of the Buddhist sculpture of the *Hīnayāna* school of the Deccan. Fergusson has published a photograph of these figures;*[3] but it does not do justice to the beauty of the sculpture, having been taken from the ground. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the Director-General of Archaeology in India, who was addressed by me regarding the importance of this sculpture, has kindly promised to have a scaffolding erected with a view to securing a faithful photograph of the subject.

Despite the rigidity of the early Buddhist monasticism the idea of the incompleteness of human life without woman, even in its religious aspect, seems to be present from the very beginning of the faith, for the story of the Buddha's visiting his own wife after his 'renunciation' indicates to a considerable extent this tendency. Further, the inclusion of goddesses like Tārā, possessing all the attributes of the Bodhisattavas, in the pantheon, and permission to women to join the holy order as nuns, support the view that Buddhism from its earliest days allowed the fair sex to enjoy to the full

* 1 As the photograph of this subject also has been taken from the ground the figures appear very small.

* 2 Bedsa is approached by a cart-track beginning at the 28th mile-stone of the Poona-Bombay road. The track is tolerable up to a distance of four miles where the Local Fund Ghat Road ends; but beyond that it is lost in boulders and fields and it is much better to walk than to get a jolting in a country cart which is the only means of conveyance suitable for the place. At my request the Bombay Government are now kindly considering a scheme to make this track fit for motor traffic.

* 3 *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (Revised edition), Vol. I, p. 139, fig. 64.

their right of companionship with man in moral and spiritual pursuits. On the left wall of cave X at Ajanta, which belongs to the 2nd century B. C., there is a scene representing a Rāja visiting the sacred Bodhi-tree under which the Buddha received 'enlightenment.' The religious orchestra shown in this scene consists of a bevy of most beautiful girls attired in a chic manner.*[1] The inclusion of these girls in the religious ceremonies of the faith makes one believe that the organisation of *deva-dāsīs* or *kañcanīs*, such as we notice in the Brahmanical temples of the 8th century A. D. onwards, existed in some form in the Buddhist institutions of both *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna* schools, and they apparently borrowed it from the post-Vedic ritual obtaining in India before the birth of the Buddha. The representations of female musicians and dancers may be rare in the art of the *Hīnayāna* school, but with the advent of the *Mahāyāna* doctrine their association with the religious institutions is confirmed to a number of dance-scenes painted on the rock-walls of Ajanta, notably in cave I *[2] and also supported by a sculpture in temple No. 7 at Aurangabad, which is reproduced here (Plate III).*[3] This scene is carved on the left wall of the shrine almost in front of the figure of the Buddha. The subject represents seven artistes, six of whom are playing on musical instruments and the seventh is dancing in the middle. The images of the artistes were originally covered with stucco with the object of beauty of finish, but the plaster has now peeled off and the little white spots where it is still sticking spoil the artistic effect of the statues. An expression of joy can however be traced from the countenance of the flute-player to the right of the dancer. The latter herself is treading gently, moving on the toes of her right foot, a step preparatory in Indian dancing before going into a whirl. The expression of calm over her face and the gesture indicated by the fingers of both hands have given a religious significance to the performance, and it is not unlikely that the figure represents a deity of the Buddhist pantheon. In this temple there are a number of other female deities all carved with considerable vigour. The most notable among them is an attendant of Bhrikuti Tārā, carved on the left side of the shrine-door. The

* 1 *The Wall-Paintings of Ajanta*, by G. Yazdani, vide *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XXVII, Pt. 1, p. 12.

* 2 *Ajanta*, by G. Yazdani, Vol. I. Plates *Xa*, XII and XIII.

* 3 *The Rock-hewn Temples of Aurangabad*, by G. Yazdani, *Journal of Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. XI, No. 1, 1937 (London).

figure is somewhat heavy in proportion but it displays great technical skill and artistic conception and above all an exuberance of spirit which is rarely met with in Buddhist sculpture. The artist has shown her absorbed in some serious religious problem; but at the same time he has attempted to indicate her restless nature due to her youth by the special position of her feet, one of which is placed sidewise and the other rests on the ground, only on the toes (Plate IV).

Another interesting feature of this sculpture is the comic figure of a dwarf, on whose head the goddess has placed her hand to keep the balance of her poise. The features of the dwarf are coarse, and such figures are frequently found in both painting and sculpture, either to relieve the seriousness of religious theme, or to enhance the beauty and grace of the principal figure of the sculpture by way of contrast. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel in one of his papers entitled *Bālarāma in the Sculpture of Māmallapuram*, read at the XVIIth International Oriental Congress at Oxford, has pointed out Roman influence in these schemes and as a prototype referred to the sculpture of Dionysius. The influence of Roman art in the Deccan has not been traced as yet, but minor similarities in the work of master artists sometimes arise, and find prevalence in countries which have had no cultural or political contacts. The presence of dwarfs near stately figures with a view to accentuating the difference is a common theme in India, and another pleasing example of it is the river-goddess carved in the left wall of the Brahmanical cave, Rāmeśvara (cave XXI), at Ellora (Plate V). The cave belongs to the seventh century A. D.; but the sculpture possesses all the best qualities of the early Buddhist art in regard to spiritual calm, plastic beauty of the limbs and the grace of pose. The dwarf here is a chubby figure with a smiling face and long curled hair. The right arm of the goddess is mutilated and a fissure in the rock running almost across the face has spoiled its beauty to some extent, but notwithstanding these blemishes the statue is worthy of being adored for both its aesthetic grace and holy serenity.

The sculptor of the Deccan has taken delight in giving a number of attractive poses to woman, whether she is carved singly or in groups. Whether she is a goddess or an artiste, or only an architectural motif, she is always beautiful, and thus commands respect and wins admiration. Among Brahmanical sculpture another subject to show a graceful pose is the figure of Pārvatī in *Rāvaṇa shaking the Kailāsa*, cave XVI, Ellora (Plate VI). She is seized with

fright by the earthquake caused by the violent shake of the demon and has cluug to Śiva for relief. Although the legs of Pārvatī are doubled up yet she has stretched herself in a charming pose, the body-line undulating in a delightful manner. The dramatic effect of the theme is to be seen in the figure of the maid who is running away in a state of panic. The sculpture according to an inscription incised in the cave where it exists, belongs to the eighth century A. D.

After the revival of Brahmanism the sculpture of the Deccan with the passage of time gained much in vigor and force; but it also lost considerably the spiritual calm and repose which were the characteristic features of Buddhist art. The representations of Śiva dancing the *tāṇḍava**[1] the Bhairva in an angry mood*[2] and, Narasiṁha and Hiraṇya Kaśipu*[3], may each be considered a *tour de force*; but they convey the embodiment of a different line of religious thought to what is represented in Buddhist gods and goddesses. Some European art-critics have consequently found an 'aggressiveness' in the Brahmanical sculpture of the 'revival' period, which may be true to a certain extent, but from the 10th century A. D. onwards, under the influence of Tantric doctrine, this 'aggressiveness' is replaced by a joyousness and we notice the walls and friezes of the temples decorated with figures of gods and goddesses, musicians and dancers, and acrobats and wrestlers, all permeated by a spirit of hilarity. The great temple at Pālampet in the Warangal district of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, has very fine sculpture of this class. The carvings represent scenes from the life of Rāma and other subjects showing coquetry and love-making, but the most striking among them are the figures of twelve female dancers carved in the form of struts to support the dripstones (*chhajjās*) of the roof. Three of them, which are reproduced in this article (Plates VII and VIII), represent dancing poses on the one hand, and the artistic import of the music by the gesture of fingers on the other - *nṛt* (नृत्). The suppleness of limbs as indicated by the pose matches well the general elegance of these figures, and the sculptor has fully succeeded in conveying how human beauty can be enhanced when the body is set to a rhythmic movement under the technique of art. Greece may rightly be proud of the sober dignity of the caryatids of the Erechtheum, but

*1 *Kailāsa*, cave XVI, Ellora.

*2 *Dumar Lena*, cave XXIX, Ellora.

*3 *Das Avatara*, cave XV, Ellora.

as art must represent human thought and life in all its phases, the figure-brackets of Pālampet occupy a distinct position among the sculpture of their kind, showing elegance combined with a joyful mood.

The figure-brackets of Pālampet may remind the reader of the struts of Sanchi representing *Yakṣīs* in mango groves or other pleasant environment; but the difference between the two is that while the former embody all the charm of an accomplished dancer, the latter represent sylvan deities of youthful type. However, a good replica of the Sanchi caryatids is the nymph holding the stalk of a lotus creeper, carved on a wall of the shrine near the Pangal Tank in the Nalgonda district, of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions (Plate, IX *a*).*[1] She has a buxom figure resembling that of a girl of a rich family in the Telingana country, and the sculptor has bedecked her with ornaments suitable to her high social status. The dress, like that of the women of Ajanta, is scanty, comprising a tight bodice of a transparent fabric and a pair of drawers which although covering the lower part of the body do not reach the knees. The features*[2] and limbs have been finished with great care and in this respect this figure shows a much more developed art than that to be seen in the caryatids of Sanchi.

The love of variety in pose stirred to a degree the imagination of the sculptor, who has worked out in stone hundreds of attitudes; but he selected his specimens generally from human life. A novel poise may be seen in the figure of a lady who has got a thorn stuck in the sole of her foot, which she is pointing out to the attendant standing to her right (Plate IX b). She has raised her right leg and to balance her body has encircled her right arm round a post. This lady is holding a rolled sheet in her hand which may represent a land grant, and the lady may be the donor. Rudramā, daughter of the Kakatīya king, Gaṇapatideva. But it is only a guess. The figure is however carved on the doorway of a temple built on the embankment of the Ramappa lake, which was constructed by Recherla Rudra, a general in the service of king Gaṇapatideva in the first half of the 13th century A. D. The subject of this article being only to appreciate the artistic merits of the statue I need

* 1 The temple was probably built in the Saka year 1189 (1267 A. D.) Cf. *A Corpus of Telugu Inscriptions* Hyd. Arch. Ser., Mem. No. 13.

* 2 The nose of the statue has been damaged which has considerably spoilt the beauty of the face.

not say anything further regarding its historical significance. The head of the figure has lost some of the sharpness of its features by the passage of time and inclemencies of weather, and the feet are also rather large: but the latter blemish is common among the women of the Deccan, who walk bare-footed. The pose is, however, most graceful; its rhythm showing all the beautiful parts of the body to advantage.

Examples of the beauty of woman and the charm of her supple limbs as shewn in the Deccan sculpture, would easily fill a volume, and I venture to state that the few specimens, reproduced in this article, are sufficient to vindicate the skill of the artist and to confirm his homage to the fair sex.